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## MORES CATHOLICI:

OR

# AGES OF FAITH.

KENELM H. DIGBY ESQ

FIRST VOLUME.



## CINCINNATI:

PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF
RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.
STEREOTYPED BY J. A. JAMES.
1841.

The "Ages of Faith," first published in London, and now stereotyped by the "Cincinnati Roman Catholic Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge," I hereby approve as a work eminently well calculated to illustrate the piety of the Catholic Church, vindicate the character of our ancestors, and edify and improve the attentive reader.

† J. B. PURCELL,
Bishop of Cincinnati.

Feast of the Epiphany, 1841.



### INTRODUCTION

TO THE

## AMERICAN EDITION.

In the month of December, 1839, a society was established in Cincinnati, for the purpose of publishing standard works, explanatory of the doctrines and usages of the Roman Catholic Church. Though few in number and very limited in pecuniary resources, the members have been enabled by unanimity and perseverance, to offer to the public, amongst other works, this first volume of the "Ages of Faith." The author is Kenelm H. Digby, Esq., of England, a gentleman of great knowledge and a convert to the Catholic Faith. For the success of so expensive an undertaking, the publishers depend on the patronage of their brethren throughout the United States.

The admirable character of this noble work, full of deep research, philosophy such as the Christian loves, eloquence and poetry, needs no recommendation to claim for its pages the attention of the reader. The subjects to which it is devoted are the highest and purest the mind can select, for they are associated with that divine faith which has shone, like the sun, through the lapse of centuries, vivifying the heart of man, chastening its affections and by its celestial agency on earth, preparing the soul for the inheritance of heaven. The beatitudes promised by the Saviour, the virtues of which they are the bright and glorious reward, the struggles of the Church in every age, to adorn the understanding with faith which never loses its vision of God, and hope ever radiant with divine expectation, and charity whose flame is never dimmed with age; to follow the bright career of every virtue in its devious course through all the nations of earth and to show what innumerable blessings were continually flowing from the great fountain of Christian knowledge at Rome, to the most distant points of the ample fold, over which the

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Lord had appointed her Bishop to preside; such are the great topics to which our author directs his attention, and for which he awakens as he proceeds the admiration of the pious reader. The subject is vast, but he has brought to the task a magnificent intellect, a mind stored with inexhaustible treasures selected from the living and dead languages of the ancient hemisphere, and a soul full of exquisite sensibility, of chivalrous feeling and saintly piety. A convert to the faith, the light on which his eve was permitted to dwell, has filled his heart with wonder, and these volumes are the tribute of his gratitude, for the mercy with which he has been visited from on high. The ages which to the prejudiced and misinformed are dark, to him are full of light, such as emanates from learning untouched with infidelity, from religion in all its early and unclouded excellence, from virtue which shone alike in palace and in cottage, blessing mankind with filial piety and national integrity and domestic peace. In the accomplishment of his work, he has visited the venerable monuments of architecture and stood beneath the ample domes which Catholic hands suspended in the air. His eye has ranged from the deep foundations to the fretted roof; he has stood in the rich light that falls from the stained glass over the holy altar and the marble floor; he has passed along the pillared aisles and recalled to earth those who devised and realised them, to record the perpetuity of their religion and the classic genius of the times. He has attended the missionaries in their labours to evangelise nations. Full of respect for whatever engaged the solicitude of the Church, he has investigated her private character, entered into her secret councils, mingled with the monk and the nun in their cloistered homes, conversed with her venerable Bishops, her poets, philosophers and sages; wandered through hospitals, visited prisons and became intimate with every thought and feeling over which the ancient religion had any control during her glorious "ages of faith."

The rapid advance of the Roman Catholic Church, to that eminent position which she occupied before the Lord had tried her with affliction, is a subject which engages much of the world's attention at the present day. A movement has taken place over all the earth, and no clime is too inhospitable, no soil too distant, to exclude the feet of those who bear forward the cross, the harbinger of truth, to the millions who have been heretofore deprived of its blessings. The children of the Church rejoice in the efforts which have been made to clear away the rubbish, with which prejudice, or something worse, has impeded the entrance to her sanctuaries, and they participate in the general determination to be no longer exposed to contumely, since they are in possession of the means by which they can vindicate their fame. Truth may be obstructed, but it cannot be injured; mountains may narrow its horizon

for a time, but its immortality cannot be affected. The heavier the pressure upon it, the more elastic finally will be its rebound; and now is the time to exhibit its intrinsic excellence, when knowledge is diffusing a better feeling and the spirit which dictated the rigorous penal code, is yielding to the generous impulse of religious freedom. Whilst, however, we take advantage of the change which is thus agitating society, we cannot help directing our contemplation to that wondrous Church which has stood unmoved, though not unaffected, amidst the storms of passion, and the fierce collisions of the human mind. It is vain to attempt accounting by the usual methods of philosophy, for the preservation of the Catholic Church, and the restoration of all her energies at the present day to a state of vigorous life and indefatigable activity. For this we must look to the "Divinity that stirs within her," to the foundation on which she rests, to the promises which she inherits, to the necessity which God has left in the world of claiming and acknowledging her guidance. A rapid glance at her origin and history will not be thought intrusive by the reader, before he peruses the pages in which her works of mercy are recorded.

The Catholic believes that Jesus Christ established a Church which was to last forever. Of this we have indisputable testimony in the language which he addressed to St. Peter when he said, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." This Church could never fail without invalidating the testimony of the Son of God. Unfortunately for the tranquillity of the Christian world, men rose up from time to time claiming the extraordinary right of rejecting every thing which did not meet their approbation, as if the Almighty in his revelation, was not to consult his own divine wisdom, but the vain and perishing reason of man. The consequence of this innovation was disastrous to many people in the early ages, but at the present day it has filled the whole world with confusion, and placed in the hand of the infidel a sword whose point is set against the heart of christianity. Ambitious men, enthusiasts, ignorant fanatics and others who wished to shake off restraint, all have fastened on the Holy Word of God their own imaginations and conjectures, as if the Divinity was undetermined when he made his revelations to the Evangelists and Apostles, or cared so little for the character of his word, that it mattered not whether it was to be venerated or misrepresented or despised. No sound-minded man can adopt so fatal a theory, after an honest investigation of the difficulty. If all the sects are equally acceptable to God, then christianity is a system of confusion, contradiction and wild inconsistency; a system which in law or medicine, in political science or in the common intercourse prevailing among men of

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honour, would be treated as monstrous in its character and destructive in its operation. If the bible must mean whatever the reader chooses to assert is its signification, having no authority to guide him but his own measure of intellect, truth and falsehood are equal, because men will differ. To avoid this difficulty, they have drawn up confessions of faith for the guidance of others; but this is no remedy for the evil, because it contradicts their own rule of faith, which is the bible alone as each may understand it, and moreover, they can give no satisfactory proof, no divine assurance that their formularies convey the truth, as it existed in the divine intelligence. When in connection with this we hear St. Paul declaring that "the Church is the pillar and ground of the truth," and when we hear the Saviour affirming, "he who does not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the Heathen and the Publican," we may well pause and weigh with care, and humble our souls in supplication before we adopt a rule, which would fling restraint aside, and make our own minds, not God's wisdom, the standard of excellence, the test of truth, the celestial key to unlook the gate of heaven. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Catholic, contemplating the distracted condition of those who differ with him in creed, and feeling the necessity of some sacred guide, far removed from the clouds of passion and preserving its integrity through every exposure; relying also on the promises of Him whose word is eternal, it is not surprising that he should maintain that a church, a tribunal guided by the Holy Spirit, infallible in faith and immutable in character, has been firmly established by the Saviour for the government of the faithful. The necessity of such a tribunal needs not the testimony of scripture; our ideas of the Supreme Being, our conceptions of the infinite importance of his revelations, and of the necessity of their faithful guardianship, would authorize such an institution; reason alone would be all powerful to defend its position against the assaults of sophistry. But it will be said that many churches exist in the world, and how are we to identify the true one from those which error has organized? 'The marks are luminous as the sun. The Church of the living God will be found on examination to reflect his attributes. Take for instance his universality, his immutability and perpetuity, and then look over the earth for the religion which approaches in its character to this divine standard.

I. It must be universal. When the Saviour came to announce the new and better doctrines of christianity, his lessons were not intended for the Jews alone, but for every diversity of the human race. All were embraced in the Apostolic commission. The mind must be dark and the heart degraded, on which no impression can be made by the words of Jesus, when he gave his sublime charge for the conversion of the human race. We can discover in their simplicity the divine character of the

speaker. At the beginning of all things He said, "let there be light and there was light," and again, "Go and teach all nations-and behold! I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world." The voice which had agitated space, and called forth star and sun with all their diversity of matter, and made them move in concord through the shining spheres, was heard again by the angelic hosts, when another and a holier design was realized. How perfect the analogy between the two creations, though separated in their accomplishment by so many ages! The material light which illumined chaos, was a vivid figure of the spiritual light which was to pierce and dissipate the darkness of reason; and if the morning stars praised Him together at their birth, so do the virtues now continue the wondrous theme, as they pass along the circle of Faith, from century to century and from soul to soul. "Go and teach all nations." In accordance with this divine command the Apostles came down from Mount Sion, after they had lifted up their hands against the deserted temple, and full of the Spirit of God, animated with that living fire which had descended upon them at Pentecost, and with lips more hallowed than the Prophet's, they went forth amongst the nations, stood in the palaces of kings, the porticoes of the Stoics, the groves of the Academicians; and like the tempest which preceded the approach of the Paraclete, they agitated and terrified and conquered the world by the force of their words and the wonders of their mission. They divided the earth amongst them, entered into Rome, denounced her worship and made her vast empire acquired by conquest and maintained by the sword, appear to us on the page of history, as the mere type of that universal and spiritual dominion, which Peter and his successors were to govern in the name of Christ. So rapid was their advancement, that it seemed good to them to frame a confession of faith called the Apostle's creed, in which, even to the present day, we repeat the glorious words, "I believe in the holy Catholic Church." Did they teach contradictory creeds? surely not. "One Lord, one faith, one baptism," says St. Paul, and such was the religion which they diffused to the uttermost parts of the earth. Like God it was every where, and every where the same, "one fold, one shepherd." It was adapted to the heart of man, which is the same now as it was then; medicine for its wants, a consolation for its sorrows and a light for its hopes. The Apostles accomplished, what the Lord had already announced by his prophets, that "from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof his name should be great amongst the Gentiles." In the last days, says Isaiah, "the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be prepared on the top of mountains, and all nations shall flow to it." These magnificent prophecies were speedily realized, and even in the Apostolic times, St. Paul declares to the Romans, "that

their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world." This character of universality is a sublime mark of the true Church. It embraces the universe; like the sun in the zenith, it diffuses its effulgence over all and its efficacy is felt through all the diversities of climate and society. The children of the faith have built their altars on the lofty hills and in the shade of the valleys; the "uttermost parts of the earth" have heard her lessons of salvation, and her creed is repeated in every variety of language. If a stranger should enter a city and ask for the Catholic Church, the children in the streets can guide him to its portals. Pass over Europe and you will find her monuments in every city; open the ancient manuscripts in her libraries, and you will find her name on the title page. Enter the grave-yards, and the cross on the tombs of centuries, will tell you that Catholic dust is reposing beneath. Examine the laws of many nations, the charters of cities, the archives of governments and the records of legislative assemblies, and you will find that all are heavy with Catholic signatures. Let the traveller pass along the coasts of Africa and the vestiges of Catholicism will be found, once indeed trodden under foot by the infidel, but sharing now in the general renovation. The Syrian, Armenian and Kopt, even the native of Abyssinia, is associated to the body of the faithful. In the cities of India, on the banks of the Ganges, in the districts of China, and beyond the wall which repels the incursions of the Tartar, but cannot impede the missionary, in all the isles of the ocean, Catholic Priests and Bishops may be found with Catholic flocks around them. In the new world which Catholic genius discovered, she realizes the hope of the intrepid mariner who was the first to raise the crucifix on its territory, to return thanks to Him of whom it will be ever the endearing memorial. Thus do we trace over all the globe the evidences of the Church of God, which strike with admiration the heart of the beholder! We turn from the scanty limits, the narrow boundaries of ever changing sects, and find one faith alone which is competent to fill the expectations of an immortal spirit. Well may we exclaim whilst surveying its magnitude, this is surely the Church of the living God, and here do we find the prediction verified which was spoken by Isaiah, "the Gentiles shall walk in thy light and kings in the brightness of thy rising.-Then shalt thou see and abound and thy heart shall wonder and be enlarged, when the multitude of the sea shall be converted to thee, the strength of the Gentiles shall come to thee."

II. The true Church must be also immutable in faith. Nothing is clearer to reason than the consistency of God, for being Himself the Eternal Truth, it is impossible that he could ever condemn as erroneous what his wisdom had formerly revealed. He can have but one will because

he is perfect; no distraction can prevail in his councils, and since he never changes his attributes, neither can the Church with which he has promised to abide forever, become the victim of falsehood. The faith which Christ revealed, must consequently be always the same; truth is imperishable, not the vision of a dream, the uncertain conclusion of a mortal. There is in it no hesitation, no question of expediency, no timid shrinking announcement, as if the speaker was afraid of what he uttered. Truth as it fell from the Divine lips was the expression of his infinite and perfect wisdom, matured from eternity. "Go and teach all nations -I am with you all days-one Lord, one faith-one fold, one shepherd-on this rock will I build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Error is always changing, truth is always the same. The faith which the Saviour announced was therefore divine, and as it is as necessary for salvation at the present day as in the early time, so is it as perfect now as it was then. But how was its character to be preserved amidst the innumerable changes and revolutions which were to disturb society in the long lapse of ages? By the Church, the tribunal of God on earth. "I will ask the Father and he will give you another Paraclete that he may abide with you foreverthe Spirit of Truth." "And a path and a way shall be there," says Isaiah, "and it shall be called the holy way, and it shall be unto you a straight way, so that fools may not err therein." We are told that the heavens and the earth shall pass away, but that this divine word will survive the wreck of nature; that its glory shall not grow dim though the sun may fade, that it will return to the bosom of its author after the accomplishment of its mission on earth, as pure, as holy, as consistent, as when first announced for the guidance of man. Look over the earth and ask for the Church which has thus descended from the Apostles, without vicissitude or alteration. You will find it venerable in years, majestic in strength, illustrious in persecution. Sects are indebted for their origin to men; Luther has his followers, so has the Church of England, so has Calvin, and Wesley and others who have interpreted the scripture for themselves; but their diversity of opinion proves that they cannot all be right, because God's word is perfect; and since one had as much right as the other to fasten his own fancies on the revelations of infinite wisdom, therefore all were alike the victims of error. Have their opinions been thus far unchanged? On the contrary, the pride which suggested their expression has terminated in lamentable discord. Pulpit is raised against pulpit and preacher against preacher, and the infidel laughs at the uncertainty of the Christian's religion. It is not so with the great "Church of the living God." In her fold is peace, in her councils consistency, in her eventful career the dignity, authority and wisdom, Vol. I.-B

which are the just attendants of a tribunal established by the Almighty. Her decrees are every where received, her prayers are every where the same: millions and millions of hearts beat in unison; nations, isolated or adjacent, though differing in opinion on every other subject are unanimous in this, kneel before the same altar, offer the same sacrifice and transmit unchanged and immaculate to their children, the faith which had animated their fathers from generation to generation. This is the Catholic Church of all nations and times; she alone who is in communion with the See of Rome can claim this magnificent privilege of seeing all things else decay, and nation after nation vanishing in the tomb, whilst she, the heir of the promises of Christ, preserves her identity unaltered.

III. To these illustrious characters of the true Church, we must also add its perpetuity. It must have existed since the day of its establishment in purity and power of faith, and thus it must continue until the end of time. But did it not become corrupt and require reformation? Never; for who will dare to improve the excellent revelations of the Divinity. It may be necessary to reform morals, but he must be indeed the victim of pride, who attempts to change the faith which came down from heaven. As well may a man find fault with the sun and moon, and piously pretend to change the old fashioned order of the spheres. The Church is infallible; Christ has made her so, but if "the gates of hell have prevailed against her," then his pledge has been broken, he ceases to be divine! God is no Prevaricator, his word is not uncertain, neither does its memory perish. "The God of Heaven," says the Prophet Daniel, "will set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed." "The city of the great King, his rest and habitation forever." "God's covenant with her," according to Ezekiel, "is an everlasting covenant of peace, confirmed by a solemn oath." "A covenant like that of the day and night," says Jeremiah, "to stand for all generations." "God," says Isaiah, "shall be her everlasting light, whosoever shall gather together against her shall fall and the nation that will not serve her shall perish." "The house of the living God," says St. Paul, "the fold of which Christ is the shepherd," says St. John the Evangelist. The Church of God must, therefore, exist forever. The respect which man owes to his own understanding, to his knewledge of revelation and to the character of the Deity, makes this conclusion lucid, just, consistent and inevitable. Religion claims the continual protection of God: the Church is the tabernacle of his glory on earth, he has filled it with his majesty and made it the treasury of his graces. Man, conscious of the instability of reason, the fluctuation of human opinions and the importance of his salvation, has a right to ask for this universal, immutable and perpetual guide. How immense has been her career, how sublime her preservation, how appropriate her capital in the city of the Cosars! Wave after wave of time has swept over earth, obliterating the vestiges of people and nations, but falling exhausted at the foundations of the venerable Church. If an inhabitant of Pompeii could be recalled to life, he would recognize nothing on earth but the cross whose glory was dawning on the world when his city was overthrown. Such has been the course of the Church, such will be her future history until the consummation of all things.

In addition to these distinguishing marks we may add also her sanctity. The efforts of the Catholic Church have been incessant in every age of her wonderful career to reform and elevate the heart. This is admirably developed in the "Ages of Faith." The mind was brought into continual association with heaven by the splendour of her ritual and the magnificent conceptions which her doctrines inspired. A crowd of religious orders rose up from age to age, to meet the exigencies of the times, and the poor, the sick, the slave, the captive and the orphan were all embraced and fondly cherished by this holy mother. In the monasteries and convents religious men and women were sheltered from the temptations of the world, where the soul was purified by prayer and vigils before the adorable victim, in the shade of the solemn sanctuaries. The spirituality of her devotion, the sublime aspirations of the soul, the seraphic fervour with which her favoured children held communion with heaven, the longings after God, the anxiety to fly away and be at rest with Christ, the sighs which rose up like incense from the heart, to pass from the long exile of earth to the company of the Virgin of virgins, the cherubim and angels, the desire so often fondly breathed to follow the Lamb and enjoy the beatific vision, such was the spirit which she breathed through the soul, as we find it in the pages of St. Chrysostom and Thomas a Kempis, in the ascetic writers and the eloquent St. Bernard. Oh! how falsely they judge of Catholic devotion, who only look at the ceremonies of our worship, without penetrating to the riches, the glory and continual sacrifice of self, which are concealed beneath them. Thus did multitudes of her children pass their lives away in continual prayer, their souls inflamed with faith, and burning continually, like a lamp, before the altar of God.

The Church for which we claim a character so illustrious, must have always occupied since her establishment, the most distinguished place in the history of human events. All that has been said would be undeserving of credit, unless we can trace her career from century to century, and show her under every emergency preserving her integrity, and giving continual manifestations of the vigilance with which she is maintained by the attending Deity. For this purpose, a brief notice of

the obstacles which she has overcome will not be undeserving of atten-

When her doctrines were first announced by the Apostles, the world rose up against her and the first general persecution was proclaimed by the emperor Nero and carried into immediate effect. The ingenuity of man was employed in devising new instruments of torture; the sands of the arena were soaked with martyrs' blood and the shouts of a horrid people proclaimed in the Flavian amphitheatre the destruction of innumerable victims. The sword, the rack, the scourge and the flames were invoked throughout the broad empire of Rome to crase from the carth the very name of Christ. But the mighty effort was nugatory; their blood and their fortitude only served to increase the energy of the nascent Church and extend her dominion. Her children were compelled to fly for refuge to the mountains and forests; the divine mysteries were celebrated in caves and catacombs, and hence, even to the present day, the Church has tapers burning on her altars to perpetuate the memory of her early sufferings. But she triumphed over all; she was immortal and she could not die. She entered the imperial palace and the crown became her prize; the city in which she suffered most was surrendered to her sway, the temples of the heathen became the sanctuaries of the true and only God, and she placed on the pillar of Trajan the statue of her great Apostle.

This victory over the heathen did not save her from the animosity of her enemies. We are told that scandal must come, and notwithstanding the woe denounced against its authors, men rose up from age to age who vainly essayed her destruction. Not a century elapsed, in which there were not numerous heretics, or schismatics, who raised their weak arms to threaten her downfall. But the Church which had conquered the empire of Rome, was not to be so easily intimidated. If she sometimes seemed to totter, it was only to make her recovery more sublime. her preservation more miraculous. Arius was the first most distinguished enemy who rose up against her; he denied the Divinity of Christ, and swept into the vortex of error bishops, priests and provinces. All the usual weapons of error were employed; calumny united with hate and pride made falsehood an accomplice in wrong, to embarrass the truth and perplex its defenders. Persecution was again invoked, and the learned and sainted bishop of Alexandria was one of its many distinguished victims. The enemies of the Church exulted in her approaching overthrow; but she outlived their violence, and the effect of their hostility is now happily confined to the page of history. Error may endure for a time, terrifying the earth like a comet by its devious course; but truth is always the same, steady in its place, the

great centre of the moral sphere, her light and beneficence equally unchangeable.

Scarcely had she recovered from the wounds which Arius had inflicted, when Alaric and his Goths descended on the plains of Italy, and threatened to eradicate with fire and sword the very seeds of christianity. The Church encountered the fierce aggressor, and for a time she appeared like a desolate mother, who had been left to mourn over the ruins of her home and the ashes of her children. But she was only concentrating her strength for the conflict, for she suddenly rose from the ground and the oppressor was overthrown, and his rude barbarians, softened by her precepts, relinquished their ferocity to practise her virtues.

The tranquillity of the Church was again disturbed in succeeding years by ambitious men, who promulgated with the characteristic obstinacy of error, their own opinions instead of the everlasting doctrines of the Saviour. It would be an endless task to detail the history of all those unfortunate heresiarchs; it is enough to know that the Church, summoning her representatives from every clime and people, explored the novelty of the new creeds and asserted the integrity of the ancient faith. Amongst these disturbers of the flock of Christ, were the Donatists in the fifth century, who filled the Church in Africa with tumult and alarm, maintaining amongst other blasphemies, that Christ was less than the Father and greater than the Holy Ghost. Then came the Pelagians denving original sin, next the Nestorians who asserted that God had not become man, and after these, Eutyches who asserted that the humanity of the Saviour was lost in the Divinity, and that his sufferings and death instead of being real were only imaginary. Next came the Iconoclasts whose blind rage was directed against the embellishment of churches and the respect which was paid to the crucifix and memorials of Christ. During all these commotions, the Church, though incessantly assailed, showed how admirably she was supported by a divine hand, resisting the intemperate fury of her opponents, and when the storm had passed, recalling them again into her peaceful fold.

The next opponent most worthy of note is destined likewise to sink into oblivion. The name of Mahomed brings at once to the mind all that christianity has suffered from his pernicious councils. A dark cloud had gathered over the land of Arabia on which the Christian nations gazed with fearful forebodings. It gradually increased until it covered the horizon; its shadows rested on the shores of Europe, and when at length it suddenly burst, the fairest portions of the east were struck with desolation. Men were dismayed by the approaching danger, and when they looked up with fear, they saw the disastrous crescent moving rapidly along, and guiding to victory a multitude of fierce

invaders, shouting for their prophet and making converts by the swerd, pillaging the shrines of religion, murdering her priests and consuming the labours of the scholar, the monuments of art and the achievements of science. But the Church again came forward to rescue the world. She appealed to her children and they responded to her call; the king and the peasant, the feudal chieftain and his vassal went forth with the cross upon their breasts, and the gallant crusaders, notwith-standing their modern assailants, saved Europe and literature, civilization and art and christianity as far as men could do so, from the tyranny of the caliphs and the brutal ignorance of the Saracen. His pernicious power is now rapidly declining. The passions which gave it strength have so corrupted the body that it can no longer support them. Already the Christian minister has visited Africa, the sacrifice has been offered on the tomb of St. Augustine; and the powerful sign of the cross succeeds the dreadful symbol of Mahomed.

After these fearful assaults the Greek schism arose in the tenth century, the result of disappointed ambition, aided by the intrigues of a corrupt emperor. It tore away a portion of the Christian Church, but it is now buried in ignorance. No nation has been converted by its ministers to Christianity; there is no energy in its councils, no learning among its priests, no refinement among its people. Since its separation from Rome, the great heart of Christianity, it has been so cold and sluggish, that it resembles a body paralysed by disease, more than one which claims to have strength and vigour.

During all these struggles for the preservation of Faith, the Church did not forget her missions amongst the distant nations of the earth. In the East and West the voices of her ministers were heard, summoning the people to the confession of the name of Christ. And in the Ages of Faith, when the Church was blessed with occasional tranquility, her genius was displayed in the use of every means to mitigate the evils of humanity, to reconcile Christian princes, to establish magnificent asylums for the poor, and to lay the foundations of those great cathedrals which now, after the lapse of centuries, are standing as monuments to record the perpetuity of that religion for whose worship they had been erected.

Since the origin of christianity no effort has been left untried to destroy the Church to whose guardianship it has been entrusted. To accomplish this melancholy design, human ingenuity has appealed to the tongue, the pen, the statute book and sword. Hence one error after another has been broached, down to the present day, when, were it not for the solemnity of the subject, the Catholic would be forced to smile at the busy zeal which is manifested against the character and stability

of the immutable Church. The reformation, as it is called, gave birth to a host of opponents, but their history is too fresh in the mind to allude to their career. We see its results in all imaginable varieties of creed, so multiplied and discordant, so perishing and yet so vain, that it is surprising how men of matured minds and respectable knowledge, can find rest to their souls in the profession of any. These new religions will have their day, too, on the theatre of life, and if the signs of the times do not deceive, their day is rapidly declining. The shadows of the evening hour are gradually extending.

Thus may we trace along the page of history, the progress of this faithful witness of Jesus Christ. No trials can dissolve the connexion between them. She has been true to her duty, when fidelity was sure of persecution, and preserved the "unutterable gift of faith" when bleeding in the days of Nero, or investing Constantine with the imperial purple, resisting Alaric, or defending the peasant from his feudal oppressor, giving audience to kings, or a meek but glorious prisoner in the hands of Napoleon. To heaven she has ever looked for support and consolation, and conscious of her agency in fulfilling the designs of Providence, she has never been intimidated by the appearance of danger, from the faithful exercise of her sublime functions. She has feared God more than man, and preferred to see a nation torn from her communion, rather than dissolve the nuptial tie to gratify a lascivious monarch. No wonder the faithful are proud of her character and rejoice to take shelter in her bosom! They survey with delight the strength of her position, and rejoice in the anticipation which the inquiring spirit of the age awakens, of her speedy return to prosperity and peace. As knowledge becomes more widely diffused, and history redeemed from the prejudices and misrepresentations of interested writers, we doubt not she will soon recover from the pressure of adversity. Her efforts have, indeed, been greatly repressed and her temporal resources impaired, but though somewhat of her exterior beauty has been defaced, the shafts of the assailants could never penetrate the heavenlytempered shield, which guarded the entrance to the citadel. The promise that "the gates of hell should not prevail against her," has been made divinely manifest, as well by her history as from the lips of the Saviour. She has survived through every revolution of earth, impregnable to her enemies, unbroken by persecution and unchanged by time. She has watched the beginning of nations, attended them in their renown and survived their destruction. The history of human joys and sorrows has been repeated to her in languages which have long since been obsolete; her throne is placed on the ruins of empires, her trophies surmount the monuments of the Pagan, and her cross is the

brightest gem in the diadem of kings. She has seen the pride of earth yield to the virtue of faith, and the majesty of Cæsar obscured by the glory of the fisherman. Her career has been truly sublime; sometimes threatened by the Heathen, or the Goth, the Vandal or the Saracen, sometimes shaken by the apostasy of her unworthy children, but never overcome, never invalidating the pledge which the Saviour had given, that he would abide with her forever. How well the divine assurance has been realised, her position at the present day can tell, when after all the prophecies of her downfall and commentaries on the apocalypse detailing the particulars of her ruin, she yet survives, as vigorous and full of celestial animation, as at any previous period of her history.

It is customary at the present day, amongst the misinformed or the prejudiced, to express a special horror for what they are pleased to call the immoralities of the Catholic Church. Far and wide, from the press and the pulpit, by the domestic fireside and the political arena, has this grievous charge been circulated, aided by every circumstance however vicious, which could impress on the minds of the people its dark and fearful enormity. "London's Pillar" is not the only instance of a long recorded lie against the possessors of the ancient faith. Fortunately for our vindication, the calendars of public crime are not monopolized by Catholic culprits; and it is not too much to hope, that the same honest spirit of investigation which ordered the falsehood to be "chipped" from the column, will also use the pen to expunge with dark and heavy lines, the malicious statements which abound throughout all the departments of modern literature. If any man wishes in sincerity to know the nature and extent of our morality, let him read the "Ages of Faith," for the testimony adduced therein comes from accredited and authentic sources; if he chooses to persevere in his unfeeling and unchristian accusations, let him set the book aside, for it would assuredly trouble even a callous conscience. The sublimity of its details proves that we can find in the Catholic Church alone, that pure and noble "transcendentalism" of soul, which so many are seeking in a half infidel, half christian philosophy. Like the fabulous Narcissus, who, having seen his image in the waters, grew enamoured with its beauty and died from the excess of his passion, so those "ethereal spirits," who aspire to an imaginary excellence, may discover on closer examination, that they are enraptured with their own reason, and not with the glory of its Author. Pride too often converts the soul into an idol; the Catholic Church desires to make it the sanctuary of the Divinity.

To our Catholic friends we offer this beautiful work, conscious of the delight with which they will dwell on its pages. It is, we trust, only, part-payment of that great debt of restitution, which England owes to

the world for the wrongs which her apostasy inflicted on the Church. If the prevarication of our first parents was succeeded by the infinite blessing of the Saviour's blood, so in the designs of Providence, the sins of the Henries, Elizabeths and Georges, may be yet forgotten in the rich and plentiful offerings which the Catholic genius of England will heap on the altars of faith. We are willing to blot out the tyranny of the statute book with the blood of Moore and Fisher and the hapless Queen of Scots; and we can forget the authors of our wrongs, as long as such men as Wiseman and Digby survive to vindicate the religion of their ancestors.

CINCINNATI, January 1, 1841.



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# MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

## AGES OF FAITH.

### THE FIRST BOOK.

#### CHAPTER I.

In the third stage of this mortal course, if midway be the sixth, and on the joyful day which hears of the great crowd that no man could number, I found me in the cloister of an abbey, whither I had come to seek the grace of that high festival. 'The hour was day's decline; and already had "Placebo Domino " been sung in solemn tones, to usher in the hours of special charity for those who are of the suffering Church. A harsh sound from the simultaneous closing of as many books, cased in oak and iron, as there were voices in that full choir, like a sudden thunder-crash, announced the end of that ghostly vesper. The saintly men one by one slowly walked forth, each proceeding to his special exercise. Door then shutting after door gave long echoes, till all was mute stillness, and I was left alone under cloistered arches, to meditate on the felicity of blessed spirits, and on the desire which presses both the living and the inmates of that region in which the soul is purged from sinful stain, to join their happy company. Still methought I heard them sing of the bright and puissant angel ascending from the rising of the sun, and of the twelve times twelve thousand that were signed; and of the redeemed from every nation and people and language; and of the angels who stood around the throne in Heaven. It seemed now as if I heard a voice like that which said to Dante, "What thou heardest was sung, that freely thou mightest open thy heart to the waters of peace, that flow diffused from their eternal fountain." What man is there so brutish and senseless to things divine, as not to have sometimes experienced an interval like that which is described by him who sung of Paradise, to whom the world appeared as if stretched far below his feet, and who saw this globe,

So pitiful of semblance, that perforce It mov'd his smiles; and him in truth did hold For wisest, who esteems it least; whose thoughts Elsewhere are fix'd, him worthiest call'd and best! \*

But soon the strained sense will sink back to it; for the human spirit must perforce accomplish in the first place its exercise in that school which is to prepare it for the home that it anticipates above. Yet I fell not disconsolate, nor forgetful, of the bright vision. My thoughts were carried backwards to ages which the muse of history had taught me long to love; for it was in the obscure and lowly middle-time of saintly annals that multitudes of these bright spirits took their flight from a dark The middle ages, then I said, were ages of world to the Heavens. highest grace to men; ages of faith; ages when all Europe was Catholic; when vast temples were seen to rise in every place of human concourse to give glory to God, and to exalt men's souls to sanctity; when houses of holy peace and order were found amidst woods and desolate mountains, on the banks of placid lakes as well as on the solitary rocks in the ocean: ages of sanctity which witnessed a Bede, an Alcuin, a Bernard, a Francis, and crowds who followed them as they did Christ: ages of vast and beneficent intelligence, in which it pleased the Holy Spirit to display the power of the seven gifts, in the lives of an Anselm, a Thomas of Aquinum, and the saintly flock whose steps a cloister guarded: ages of the highest civil virtue; which gave birth to the laws and institutions of an Edward, a Lewis, a Suger: ages of the noblest art, which beheld a Giotto, a Michael Angelo, a Raffaelo, a Dominichino: ages of poetry, which heard an Avitus, a Caedmon, a Dante, a Shakspeare, a Calderon: ages of more than mortal heroism, which produced a Tancred, and a Godfrey: ages of majesty, which knew a Charlemagne, an Alfred, and the sainted youth who bore the lily: ages too of England's glory, when she appears not even excluding a comparison with the eastern empire, as the most truly civilized country on the globe; when the Sovereign of the greater portion of the western world applied to her schools for instructors; when she sends forth her saints to evangelise the nations of the north, and to diffuse spiritual treasure over the whole world; when heroes flock to her courts to behold the models of reproachless chivalry, and Emperors leave their thrones to adore God at the tombs of her martyrs! as Dante says,

> No tongue So vast a theme could equal, speech and thought Both impotent alike.

In a little work which embodied the reflections, the hopes, and even the joys, of youthful prime, I once attempted to survey the middle ages in relation to chivalry; and though in this we had occasion to visit the cloister, and to hear as a stranger who tarries but a night the counsels of the wise and holy, we never were able to regard the house of peace as our home; we were soon called away from it to return to the world and to the courts of its Princes. Now I propose to commence a course which is more peaceful and unpretending, for it only supposes that one has left the world, and withdrawn from these vain phantoms of honour, and of glory, which distract so often the morning of man's day. Thus we read that in youth many have left the cloister, dazzled by the pomp and circumstances of a wild, delusive chivalry, who after a little while have hastened back to it, moved by a sense of earthly vanity, there

To finish the short pilgrimage of life, Still speeding to its close on restless wing.\*

Yes, all is vanity but to love and serve God! Men have found by long experience that nothing but divine love can satisfy that restless craving which ever holds the soul, "finding no food on earth:" that every beauty, every treasure, every joy, must, by the law which rules contingency, vanish like a dream! and that there will remain for every man sooner or later, the gloom of a dark and chaotic night, if he is not provided with the lamp of faith. Those men, who, reasoning, went to depth profoundest, came to the same conclusion; they found that the labours of the learned and the visions of the poet were not of their own nature different in this respect, from the pleasures of sense:

'Tis darkness all; or shadow of the flesh, Or else it's poison.

This was their experience. That labour of the mind, or that fond ideal extasy, did not necessarily secure the one thing needful, the love of Jesus. In a vast number of instances it led to no substantial good; its object was soon forgotten, or the mind recurred to the performance with a sense of its imperfections. Still the heart cried, Something more! What, said they, can be given to it? What will content it? Fresh labour? fresh objects? Ah, they had already begun to suspect how little all this would avail; for in hearkening to "the saintly soul, that shews the world's deceitfulness to all who hear him," they had learned to know that it might indeed be given to their weakness to feel the cruel discord, but not to set it right; to know that it was but a vain delusive motive which would excite them to exertion from a desire of pleasing men; for men pass rapidly with the changing scene of life, and the poor youth who mistaking the true end of human labour, had fondly reckoned upon long interchange of respect and friendship, at the moment when his hopes are the brightest and his affections warmed into extasy, wakens suddenly from his sweet protracted dream, and finds himself without honour, without love, without even a remembrance, and virtually in as great solitude as if he were already in his grave! Well might they shudder at the thought of this eternal chillness, this spiritual isolation, this bitter and unholy state! Truly it was fearful, and something too much for tears! Sweet Jesus, how different would have been their state if they had sought only to love and serve thee! for thy love alone can give rest and comfort to the heart, a sure and lasting joy:-

There is, where man finds not his happiness; It is not true fruition; not that blest Essence of every good, the branch and root.

Changed then be the way and object of our research, and let the converse to that which formerly took place hold respecting our employment here; and if we shall again meet with knights and the world's chivalry, let it be only in the way of accident, and as it were from the visit of those who pass near our spot of shelter, and let our place of rest from henceforth be in the forest and the cell. Times there are when even the least

<sup>\*</sup> Dante, Purg. xx. -

wise can seize a constant truth, that the heart must be devoted either all to the world, or all to God. When they too will pray, and make supplications urged with weeping, that the latter may be their condition in the mortal hour, that they may secure the rest of the saints for eternity.

Returning to that cloisteral meditation, how many, thought I, throughout the whole world have heard this day the grounds and the consummation of the saints' felicity! how many have been summoned onward! and told that the steps were near, and that now the ascent might be without difficulty gained? and yet,

A scanty few are they, who, when they hear Such tidings, hasten. O ye race of men! Though born to soar, why suffer ye a wind So slight to baffle ye?\*

But for those who seemed to feel how sweet was that solemn accent, eight times sung, which taught them who were blessed! would it not be well, when left alone, and without distraction, if they were to take up histories and survey the course which has been trod by saintly feet, and mark, as if from the soul-purifying mount, the ways and works of men on earth, keeping their eyes with fixed observance bent upon the symbol there conveyed, so as to mark how far the form and acts of that life, in ages past, of which there are still so many monuments around them, agreed, not with this or that modern standard of political and social happiness and grandeur, but with what by heaven's suffrance gives title to divine and everlasting beatitude? Such a view would present a varied and immense horizon, comprising the manners, institutions, and spirit of many generations of men long gone by: we should see in what manner the whole type and form of life were Christian, although its detail may have been often broken and disordered; for instance, how the pursuits of the learned, the consolations of the poor, the riches of the Church, the exercises and dispositions of the young, and the common hope and consolation of all men, harmonized with the character of those that sought to be poor in spirit; how again, the principle of obedience, the constitution of the Church, the division of ministration, and the rule of government, the manners and institutions of society, agreed with meekness and inherited its recompense; further, how the sufferings of just men, and the provisions for a penitential spirit were in accordance with the state of those that were to mourn and weep, then how the character of men in sacred order, the zeal of the laity, and the lives of all ranks, denoted the hunger and thirst after justice: again, how the institutions, the foundations, and the recognized principle of perfection proclaimed men merciful: moreover, how the philosophy which prevailed, and the spiritual monuments which were raised by piety and genius, evinced the clean of heart; still further, how the union of nations, and the bond of peace which existed even amidst savage discord, wars, and confusion; as also how the holy retreats for innocence which then every where abounded, marked the multitude of pacific men: and, finally, how the advantage taken of dire events, and the acts of saintly and heroic fame, revealed the spirit which shunned not suffering for sake of justice.

<sup>\*</sup> DANTE, Parad, xii. Carey's translat.

But very lately a distinguished professor in the Academy of Paris. admitted, in the course of his lessons upon history, that it would be in vain to deny the present tendency of the public mind to recur with pleasure to the traditions, manners, and monuments of the middle age. He proceeded to point out the advantage of nourishing that taste for the poetical history of his country, which would result from mere historical impartiality. "Is it not something," he asked, "to have a new source of emotions and pleasure opened to the imagination of men? long period, all this old history, where men used to see nothing but absurdity and barbarism, becomes rich for us in grand memorials, noble events; and sentiments which inspire the most lively interest. It is a domain restored to those who feel that need of emotion and sympathy which nothing can stifle in our nature. Imagination plays an immense part in the life of men and of nations. To occupy it, to satisfy it, there must be either an actual and energetic passion, like that which animated the eighteenth century, and the revolution, or else a rich and varied spectacle of remembrance; the present alone, the present, passionless, calm and regular, cannot suffice to the human soul. Hence the importance and the charm of the past, of those national traditions, and of all that part of the life of nations, when the imagination can wander through a space far wider than the limits of real life. The school of the eighteenth century was guilty, more than once, of this error, in not understanding the part which the imagination performs in the life of men and of society. It attacked and decried all that was ancient, and all that was eternal-history and religion-that is to say, it wished to rob men of the past and the future, to concentrate them in the present;" so that, conversely to what was prescribed by the Church, they should neither "meditate on the days of old, nor have in mind the eternal years."

The justice of this estimate of the present tendency of men's thoughts. would also be admitted by Lamartine; who, however, it must be remembered, is the poet of hope-for he has said that Dante is the poet of our epoque. But however this may be, it is impossible to deny that, even to men of secular learning, there is an immense source of interest and admiration, connected with their own studies, in the history of the middle ages; for all the discoveries to which the present race of men owe their superiority in those material acquirements, of which they are so proud, date from these ten centuries, which are accused of intellectual apathy, barbarism, and ignorance. Then it was, says a French writer, that a new spirit was breathed into the ancient world-all social relations were changed—vassalage, a kind of modified servitude, prepared the way for the abolition of slavery. The principle of association began to operate; corporations were formed. The stage of life presents great personages and sublime actions. Deeds of eternal fame were done; deeds which tell of Charlemagne, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis; Alfred and Canute; Richard the Lion-hearted, and the Black Prince; Gerbert and Hildebrand; Alcuin, Bede, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon. What names! what men! Who is not seized with astonishment at beholding the architectural monuments of these ages? such as the Gothic vaults of Cologne and Westminster, of Amiens and Jumiège, which had been preceded by others, the destruction of which had made men weep! Then too, hospitals arose for the first time, asylums for all kinds of human misery, and innumerable establishments for the poor. Would we enter into still lower details, it was in the eighth century that paper was invented: in the tenth that the monks invented clocks; in the eleventh that the Benedictines raised the first windmills; and that a citizen of Middlebourg invented the telescope. In the same age was disclosed the loadstone, or the polarity of the needle, though there is a still earlier mention of it in the Romance of the Rose: and, during this period, the greatest problems of mechanics were defined. Linnæus even shews the successful labours of the monks in the cultivation of useful plants and vegetables, many of which were now, for the first time, introduced into Europe. Engraving dates from the fourteenth century, when a multitude of arts were invented, which in these times seem indispensable to donattion of the other ages can be produced, which had results of greater importance, and contributed more to the happiness of mankind.

Frederick Schlegel divides the middle and later ages into the scholastic-romantic, which was a period essentially Christian, notwithstanding the horrors which occasionally appear in history; for from these Christianity never promised to free the world; then the heathen-antiquarian, the spirit of which extended to literature and to political theories; and then the barbaro-polemic, which included the seventeenth century.\* When we speak of the middle ages as barbarous, we should be understood, he says, as referring to this latter period, which was really barbarous, which was distinguished by the change of religion, and the religious wars.† To the first of these periods, the learned Danish Professor Grundtvig alludes, saying, in particular reference to England, "the fact that there once existed a civilized world, limited to the shores of the Mediterranean sea, is not more unquestionable than that a new one arose out of the chaos of those barbarous tribes, who destroyed the western empire." Indeed, the most superficial reader must have occasionally been struck at the startling manner in which the charges, so generally brought against these times of grossness and absurdity, are often disproved. Thus a French critic of our time, speaking of Petrarcha, says, "How can we convey an idea of that form of imagination, perhaps too delicate for us, though it dates from the middle age?" "In these ages, called dark," says St. Victor, "men possessed every one of these maxims, founded on good sense and morality, which belong to the most civilized society of these times." t But it is in their character of Christian and holy ages, that, in accordance with the proposed course, we are invited to consider them: and here a far richer prospect will be found to open before us. Thus the seventh century was, to the eye of Mabillon, a golden age, in which men of the greatest innocence and sanctity spread the rule of St. Benedict to the farthest regions of Europe; "for the truth of Christ did not preach that only wise and learned men were the salt of the earth and light of the world, but also included under that title holy men who opposed the salt of integrity

and the light of justice to corrupt manners and darkened minds." Neander points out a new path to lead us through the labyrinth of history,

<sup>\*</sup> Philosophie der Geschichte, ii. 190. † Tableau de Paris, tom. i. 353.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. 214. † Præfat. in ii. Sæculum Benedict.

where he says that "it is impossible to despise an age, over which a man like St. Bernard was able to exercise such an influence, by the sole empire of his character and of his sanctity."\* From a multitude of remarks of this kind, founded upon facts which cannot be questioned, we should be led to take a very uncommon, though judicious view, of this period. The ancient chronicle of Ely affirms of the time when the blessed Ædelwold rebuilt that monastery, "These were golden ages of the world, when pure faith, peace, and true love, flourished. Fraud, pride, and perjury, were unknown. Then liberty had for itself sure seats.

Tunc et libertas sedes habuit sibi certas.

Then Martha and Mary shone equally in the Church."† Sentences of this kind may indeed be commonly received with a certain degree of abatement, from ascribing something to the rhetorical tone which pervades them; but in the present instance the writer describes a period not greatly remote from his time, and of which the most exact tradition must have reached him. He does not make the remark angrily, for the sake of contrast, but in order to edify and stimulate his contemporaries, who, let it be observed, considered these evangelical qualities, which he ascribed to their fathers, as the highest virtue for which a nation or an age could be illustrious. Throughout all this long period, there would have been nothing startling or questionable in a proposition like that which was assumed by St. Ambrose in writing to the emperor Valentinian, when he said, "This is worthy of your times, that is, of Christian times." † Men would not have been instantly struck with an intimate sense that a falsehood was proposed to them. Still, indeed, was fulfilled the sentence of infallible wisdom, that the world cannot receive the spirit of truth: | but so was also fulfilled the divine prediction respecting the kings and princes of the earth. The Christians were sufficiently numerous and powerful to imprint a character upon society, to protect the institutions of meek and holy men, and to sanctify the whole form of the political state, by founding it upon the principles of revealed wisdom.

Such a view of history, I am aware, is widely different from that which is generally proposed by modern writers, who follow one another in representing these ages as a period of the greatest misery and degradation: but before their testimony is received, would it not be of some importance to ascertain whether their opinions respecting misery and degradation agree with those which must necessarily be entertained by Christians; because, if it should prove the case, that what they regard as misery is happiness in a Christian sense, and that their standard of happiness is that of evil in the same, it would only follow from their censure, that there is an additional evidence in favour of our proposition respecting the peculiarly Christian character of these ages! Now, in fact, this would be the result from such an enquiry. For if we consult these teachers of the modern wisdom, who are so full of vile disdain for Christian antiquity; and if we consider what are the ends proposed in their speculations respecting political and domestic economy, and

<sup>\*</sup> Der heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter. Berlin, 181.

<sup>†</sup> Hist. Eliensis apud Gale, Hist. Brit. tom. iii. ‡ Epist. xxx. 

John xiv.

national happiness, we shall find that they are all foreign from those which are comprised in the beatitudes; that in many instances they are exactly opposed to them; and that, in fine, that terrible væ is pronounced by truth itself upon those who attain to their standard of excellence. To be rich, to be filled, or in the phrase of the economists, to have capital, to secure a life of luxury, ease, and dissipation; to be praised and extolled by men; to be the first in rank; to raise oneself to an eminent situation; what, they ask, is more lawful than to desire this? Wellwoe to all who attain to this, says Christ.\* Now, it is from this celestial wisdom, opposed to that of these modern sophists, that the principles of action were formed, which were admitted and recognised during these ages, of which I shall soon attempt to unfold the moral history. I shall not fear to be contradicted in stating, that during that period, religion, with all the apparently new and remarkable peculiarities of the doctrine of Christ, was uppermost in the thoughts of men, and even adopted universally as the basis of civil government, and of their whole domestic customs and manners: the justice of which proposition is so certain, that Guizot could not avoid observing that "the religious society played a grand part in the history of modern civilization." So that, in fact, notwithstanding the number of evils and abuses which then prevailed, in consequence of human passions, these entire ages might be described in the words of the great Apostle, as exhibiting themselves to our view ;-" In much patience and tribulation, by glory and dishonour, by evil fame and good fame, as poor yet making many rich, as having nothing, and yet possessing all things:"-words, which might be received as almost a literal description of the precise interval which the moderns have affirmed to be the darkest in the annals of mankind. For. as the learned author of the "Perpétuité de la Foi" says of the tenth century, which even Baronius himself was tempted to concede to them, from limiting his view to one country,-"we must conclude that this tenth age, vulgarly so reviled, was one of the most fortunate times of the Church, since the vices which are ascribed to that age, are common to it with others; whereas the fact is otherwise respecting the good which recommends it." He proves this position by shewing, that there flourished then, in various parts of the Western Church, a multitude of bishops, eminently illustrious for piety and sound doctrine: many theologians, deeply versed in ecclesiastical matters; many holy men, who restored decayed discipline in monasteries; and many princes of eminent and saintly virtue. But above all, he observes, that it was in this century that the Danes, Bohemians, Poles, Hungarians, Normans, and other people, were converted to the Christian faith by the labours of holy missionaries: facts which sufficiently clear it from the charge of ignorance, superstition, and corruption; † and which could hardly be summed up in more precise language than that used by St. Paul, in alluding to the qualities which should belong to the apos-The truth is, from a fixed law and a principle inherent in nature, which the reason of Plato was able to expose clearly, it is with nations and with whole ages as with men individually-their energies must be devoted either to religion or to the world; they must

<sup>\*</sup> Luke vi.

<sup>†</sup> Perpetuité de la Foi, tom. i. part ili. c. 6, 7.

adopt the views and perform the service of either the one or the other; and on their choice depends the whole order of life, and all that gives a character and peculiar expression to their spirit, manners, customs, and institutions.

As the subject which is here to be proposed, is full of interest, so is it one that may be applied to the most important purposes of life. There was a book in the middle ages called "Universale bonum." This was nothing but a collection of edifying accounts of holy men, and, if we reflect upon the great end of all education, and the admirable force of examples in the instruction of ingenuous minds, it must be admitted, that the author evinced excellent judgment in choosing that title. It is to the effects of such a study, that a modern poet seems to allude, in saying:

> -a man so bred, (Take from him what you will upon the score Of ignorance or illusion,) lives and breathes For nobler purposes of mind: his heart Beats to the heroic song of ancient days. \*

As to instruction by examples generally, its importance has always been felt by wise men. Quinctilian thought it of essential use, that boys should even learn by heart the sayings of the illustrious men,† with whose lives they were to be familiar. St. Augustin says, that men can more easily follow things themselves, than the precepts and discipline of those who would teach them in a scientific manner; that if any one were to give lessons in walking, he would have to specify many things which men would not so easily learn from him, as they would practise them without his instruction; and that generally the spectacle of truth itself more delights and assists us, than the process by which rhetoricians would teach it. "Perchance, indeed," he adds, "such exercises may render the mind more expert, though they may also render it more malignant and inflated." t "The philosopher sitting down with thorny arguments, the bare rule is so hard of utterance, and so misty to be conceived, that one that hath no other guide but him shall wade in him, until he be old before he shall find sufficient cause to be honest; but as for the poet," continues Sir Philip Sidney, "he cometh with a tale, forsooth he cometh unto you with a tale which holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney corner." | Moreover, books, especially those connected with history, instruct the great when no one but flatterers can approach them. Books instruct and wound not. Therefore Don Alphonzo, king of Arragon, being once asked who were the best counsellors, replied,—"The dead, (meaning books,) because we learn easily from them what we wish to know." But above all, it is to Christians that a study of this kind is most important and delightful. "Quidnam dulcius," as William of Malmesbury says, "quam majorum recensere gratiam ut eorum acta cognoscas, à quibus acceperis et rudimenta fidei et incitamenta bene vivendi?" ¶ "Who would not wish to know," says a learned Dane, who has directed his studies to Anglo-Saxon literature; "Who would not wish to know how those patriarchs

<sup>\*</sup> The Excursion. † Instit. lib. i. ii. De Doctrin. Christ. lib. ii. chap. 37. Defence of Poesy.

De Gestis Pontif. Anglorum. Prolog. Æneas Sylvius de dictis Regis Alphonsi.

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of the new Christian world preached and reasoned, what lessons they taught, what examples they referred to, in what manner they attuned the minds of their heathen converts to the doctrines they communicated, whether these doctrines were instilled in humble prose, or, to gain their holy ends, they thought it needful to build the lofty rhyme, or called in the aid of music, married to immortal verse?" And to draw a reflection still more immediately suggested by what is passing around us, which will lead us to the same result, by shewing that which is opposed to the experience of such studies, what is it which renders the minds of many of the moderns, among whom assuredly is many a soul of mighty worth, so gloomy and apprehensive; why do they appear at times so lonely and disconsolate, amidst the wastes of their interminable speculations, afflicted like those spirits seen by Dante, who lived "desiring without hope," variable as if they felt utterly lost on the way, journeying on, and knowing not whither, as if they had no track of any that had gone before to guide their feet, no prospect of rejoining any, with whom the thought of meeting might cheer their present path; looking backwards to ages gone by with disdain, and forwards to the future with dismay, if it be not that the magnificent chain of Christian history and ecclesiastical tradition has been broken to them, and that notwithstanding the outward professions which may be made in reliance upon the resources of genius and learning, they inwardly feel the impossibility of forming, with the broken fragments thrown to them by mere poetic fancy or literary taste, that happy clue which might lead them through the labyrinth of life to a peaceful and joyous end.

In all ages of the world, religion has had regard to history. Dionysius says, that with the Romans there was no ancient historian or writer of legends, who did not compose his work from ancient narrations which were preserved on sacred tablets.\* And Plutarch, in his treatise on the means of perceiving the progress made in virtue, makes allusion to the effects of its moral application, saying that there is no more effectual mode of advancing in virtue, than for a person to have always before his eyes those who are, or have been good men, and to say to himself, "What would Plato have done in this case? What would Lycurgus or Agesilaus have said?" "But with Christians," as Voigt observes, "there is no knowledge so holily connected with religion as history."† They are of the number of those of whom it is written, that "their hearts live in all the generations of ages."‡ It is a divine precept which the Church sings at lauds of Saturday, "Memento

dierum antiquorum: cogita generationes singulas."-

The facts which shew the consequence of neglecting this counsel are most striking. Thus we behold men who seem to know the whole Bible by heart, without appearing to be conscious of the inconsistency of modern manners and modern ways of thinking with what is required of all that would follow Christ; for though they read what the duty is, it exists only in their mind as a grand abstraction, because they never see in what way men can actually reduce it to practice, under the real circumstances of life. Still less have they a desire to imitate that per-

Dion, Halicar. lib, i, cap. 73.
 † Voigt. Hildebrand und sein Zeitalter vorrede,
 † Psalm xxi. 27.

fection which they regard as a thing beyond their reach, and without the wish to do so, as St. Chrysostom says, in his treatise on compunction, it would not have been possible even for the saints to have led the life of angels as they did. "The wish of these men," as John á Kempis, the brother of Thomas, used to say, "is that they may be humble but without being looked down upon, patient but without suffering, obedient but without restraint, poor but without wanting any thing, penitent but without sorrow." \* They are, in fact, perfectly reconciled to themselves, by concluding that one command was only figurative, and another solely applicable to the times of the apostles, and that others could not be performed without incurring the charge of extravagance and fanaticism. Such persons are always found to turn in unutterable disgust from the lives of the saints, and the books which describe the holiness of antiquity; they affirm that they will never read these books, adding, with unguarded sincerity, that it gives them painful emotions to look into them; and, in fact, they go away from them sorrowful, like the young man who left Christ, and not only from the same unwillingness to comply, but also from being forced to see that there were others better than themselves; and this discovery is painful to that latent pride which desires to be singular even in goodness. Besides, they are taught to believe that faith was lost in the middle ages, and that they are the best judges of what should be the form and course of a Christian life. Whereas, other men, by merely turning to the old Christians, are filled with a desire to follow them.

And their most righteous customs make them scorn All creeds besides,

Then they hear themselves addressed as if by the poet of Christians:-

——Why dost thou not turn
Unto the beautiful garden, blossoming
Beneath the rays of Christ? Here is the rose
Wherein the Word divine was made incarnate,
And here the lilies, by whose odour known
The way of life was followed.

Father Mabillon says, in his Treatise on Monastic Studies, that one of the greatest geniuses of that age, who had been born in heresy, was converted to the Church by means of studying ecclesiastical history.

Needful to all, we may observe, that to those engaged in what Lord Bacon calls the narrow and confined walks of natural science, this study is especially important; for such persons, in tracing the history of natural philosophy, become accustomed to reflect upon the errors of men in successive ages, the absurd fancies which were discarded for opinions that following ages deemed equally fanciful, and thus they gradually and unknowingly become incapable of believing in the constant transmission of the same religious truths through a long lapse of ages, of which certain fact, an acquaintance with the learning and customs of Christian ages would have convinced them.

On the use of historical study to theologians, in order to supply them with arguments, and examples, and means of avoiding error as to popu-

<sup>\*</sup> Joan. Buschius de Vir. Illust. cap. 32.

lar or vulgar reports, Melchior Canus discourses at large.\* But that I may not seem presumptuously to offer information to those from whom it would become me rather to learn, I pass on to observe, in the last place, that the whole scope and matter of this book may be regarded as peculiarly interesting and useful to persons who inhabit countries separated from Catholic communion, and at a distance from the traditionary customs and manners of the Christian life. In such lands, the faithful may be said to live and converse principally with the spirits of former times, with their saintly and heroic ancestors, who lived in ages of faith. No men of cultivated minds and delicate susceptibility suffer such privations there as Catholics: for the sense of the beautiful and the just is nourished continually in their minds, and refined and sublimated, while the matter on which it might be externally exercised is withdrawn. Excluded from the august temples, which stand as monuments of ancient faith, they have none of those local resources which the wisdom of religious ages had provided for souls like theirs; they cannot continually behold gracious and ennobling objects to be the defence of holy thoughts against the impressions of vanity. To summon them to holy rites, no solemn tower sends forth its mighty peal; the outward form of things ceases to be divine, for they behold no places of public state and grandeur, sanctified by the emblems of their religion; confined, and fettered, and thwarted in desire, their's are but maimed rites. For them no night is now with hymn or carol blest. Even nature's beauties are cut off and appropriated, in a manner, from the holy purpose for which they know them to have been originally intended. Every pleasant site, every hill and gentle shore is claimed for uses of luxury or secular profit, (for the new sects seem conscious that there is no connection between them and the divine harmonies of the natural and material world;) they who are of the eternal fold can possess only some new and frail edifice, in the meanest and obscurest recess of a distant suburb, for the sanctuary of the Lord of Glory. For them, therefore, books, and especially the annals of Christian ages, are a principle of life almost essential. It is to them that a Bede and an Alcuin are dear and precious, and that there can be no higher enjoyment than to stray along the sea-beaten shores of Lindisfarne and amidst Iona's piles,

Where rest from mortal toil the Mighty of the Isles.

Men say that this is the most distressing of all cases, when any one knows admirable things, but is obliged by necessity to keep at a distance from them.

หลงล้ วงวงพ์ธหองา ลิงส์วุล รีหาอิร รัฐยง สอร์ล. †

And these lines of Pindar may well be applied to those few faithful Christians who are found in such lands, pursuing their way alone through regions which seem deserted of God, and light, and joy.

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram
Perque domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna.

Visions of grief and care meet them at every step.

—Tristisque Senectus

Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, et turpis Egestas

<sup>\*</sup> De Locis Theologicis, lib. xi.

Terribiles visu forme, Lethumque, Laborque; Tum consanguineus Lethi sopor, et mala mentis Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum; Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Discordia demens.

They must seem insensible to all the impious deeds around them, or they will hear terrible menaces, in words like those of Charon, "This is the place of shades, of sleep, and night." It is not lawful to carry the living in the Stygian vessel,—

Corpora viva nefas Stygiâ vectare carinâ.

Thus these nations used to cry, let there be no Catholics amongst us, it is not lawful that they should be seen here; which was as much as to say, it is not lawful to admit the living among the dead. Meanwhile, every thing serves to remind them of their saintly and mighty ancestors. Their magnificent domes and towers still remain, of which every arch has its scroll teaching Catholic wisdom, and every window represents some canonized saint.

The spot that angels deigned to grace Is blessed, though robbers haunt the place.

And though their graves are yearly violated, and the stone cases which contain their venerable ashes hewn and scattered on the public ways, still does their virtue live, by a kind of vague tradition, in the memory of the people:—

Even by the bad commended, while they leave its course untrod.

Towns still bear no other name but that of the saint or martyr who first gave them renown,—a St. Alban, a St. Neot, a St. Ives, or a St. Edmund. Our lonely mountain sides still have crosses, whose rude form attest their Saxon origin, and still are there pious hands among the simple people of those wild hills, to guard them from profanation. The sweet countenances of saintly kings and holy abbots, carved in stone, are still remaining over the solemn gates of venerable piles; and by the side of the pompous inscription, in more than pagan vanity, the antique slab is often discernible, which humbly invokes the prayer for a soul's rest. There too still flow the same dark waters, o'er whose wave so often swept at midnight the peal of the convent bell, or was heard faintly chaunting the man of blessed order, as he hastened on the errand of charity. Lo, yonder are the shattered arches of some abbey, on a river's bank, more lonesome than the roads that traverse desert wilds. It is Crowland, and at that calm and solemn hour

When near the dawn, the swallow her sad lay, Rememb'ring haply ancient grief, renews; When our minds, more wand'rers from the flesh, And less by thought restrain'd, are, as 'twere, full Of holy divination.†

You approach and kneel upon the spot, and the long deserted walls of the ruined sanctuary wonder at the pious stranger, who seems to bear alone, through a benighted world, the torch of faith. Where is now

that devout assembly for the early sacrifice; where that rich and varied order, the gorgeous vestments, and the bright gems, and all

The beauteous garniture of altars on a festal time ?\*

Our old historians dwell with delight upon the glory of this place. They describe at length the altars of gold, the richly painted windows. the solemn organs placed on high over the entrance, the candelabras of solid silver and the processional cross, the splendid presents of the Mercian kings, of the emperors of Germany, and princes of France, the beautiful buildings, the great hostel for the poor, and the hall for noble guests.† They leave us to picture to ourselves the benign countenance of meditative age, the cheerful grace of angelic youth, the innocent joys of study, the delights of unity and peace, the psalmody, the sweet entonation of sublime prayer, the silence, the charity, the faith so oft attested at St. Guthlac's shrine, the lives of the saints, and the death of the just! Alas! all are gone, and nothing remains but a desolation, the mere view of which chills the heart; some mouldering arches, which each succeeding winter threatens to lay prostrate; a line of wretched cabins, which shelter some wild people, that seem ignorant of God and Christ, untaught and sensual, like those who know not whether there was such a thing as the Holy Ghost, prepared to assure the stranger that these walls were once a gaol, or a place built by the Romans, while all around you lies a dark and dismal fen, where a gibbet is more likely to meet your eye than a cross, the image of death and not of redemption! The very earth seems to mourn,-" Terram tenebrosam, et opertam mortis caligine, terram miseriæ et tenebrarum, ubi umbra mortis, et nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitat." Alas! what remained for the sad pilgrim, but to smite his breast and continue the accustomed chaunt,-"Quid faciam miser? ubi fugiam? Anima mea turbata est valde; sed tua, Domine, succurre ei. Ubi est nunc præstolatio mea? et patientiam meam quis considerat? Tu es, Domine, Deus meus."

Yet he who hath made the nations of the earth curable tleaves no man without the sustenance which is required for the peculiar wants of his soul, and without the means of salutary exercise. In the worst of times there are redeeming features, and objects of imitation, such as what the Roman historian specifies "ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata: et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus." And though our pomp must needs admit the pale companion, though in desiring the return of the reign of truth, we have but "wishes and tears, poor fancy's followers;" yet still are left some of those that have St. Thomas for a guardian, to comfort and direct us on our way. We may not be able to enjoy the lot of Samuel, who departed not from the temple; but there are chapels on the distant hills from before whose bright altars, setting forth into the darkness of night, having the stars for companions, and no other solace but to chaunt again by the way some of the sweet melodies which seem still to linger around us, we may travel homewards, and hope that each step has been reckoned by an angel. We may not be able to frequent

\* Dante, Purg. ix.

Tacitus, Hist. lib. i. 3.

<sup>†</sup> Vide İngulphus Hist, p. 9. Hist, Croylandensis Rerum Anglic, Script, tom. i. \$ Sanabıles fecit nationes orbis terrarum. Sap. c. i. v. 14.

the assemblies of the holy people who worship in vast cathedrals, and repeat with innumerable voices the solemn hymn which marks the yearly return of some most holy time, but we can walk alone in the woods and sing the Stabat Mater, while the nightingale will lend her long and plaintive note to deepen and prolong the tones of that sweet and melancholy strain, and then our tears will fall upon the wild flowers, and we shall feel in communion with the holy dead; with those who so oft had sung it, sad and sighing, like the Beatrice of Dante, in such a mood "that Mary, as she stood beside the cross, was scarce more changed."\* Yes, beloved land, that would so smile on gentle, lowly spirits, land twice converted,† too fair to be for ever lost, thou art still dear to all thy sons, but doubly so to such of them as lament thy sad destiny; for thy sweet meadows would cover themselves with the enamel of flowers to grace the progress of Jesus Christ in the victim of the altar; thy solemn woods would give shelter to the lonely eremite, and thy bright streams would yield refreshment to the tabernacles of the just; -thy gardens would give roses to scatter before the adorable sacrament, and thy towns and hamlets would send forth their cheerful youth, children fair as the race of primal creatures, to commence their flowery sprinkling. Thou art still a noble instrument, though now mute or discordant. Ignorant and unskilful hands have played upon thee till they broke thee into a thousand parts; but, though thus broken and disarranged, let but the master arise who can revive the Catholic chord, and thou wilt again send forth the sweetest music.

It is the remark of Frederick Schlegel that a love for the romantic world of the middle ages, and of their chivalry, has continued to characterize the poetry of England, even while the negative philosophy of her sophists has maintained its ground. And though, at the same time. for reasons which do not require a sphinx to explain, the complaint of learned foreigners is most just, that the literature and antiquities of our ancestors have been no where throughout the civilized world more neglected than in England; yet it is equally true, and still more remarkable, that in this country several old Catholic customs of the middle ages have been transmitted down to us, as if protected in ice, to be the astonishment of other nations. It is true they have lost all the qualities of life; there is no spirit to vivify, no mind to direct them, but still the form, though dead and motionless, has something in it imposing and majestic; nay, even pleasing and amiable. Indeed, a book might be composed on the latent Catholicism of many natives of this country, where every thing solid and valuable is, after all, either a remnant or a revival of Catholic thinking or institution. Methinks it would not be too much to suggest, from general principles, that youth, at least even in such a country, can never be essentially opposed to Catholicism. Cold, dry negations, and that disdainful mood, however well it may

<sup>\*</sup> Purg. xxxiii.

<sup>†</sup> The priests of England bore upon their albs, on the left shoulder, "quasi socipes de panno serico super assutas," the upper closed, in sign of there being but one faith, but the lower divided, as a sign of their having been twice converted to the faith, first by the missionaries of Pope Eleutherius, and secondly by St. Augustine. Chronicon Monasterii S, Bertim. cap. 1. par. 1. Martene Thesaurus Anecdotorum, tom. iii. ‡ Philosophie der Geschichte, ii. 250.

suit the breasts that wear it, are not congenial with its warm and generously confiding nature. If it has heard the words of the blessed Gospel, which children can understand better than proud scholars swollen with vanity; if it has been familiarized with the paintings of Catholic artists, which a taste for the fine arts may have incautiously suffered to appear before it; if it has had on all sides the images and memorials of saints and martyrs; if it has been reared in a land abounding, in spite of fanatical and commercial Vandalism, with the ruins of sacred edifices and memorials of ancient faith; if it has visited the desolate cloister, and beheld the lofty cathedral, and heard the solemn bell; and if it has learned by accident to repeat some affecting incident connected with the sanctity and grandeur of times gone by, some beautiful passage in the wondrous lives of the meek men of God, and to feed its imagination with the mysterious lessons of sweet Christian poesy, in vain will pedagogues and wordly teachers have required it to adopt the protestations of men who doubt and deny and refuse to hear the Church. It is Catholic in heart, in genius, in modes of thinking, and even in many of its habits of life, and it must continue to be so until age and the world shall have tarnished its golden nature. These considerations again will justify my former position, that the study to which I purpose directing attention in these sheets will have a peculiarly domestic interest. indeed, their conscience dimned by their own or other's shame, may feel that parts are sharp, but notwithstanding, as Cacciaguida says to Dante, the whole vision shall be made manifest,

And let them wince, who have their withers wrung. What though, when tasted first, the voice shall prove Unwelcome; on digestion, it will turn To vital nourishment.\*

Pindar sings truly, making allowance for the unblessed style, that "the ancient virtues recover fresh strength which had been changed with the ages of men. For neither does the black earth produce her fruit in ceaseless succession, nor do the trees send forth their odoriferous blossoms in every period of the year, but only at certain intervals, and in the same manner also is the strength or virtue of mortals subjected to the government of fate."† Meanwhile, the display of the ancient virtues which belonged to ages of faith, and the diligent search into the customs and manners of Christian antiquity must be peculiarly valuable to those upon whom the iniquity of the proud is multiplied. For it is by remembering the blessed spirits

That were below, ere they arriv'd in heav'n, So mighty in renown, as every muse Might grace her triumph with them. ‡

That they learn to feel the wretchedness of those that are on earth,

All after ill example gone astray;

I myself have found, while living in a Catholic country, that these instances taken from the middle ages, of the customs and manners of a Christian life, of charity and zeal, of holy penitence and angelic innocence, of wealth and time, beauty and service devoted to God and to

<sup>·</sup> Paradise, xvii.

the poor, lost half their interest, because they differ in nothing from what passed actually around men, and from what was as familiar as the ordinary occurrences of domestic life; but in faithless lands, unless within the walls of a college, or in some singularly favoured family, they seem to be wholly historical, if not a part of poetry, to belong to another world, or to a time gone by for ever. It is by the study which recalls the images of former sanctity, and the former prevalence of truth, that men are enabled to draw lessons from the very stones of their ruined abbeys, which will seem to dictate that solemn prayer, "Salvum me fac, Domine, quoniam defecit sanctus, quoniam diminutæ sunt veritates à filiis hominum." \* Nor is it an advantage unworthy of regard which will result from studying the history of ages of faith, that it may be made even a source of consolation and support in our last hours: for how sweet, then, will be the thought that, perhaps, through grace of highest God we may be admitted to behold the crowd of great and holy men, with whom such studies will have made us long familiar! to enter that country whither have already journeyed all who have ever been the objects of our love and reverence! There will be the princes under whose happy reign the Church had peace and freedom, there the meek confessors, and there the lowly ones who ran to follow Christ. Truly in vain will have been these studies if we cannot derive this consolation from them; for

Mabillon, in his preface to the fifth age of the Benedictines, speaks of those who had assisted him in the labour of this vast enterprise, and mentions in particular, one young man, John Jessenetus, (who had begun to furnish some illustrations,) a youth of the greatest hopes, who was cut off by a sudden death, while on a journey, returning with him from Lotharingia. Mabillon adds these affecting words, "I wish that his meditating on the glory of the saints may have been profitable to him for a better life! I wish it may not turn to my confusion, that after being occupied during so many years on the acts of the saints, I should

be so far removed from their examples."

But I return to speak in general as to the course and object to be pursued in the following research. It has often been a subject of astonishment and complaint, that a direction almost exclusively classical, should be given to the studies of youth in modern times, and though it might not be difficult to detect the real cause which has operated to produce this partiality, which certainly must be sought elsewhere than in the supposed barrenness and barbarism of the ancient Christian literature, it may be sufficient here to bear testimony to the justice of such complaints. For, in fact, what can be more unreasonable than to maintain that an acquaintance with the histories and manners of the ancient Greeks and Romans is more essential to complete the instruction of Christians than the like knowledge of the habits and institutions of their own national ancestors and fathers in the faith; that an English student should be familiar with Livy without having ever even heard of Ingul-

<sup>\*</sup> Psal, ii. Vol. I.—3

phus, or a William of Malmesbury; that he should know by heart the sentences of Demosthenes, without being aware that St. Chrysostom was, perhaps, his equal in cloquence and grandeur; and that he should be afraid of corrupting his latinity by looking into St. Jerome, of whom Erasmus said, that if he had a prize to award between him and Cicero, he should be tempted to give it to the Christian father rather than to the great orator of Rome. Ah! could these mighty spirits of the ancient world give utterance to the conviction which now possesses them in answer to the multitude of voices which continually are raised from earth to speak their praise, they would counsel their fond admirers to place their affection upon Diviner models; they would speak in words like those of the shade of Virgil, when he first meets Dante. "We lived in times of false and lying gods; we sung of earthly conquests; but why dost thou return into this fatal region? why not seale this delicious mountain, which is the beginning and the cause of all joy?"

At Rome my life was past,

Beneath the mild Augustus; in the time
Of fabled Deities and false. A bard
Was I, and made Anchises' upright son,
The subject of my song, who came from Troy,
When the flame preyed on Iliam's haughty towers.
But thou, say wherefore to such perils past
Return'st thou? Wherefore not this pleasant mount
Ascendest, cause and source of all delight? \*

I am aware, indeed, that books have of late been written, (and how many it skills not to say,) with the professed object of instructing men in the spirit and manners of the middle ages; but without wishing to delay in sounding forth my own praises, and in condemning the works of others who have already written on this subject, after the manner we used to hear censured of Anaxilaus and Theopompus, who are known to have thus launched forth in their prefaces to their histories.— I may be allowed to urge that complaint against some of our contemporary historians, which Dionysius expressed in reference to men, "who had dared," as he says, "to compose histories with the sole object of making them agreeable to barbarous kings who hated Rome, to flatter whom they wrote certain gracious books, which were neither just nor true."† For these great men of the earth, though barbarous, who so cordially hate Rome, there continues to be no want of corresponding writers, whom no reverence of the keys restrains. The ancients have left us an excellent example, in evincing a most lively interest in all that related to the antiquities of their country, and the customs of their ancestors. Cicero says that he had written an elaborate work, "De moribus, institutisque majorum et disciplina ac temperatione civitatis." ± Dionysius says, in the first book of his history, "I shall begin from the most ancient stories, ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιστάτων μύθων, which former writers have omitted, and which cannot be found without great pains and difficulty;" though he speaks elsewhere of one writer who had made a collection of these ancient stories. | Plautus improves upon the counsel of Pindar, and says that they are wise, "qui libenter veteres spectant fab-

<sup>\*</sup> Hell, Canto i. † Tuscul. lib. iv. 1.

<sup>· †</sup> Dionysii Halicarnass. Antiquit. Rom. lib. i. 4.° || Lib. i. 68.

ulas." \* Now it is not certainly too much to affirm, that the customs and manners of the middle ages are deserving of quite as much attention from us, as that Homeric way of life, and those Pythagorean manners spoken of by Socrates, † that their literature might supply most interesting variety to those who may very well think that they have heard enough of the hard Eurystheus and the altars of the illaudable Busiris, and the other verses which continue to arrest so many vacant minds; and that these our domestic antiquities would farnish ample matter to exercise, with the greatest advantage, all our diligence and research, though we had the industry of a Chrysippus, who was so curious, as Cicero says, in collecting various examples from all history. † St. Ambrose mentions that he had himself written a book, "De Patrum Moribus;" | but it would be difficult to find a work which entered into the full detail of the manners and institutions of the ancient Christian society amongst our ancestors. In the composition of these books, I shall avail myself of the interesting writings which remain to us from the middle age; of which we may say, with far greater justice than Quinctilian affirmed of the old Latin authors, "Sanctitas certe, et ut sic dicam, virilitas ab his petenda, quando nos in omnia deliciarum genera vitiaque, dicendi quoque ratione, defluximus." \ The ancients, from a general principle, professed a great respect and admiration for their old authors. Cicero and Virgil both extracted gold from Ennius: Horace thought that the reading of the books of the ancients was the best consolation for the misery of the present.

> O rus! quando te aspiciam, quandoque licebit, Nunc veterum libris Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ! \*\*

The Romans speak with enthusiasm of their Attius, their Pacuvius, and their Nuvius, for whom they have almost a religious respect. Thus Quinctilian, in reference to them, says, "Let us revere these old trees of our sacred groves, whose trunks, half decayed, have something in them most venerable, which even time seems to respect while it destroys them."

Without alluding to the works of a St. Thomas or an Anselm, and others, whose names should stand, not so much for the names of men as of wisdom and even eloquence, there are a multitude of works which date from that forgotten period of the middle ages, of whom fame has no note; in which, like an ancient temple, there is not so much grace and elegance as religion, but yet, which contain many bright sentences, and many things to be read for the sake of manners; whose authors do not collect the rain-water, but burst forth into a living spring.

From these works, then, "quasi quodam sancto augustoque fonte nostra omnis manabit oratio." †† They will be quoted, but without reference to the disputes and controversies which modern writers may have raised upon them. Mabillon, in applying himself to illustrate the acts of the Benedictine order, found the necessity, from the first, of approaching things so ancient with the mind of an ancient, free from the disputes of more recent times, and anxious only to serve the common cause of

Christian religion.\* To some it will appear a recommendation, that truth is not produced here as in a work of reasoning, where, as Bonald says, it is like a king at the head of his army on a day of battle,-but rather, as in one of sentiment, where he compares it to a queen on the day of her coronation, amidst the pomp of festivity, the splendour of a court, the acclamations of a whole people, the decorations and perfumes, and surrounded by all that is magnificent and gracious. And as Alexander Borgia was wont to say of the expedition of the French for Naples, that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, and not with weapons to fight; so, with Lord Bacon, many will say, that they like better that entry of truth which cometh peaceably, with chalk to mark up those minds which are capable to lodge and harbour it, than that which cometh with pugnacity and contention.† I shall wander on, therefore, without fearing to be led far from the matter, even though I should resemble Isocrates in writing the praise of Helen; for I shall presume that my reader will be like the youth who disputes with Cicero, in the first book of the Tusculans, when he replies, that he remembers the proposed object of their conversation, from which they had been led away, and adds, "Sed te de æternitate dicentem aberrare à proposito facile patiebar." But writers in our time affect to be more judicious in their style of discourse than even the Minerva of Homer. theless, Euripides, as a philosopher or as a poet, does not stand higher in the estimation of sensible men, because he offers to prove, in the famous contest between him and Æschylus, in the shades, that he has never said the same thing twice. It is Plato who is so fond of the maxim, nanco de 76 70 je ig dor nai dis nai reis.\*\* And we shall be on the soil of Catholicism; -that is, on the ground of infinity in great thoughts and gracious harmonies,-ground that is

Enlivened by that warmth, whose kindly force Gives birth to flowers and fruits of holiness;

fruits, let it be remembered,

That ne'er were plucked on other soil,

In whatever direction, on that blessed shore, we turn our steps, we shall find inexhaustible riches of every virtue, of wisdom and learning, of beauty and grandeur; to cheer the sage, who may then detect the truth of things in an abyss of radiance, clear and lofty; to ravish that imagination of the young, which is kindled by the splendour of eternal light; and to satisfy in all

The increate perpetual thirst, that draws Toward the realm of God's own form.

Such a course, viewed in relation to the number of material images which truth and love assumed on earth, does not afford a prospect of a speedy termination; it rather would prepare us for a work deserving the title of that which Christine de Pisan wrote, and styled "Le chemin de longue estude." But if a description of the armour of one hero could justly occupy so many verses as those of Homer and Virgil, in explain-

<sup>\*</sup> Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. § 4. ‡ I. 33. || Odyss. i. 260.

<sup>\*\*</sup> De Legibus, xii.

<sup>†</sup> Of the Advancement of Learning. § Aristoph, Ranæ, 1178, †† Dante, Paradise, ii.

ing that of Achilles and of Æneas, what indulgence may not be granted to him who should endeavour to place before men's eyes the grandeur and holiness of the lives and deaths of men, under the ancient Catholic state? περί γάρ πίνος αν μάλλον πολλάκις τὶς νοῦν έχων χαίροι λέγων καὶ ἀκούων; \* it is such things which, as Socrates says, one should learn to sing to one's self: καὶ χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα το πφ ἐπάθων ἐποτῷ-ṭ They should be embodied before the mind as if on a painted tablet; that, as the poet says, "even though we lived and speculated alone, Remembrance, like a sovereign prince, might still maintain for us a stately gallery of gay or tragic pic-Yet I shall not swell the book with those sentences which serve, like straw and wool, to pack precious objects for a rude journey. The passage here will be into quick and generous souls, to whom precious fragments may be offered as I find them, without the delay of enveloping them in this stuffing of one's own creation. Cardan shews the advantage of such a plan, saying, "Brevity of language is of excellent service to persons of competent ability and knowledge, though to stupid and ignorant persons it may be useless. To those who have the power of understanding many things comprised in few words, this style impresses the mind with more force, brings light, and prevents things from vanishing through oblivion; does not produce weariness; and while it increases the authority of the speaker, augments also in the hearer the desire of being gratified." This mode of representing the lion only by shewing his claws, was greatly esteemed by the ancients, who studied the utmost brevity and compression in their writings, so as to speak much in a narrow space; whereas the moderns, who can trace no connection unless it can be touched with their fingers, are unable to understand any thing unless it be drawn out at length into a continued flowing discourse. We hardly can get beyond the bark of the old authors, who wrote with the greatest art and study; so that many things still lie deeply buried in their writings, which would amply repay men for the trouble of searching, and which would render any man now ad-This is still the remark of Cardan, who gives the instance of Plato, who, hating Aristippus and Cleombrotus, wrote that they were in Ægina when Socrates was in prison. For it was a fact that Ægina was only XXV. M. P. distant from Athens. From many writers of the middle age also, men might learn "scholastico more presse loqui," although it is from their works that precedents may be produced to justify the frequent occurrence of poetry, with which these pages will be interspersed. Thus the Temple of Honour, by John le Maire, addressed to the Duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, daughter of Louis XI. is composed both of prose and verse, after the style of the work by Boethius on the Consolations of Philosophy; \*\* as is also Pierre Michault's book, "Le Doctrinal de Cour," and "Le Verger d'Honneur," by André de la Vigne, and the Manuel Royal of John Breche, and the Life of Louis de la Tremouille, by John Bouchet; for the separation of the prose and poetry in this latter work was not made until the year 1536, when the poems were separately published.

<sup>\*</sup> Plato, De Repub. ii. † Phædo, 114, ‡ Hieronym. Cardan, de Prudentia civili, lib. cap. 1. † Phædo. § Ib. cap. 54. \*\* Gouget, Bibliotheque François, tom. x. p. 70.

It may be remarked in general, that the writers of that period loved to embrace the whole of wisdom in their works. Thus, in the famous Tresor of Brunetto the Florentine, which is said to be "un enchaussement des choses divines et humaines," there is an union of theology and the beauties of heathen literature. Perhaps too in this history there will be found matter to illustrate the position of Aristotle, or yard corras anλήλων ai deerai, and that of Plato, when he says, that our soul seems to him to resemble a book.† Its form shall not resemble that which the writers of wars give to their histories, nor such as that adopted by men who relate the separate condition of particular states, nor that of those meagre annals which are so tedious and uninviting; but it shall be a mixed style, like that proposed by Dionysius, "composed of every idea. both positive and theoretical, that it may be agreeable both to those who study the policy of nations and to those who devote themselves to philosophic speculation, and also to such as seek a kind of quiet delight in the reading of history." So that the subject here proposed would require a writer like the old Monk of Cluny, Udalricus, who collected with diligence the ancient customs of that place; of whom it is said, "He was a learned Father, producing from his treasury things new and old, with which he instructed many to knowledge." It may with truth be said here, referring to what I have found in ancient books,

> "Εχω καλά τε φεάσαι, τόλμα τέ μοι Εὐθεία γλώσσαν ὀενύει λέγειν. ||

Or, as Pindar sings of himself elsewhere, "There are to me, within the quiver, many quick arrows, sounding to the wise, though with the vulgar they may want an interpreter."

Φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν ες Δε τὸ πᾶν, ες μηνέων Χατίζει.

The whole may be styled a rhapsody, for it is made up of fragments, and from the works of men who, like Homer, flourished in an heroic age—

And the rule for such compositions would not be unworthy of a Christian author, for the Scoliast on Pindar informs us that the rhapsodists always began with the name of Jove.†† Farther than fragments collected in a spirit of reverence nothing can be expected here.

Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant, Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta.‡‡

Certainly if one were ambitious of taking lofty ground in self-defence for such a mode of composition, there might be produced abundant precedents. Plautus and Terence took whole scenes from ancient poets,

<sup>\*</sup> Ethic. vi. 13.

† Philebus.
† Antiquit. Rom. lib. i.
† Rhapsody, from \$\text{garray}\$ at \$\text{iii.}\$ because the Rhapsodists sung fragments from Homer.

Pindar calls them the children of Homer.

† Lucret. lib. iii.

and Cardinal Bona appeals to the example of Virgil, Cicero, Aristotle, and also of Plato, who transferred a great part of the work of Philolaus into his Timœus. Nay, Homer himself supplies an instance, as Eustathius shews. Apollodorus used to say, that if any one took from the books of Chrysippus what he had borrowed from others, there would be left only empty sheets. St. Jerome remarks, that the writings of St. Ambrose are filled with the sentences of Origen. The second part of the Somme of St. Thomas is taken almost entirely from the Speculum of Vincentius Belacensis. And such a mode is absolutely inseparable from the course of one who attempts to exhibit ancient manners and ways of thinking:—

Veterum volvens monumenta virorum.\*

Which is the object here proposed :- for,

Tibi res antiquæ laudis et artis Ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontes. †

It may be objected to the design of this work, that it engages one in the support of an arbitrary system, which would lead us from viewing the truth of history. Before replying to this charge, I would observe, that the expression, a system or systematic, may be taken and employed in a double signification; in a good and praiseworthy sense, as well as in one that deserves blame and rejection. In this latter sense, it appears in those phrases which affirm that something is a mere system, or conformable to this or that system, in which judgment, as Frederick Schlegel remarks, "men do not intend to affirm that it stands upon no ground whatever, a mere creation of caprice, but rather, perhaps, that though it may contain many truths and much good, yet it does not extend to the whole of truth; or, in a word, that the systematic connection is only external and visible and a mere delusive contrivance; whereas, in a good and right sense, we may say that a work is a system, or that it is systematic, in allusion to its internal connection, and to the uniform and living unity which pervades it throughout." Now, in this latter sense, every work which is written in the spirit of Catholicism must be a system; that is, it must embrace the whole of truth. However broken and imperfect its arrangement, though it be but a rhapsody, it must still be systematic, in this noble and just sense of the term; and, in fact, it is nothing but this Catholic view of things, conceived in its highest degree of clearness, which Dante describes in that unrivalled passage, which is near the close of the Paradise, where he says that he looked, and in the depth of the everlasting splendour

Saw in one volume clasp'd of love, whate'er The universe unfolds; all properties Of substance and of accident beheld Compounded, yet one individual light The whole.

Many saintly men, like St. Benedict, have reached the same pitch, in more than poetic semblance, and have described it; while its practical effects have been the support and consolation of all the just. These have been expressed in the sacred songs: "Ambulabam in latitudine,

<sup>\*</sup> Æneid, iii. 102. Canto xxxiii.

quia mandata tua exquisivi," said David; and again, "Eduxit me in lati-

tudinem;" and again, "Statuisti in loco spatioso pedes meos."\*

It is true that I shall not stop to take up the odious and degrading objects which may occasionally be met with on the way. We read, in Homer, that when Jove suspended the fatal balance, and the scale of Hector descended, that immediately Apollo left him—

\_\_\_\_\_λίπεν δέ è Φοίβος 'Απόλλων.†

The Muse should forsake all cursed and condemned things abandoned by God; not search for them and make them the subject of interminable complaints. "How have my verses injured the state?" asks Euripides. "Have I composed the history of Phædra otherwise than according to the facts?" "Nay, according to the facts," replies his accuser Æschylus. "But you should not have produced what is evil, and bring it upon the scene to pervert the minds of youth." Some are yet to be convinced of the wisdom of our modern writers, who would agree with Euripides in maintaining that it was more useful to expose on the stage, all the turpitudes of his familiar fables, than to resemble Æschylus in the lofty and superhuman grandeur of his theme. Let no one, however, express his alarm here on account of truth. We do not think it a pardonable offence to invent and publish falsehoods, however admirable in appearance, respecting holy men, like Pindar, who says that it may be allowable for mortals to frame beautiful tales in honour of the immortals. Strictly speaking, however, the best history of these middle ages would be collected from a series of biographical memorials respecting the great and holy personages who flourished from the time of Charlemagne and Alfred till their close. Frederick Schlegel says, "I would rather seek to find the true quality of a Christian state during this period, in a series of portraits, representing men who were great in a Christian sense, and who governed according to Christian principles, than in any scientific definition." But all things now are full of pedantry. History is only regarded as a mine from which men of every political school can extract the matter which can be made serviceable to the illustration of their respective theories; and even when they loudly protest against such an application of historical study, they are still like inquisitive mechanics, who, when present at the representation of a solemn tragedy, occupy themselves solely in endeavouring to discover by what wires and pullies the scenes are shifted and the artifices of the stage conducted, without ever having one thought excited by the harmony of the heroic pageant. How much wiser and more acute are those who are sitting in ignorance of what passes behind the scenes, and only anxious to cooperate with the moral intentions of the poet, which were to instruct, to delight, and to move! Whether it be from a mere vanity, which makes men anxious to evince the powers of an analytical mind, even though it is to be misapplied, or whether it be from the deeper motive mentioned by St. Jerome, saying, "Lacerant sanctum propositum, et remedium pænæ suæ arbitrantur, si nemo sit sanctus,"\*\* or whether it arise from that mistaken principle which perverts the whole of modern philosophy, and which displays men as the poet says, who

<sup>\*</sup> Ps. cxviii. 17. 30. † xxii, 212. ‡ Aristoph. Ranæ, 1055. ¶ Olymp. i. § Philosophie der Geschichte, ii. 20. \*\* Epist. xxviii.

Viewing all objects unremittingly, In disconnection dead and spiritless; And still dividing, and dividing still, Break down all grandeur,\*

the great object of modern research seems to consist in contriving arguments which will oblige men to renounce their admiration for ancient deeds of virtue, and to come to the conclusion, that there is no one who can shew them any good. Well might the poet feel it sad

to hear
The repetitions wearisome of sense,
Where soul is dead and feeling hath no place;
Where knowledge, ill begun, in cold remark
On outward things, with formal inference ends.

A distinguished professor in the Academy of Paris complains of the Germans, and says that "whenever a social state appears noble and good, seen on one grand side, they regard it with an exclusive admiration and sympathy. They are inclined generally to admire, to be impassioned; imperfections, deficiencies, and the bad side of things strike them but little. Singular contrast! In the sphere purely intellectual, in the research and combination of ideas, no people have more extent of mind and more philosophic impartiality; and when facts are concerned which address themselves to the imagination, which excite moral emotions, they fall easily into narrow prejudice and confined views; their imagination wants fidelity and faith; they lose all poetical impartiality; they do not see things under all their faces and such as they really are." This long dogmatical censure, as far as it is intelligible, proves only the good sense and judgment which guides the imagination that it condemns. Sin and evil are only negations in the universal view of this creation, and to the person whose mind is united with the source and essence of all created things, they are as if not existing. They interrupt not for a moment his view of the immensity of that great glory for which his heart devoutly returns continual thanks.

It may be further objected to the present design, that it does not suppose sufficient attention to distinguish the peculiar character of each age in the annals of the Christian society, and that consequently it would tend to give, at the best, but a very confused idea of the history of the period. But nothing can be farther from it than to profess to give a history of these ages in any ordinary sense of the term. The object in view is to shew in how many details the life and institutions of men were then inspired with the Christian spirit, and if the succession of ages are not always distinguished, it is because such a distinction would be wholly unnecessary to the proposed argument. And after all, as far as relates to the greatest part of the subjects that will here be introduced, all ages of the Church are one and the same, in like manner as when

the soul is united to God.

Looking at the point whereto all times are present;

there is for her neither past nor future; she is in possession of eternity, and in the bosom of this immutable eternity, which is God; she possesses all things.

<sup>\*</sup> Wordsworth, the Excursion. Vol. I.—4

<sup>†</sup> Guizot, Cours d'Hist. Mod. iv. 3.

I deny not, that in some respects, there may be ground for many timid friends of truth to think that there is danger and novelty in the course which is here laid down for us. What more dangerous, they will say, than to attempt to eulogize those ancient times, which so many deem to have been buried in darkness and barbarism? And

Why dost thou with single voice renew memorial of their praise?

I admit, that in some parts we may seem to arrive at troubled and turbid waters. Convinced, however, notwithstanding the arguments of the sophists, that there is always excellent store beyond them; I only ask, in the Platonic style, "Whether I, being youngest, and having experience of many streams, may not be permitted to try first to pass alone, leaving those who would counsel me to watch in safety, and determine if it be fordable to them also who are older; that if it should prove so, they also may cross over, but if it be not passable, it will be of no importance that I should incur danger."\* We shall enter on a forest where no track of steps hath worn a way, but it may resemble that forest of Colonea, the forest of the sombre destinies, yet flourishing with all the sweet verdure of a Grecian spring, within which the laurel, and the olive, and the vine, are found, and where the nightingale pours forth her ceaseless song.† I shall not find the track of many lately preceding us. For there is no chance here of discovering mines of gold and silver, or any thing that can be turned into money; nor can I hope that many will hereafter follow. I am but a lonely gleaner "through fields time-wasted;" but the weakest may do something, and as a father says, "sometimes what has been left by the perfect is found by a little boy." It will be something in our age to bring any one to reverence the style of the ignoble Capaneus, "We are much better than our fathers:"

Τῷ μή μει πατέρας ποθ' όμοτη ένθεο τιμί.‡

and to say not merely from devotion, but upon a ground of historical veracity, "Sufficit mihi Domine; neque enim melior sum quam patres mei." It will be something to make the proud world see that all were not of its train; that there were those "who faith preferred, and piety to God." But whatever be the supposed danger, or the apparent novelty, let it be well understood that the whole is written in a spirit of the most humble submission to the judgment of our holy mother the Catholic Church, and that if any thing should be in the least at variance with that judgment, I renounce, and in proportion to the degree of variance, abhor it with the utmost clearness of tongue and sincerity of heart.

In a little work that once met the eye of a few persons, whom chance or private friendship directed to it, which attempted to unfold the ways of the ancient chivalry, may perhaps be traced the commencement of this course, of which I now enter upon the last stages. Here we need a sull more simple construction, and one ought to perceive already that we move in a freer sphere, as in imagination we draw nearer to the limit where all wishes end. It should be no longer that same mixture of grace and terror, as when we consorted with the offspring of earth and darkness. The burlesque and the ignoble ought to disappear. We

<sup>\*</sup> Plato, de Legibus, lib. x.

are entering as if within that circle of hope described by Dante, which inspires temperance in sadness, and a melancholy, always gentle, which has left all the misanthropy of this lower world and of hell. The haughty knight, severe and inflexible in his judgments, must disappear now or leave but few traces, and we shall seem, though some will ascribe it only to a greater degree of weakness, to have lost the memory of the agitations of the world: and though the subject of this book will be so high above me, there need be no charge of great presumption, for it will not be as a priest or man of blessed order that I shall propose my thoughts, but like to those who, speaking before their betters with reverent awe,

Draw not the voice alive unto their lips.

I shall but suggest things in imperfect sounds; coming forth as the meanest brother, that has only charge of the outward gate of the blissful enclosure, or perhaps as the last comer among the rude strangers of the common hall; and if still sometimes there should be aught of rash and intemperate observable, it will be enough to remember, that such men have long haunted the proud courts of mundanc chivalry, and that time is needful no less for diseases of the mind than for those of the body. The sea itself, for a long while after the tempest, is still agitated; still its waves retire back to return again and dash themselves against the shore, and it is not till after a great interval that they become appeased, and recover their original tranquillity. Ah! truly, to lead men to consort with the spirits of the great and good of times gone by, demands a tongue not used to childlike babbling:—

Myself I deem not worthy, and none clse
Will deem me. I, if on this voyage then
I venture, fear it will in folly end; \*

for I shall sometimes catch, even amidst the music of angelic bells, the wild measure of those tales that once charmed me:

Rude though they be, still with the chime Return the thoughts of early time.

Then will begin to rise the ancient pride, and like the last minstrel in Newark's tower, he who once loved all the pomp of chivalry, will begin, perhaps, (such grounds are there for suspecting the truth of Plato's notion, that names are of some importance in determining the human course,)

to talk anon
Of good Earl Francis dead and gone,
And of Earl Walter, rest him God!
A braver ne'er to battle rode.

Thus "speaking of matters, once perhaps befitting well to speak, now better left untold;" and then going on to say—

He would full fain, He could recall an ancient strain He never thought to sing again. For he too his legendary song could tell

Of ancient deed, so long forgot; Of feuds whose memory was not; Of forests, now laid waste and bare; Of towers which harbour now the hare; Of manners, long since changed and gone; Of chiefs, who under their gray stone So long had slept, that fickle fame Hath blotted from her rolls their name,

Alas! it must indeed be admitted, in concluding this preliminary discourse, that, in alluding almost inadvertently to this seductive power of deceitful images, and to this variety of contending themes, within the bounds of the imagination, we have laid bare a source of real danger, enough to make us proceed tremblingly on our way in thoughtfulness and dread; for it is the counsel of the wise, as given in the words of Albert the Great, that we should abstain from the phantasms and images of corporeal things, because above all things that mind pleases God which is naked and stript from these "forms and features; since it is certain, that if the memory, imagination, and thought be at leisure often to dwell on such things, it will follow that the mind must be entangled with new or with the reliques of ancient things, or be variously qualified, according to other objects; and the spirit of grace and truth departs from thoughts which are without understanding. Therefore a true lover of Jesus Christ ought to be so united in understanding, by a good will to the Divine will and to goodness, and so removed from all phantasms and passions, that he should not observe whether he be despised or honoured, or in what way soever entreated, but should be in a manner transformed into the Divine likeness, so as not to see any other creatures or himself, unless only in God, and so as to love only God, and to remember nothing of others or of himself, unless in God." \*

These are the thoughts which purge the world's gross darkness off, and which heal the wounds of those that weep to see "the heathen come." I would exclaim in those words of Dante to the spirit of Oderigi, who had shewn the vanity of earthly ambition. True, great Albert,

True are thy sayings; to my heart they breathe The kindly spirit of meekness, and allay What tumours rankle there.†

<sup>\*</sup> Albertus, M. de adhærendo Deo, cap. vi.

## CHAPTER II.

AND now delaying no longer through distrust, for they will assist me whose manners I record, let us advance as if we heard entoned the sentence from the mount, as if voices in strain ineffable did sing, "Blessed are the poor in spirit." Blessed the poor! Ah, how far unlike to this the learning of those that are without. There it was said with the great Stagyrite, "We fear all evil things; such as loss of fame, poverty, sickness, friendlessness, and death."\* And here we are taught that each one of these can be the object of a Christian's love who meekly follows Christ. Aristotle insists that it is disgraceful, and indicative of the highest insolence not to fear the want of glory. So far behind does his famed learning halt. The Athenian, with Plato, would make a law in every state to this effect, "Let there be no poor person in the city, let such a person be banished from the cities, and from the forum, and from the country fields, that the country may be altogether pure and free from an animal of this kind." In short, for four thousand years poverty was looked upon as a dreadful evil, a sign of malediction, insomuch that even he who was by such love inspired, that all our world craves tidings of his doom, prayed to God to deliver him from it. And such continues to be the case, for wherever the influence of the Catholic Church of Christ has not become dominant, the same sentiments maintain their ground among men, and form them to action. The poor are still those vile animals against whom the Athenian proposed to make laws, banishing them from every place of public resort, that the country may be clear of them. The Bonzes of Japan, in the time of St. Francis Xavier, even taught that neither the poor nor women could be saved, and the contrary doctrine of the Gospel was what chiefly rendered the preaching of that holy missionary so strange to them. † The ages of faith were admirable in the contrast which they exhibited to this opinion and practice respecting the condition of poverty, as I shall proceed to shew, by pointing out what were the sentiments held respecting it, and what was, in fact, the practice of men during that period. sentiments, the principles, the philosophy, or, in short, the religion of men, in these ages, taught expressly that since the incarnate Son of God had chosen poverty for himself, and poverty in all its bitter circumstances, and had pronounced a blessing upon the spirit which corresponded with it, it was therefore a good and holy state to be borne cheerfully by all, and even to be embraced voluntarily by such as aspired to perfection; and in fact many, who like St. Dominic, as Dante says, seemed messengers and friends fast-knit to Christ, shewed their first love after the first counsel that Christ gave. "Let the Pagan," says St. Bernard, "seek riches, who lives without God; let the Jew seek them, who receives temporal promises; but with what front, or with what mind can a Christian seek riches, after that Christ has proclaimed the poor bless-

<sup>\*</sup> Ethic. Nicomach. lib. iii. 6.

<sup>† &</sup>quot;Οπως ή χώρα τοῦ τοιούτου ζώου καθαρά χύγνηται τὸ παράπαν. De Legibus, lib. xi. ‡ Bouhour's Vie de St. F. Xavier, ii. 67.

ed?" \* "Not to have the burden of poverty," says St. Augustin, "is to have the burden more than needful of riches." The rich will discover at the last day what a weight has been this burden, unless the poor shall have relieved them of it by receiving their alms. There will remain nothing to them but that terrible woe of the Gospel, Væ vobis divitibus! Christ in his Gospel speaks to the rich only to thunder against their pride, Væ vobis divitibus! A virgin can conceive, a barren woman can bring forth a child, a rich man can be saved; these are three miracles of which the Holy Scriptures give us no other reason, but only that God is all powerful. This is what Bossuet says in his discourse on St. Francis of Assisium. St. Chrysostom says that there are always three considerations which should make a rich Christian humble: the contrast between the condition of the rich and that of Jesus Christ in poverty. the choice which Jesus Christ made of poverty for himself, and the character of malediction which he seems to have fixed upon riches. "O if we loved God as we ought," cries St. Augustin, "we should not have any love for money." "The rich man speaks of his money," says St. Cyprian, "his goods, his riches, which are all to be kept for himself."I

How many from their grave
Shall with shorn locks arise; who living, ay,
And at life's last extreme, of this offence,
Through ignorance, did not repent!

How many are, even now, like the shades described by Virgil?

Quam vellent athere in alto Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!\$

Now, at least, they know, "how dear it costeth not to follow Christ."

"What have we to answer," asks St. Cyprian, "to the arguments of Satan against these wretched men, when he asserts that they have always served him and offered him their treasures? How can we defend the souls of the rich covered with such thick darkness?" Woe to you, his wretched followers! cries Dante, on beholding their distress in hell.

Of gold and silver ye have made your god, Diff'ring wherein from the idolater, But that he worships one, a hundred ye.? Now must the trumpet sound for you, since yours Is the third chasm.

Some of the ancient sages were not without an insight into the evil and danger of riches, however that truth was generally obscured. Plato shews that the man who would correspond in his own life to the best constituted state must despise riches from his youth. The man who in his life corresponds to a state whose constitution is mixed with good and evil, will despise riches while young; but as he grows old, he will become fond of them, because he partakes of the money-loving nature.

TO ODE CONTROL OF 
<sup>\*</sup> Serm, I. De omnibus sanctis. † In Joan, Tract. xl. 20. ‡ Epist. ii. † Dante, Purgatory, xxii. † VI. 436. \*\* De Bon. Op. et Eleemos. † De Repub. viii,

sic, Λόγιο μουσική κορεαμάνου which alone is the preserver of virtue through life to whoever possesses it. And in another place he says, "We have proved, therefore, that the very rich are not good men, and if not good, that they cannot be happy." And of the rich and powerful man, Socrates says elsewhere, "that he is always in want of most things, and that he appears poor indeed if any one knows how to view his whole soul."† In another place he speaks as follows: "Who can question the possibility of the sons and descendants of kings and despots being born with a true philosophic nature? No one certainly. But perhaps it will be said, that if such sons should be born to them, their disposition must, of necessity, be corrupted, for we have ourselves admitted that it is very difficult to save it. But that in all the lapse of time there should not have been one saved, it would be absurd to suppose. If, then, you grant the possibility of one escaping, it is sufficient to justify our hypothesis and to screen us from the charge of teaching impossibilities." This is language sufficiently discouraging to the rich, of whom there are many, and the good are rare. In truth, even according to the morals of Aristotle, such men might generally be found guilty in the two respects of deficiency in giving, and of excess in appropriating: τη τ' ελλείψει τῆς δόσεως καὶ τῆ ὑπερβολῆ τῆς λήψεως. He says elsewhere, that "men who have ever so little, think that they have enough of virtue, but that they would go on to infinity adding to their wealth and possessions, to their power and glory." Plato represents Socrates as laughing at men of this description, and saying, as if he had lived on the bank of Thames, "that they would regard it as the height of happiness if they could have gold even within their bodies, three talents in their stomach, a talent in their skull, and a statera in each eye; and that they envy the Scythians for having their skulls lined with gold, though it is for men to drink out of them." \*\*

But it was only in the school of Christ that ordinary men were enabled to discover the depth of the evil, and the exceeding folly of that spirit of appropriating riches to themselves. St. Chrysostom asks, "Why does not the gold that shines in the shops of merchants give you the same pleasure as if it belonged to you personally? At least this would not involve you in such a number of torments. You reply, because it does not belong to you. Thence I conclude that it is nothing but avarice which makes you love all these treasures. What mean these expressions, this is ours, and that does not belong to us? When I examine these words to the bottom I find only vanity and nothingness. How often does a single moment cause people to lose forever what they call theirs? All this applies equally to those vast possessions, those magnificent houses, those delicious gardens, of which the rich men of this world are so proud, and in allusion to which you will find that the words 'mine and yours' are senseless and vain. For the use of these things are common to all, only those who are called the possessors have the trouble of taking care of them."th St. Chrysostom does not seem here to contemplate the possibility of such a state as that in which no one but the actual possessor was allowed to enjoy the goods of life, such as

<sup>\*</sup> De Legibus, lib. v. † De Repub. lib. ix. ‡ De Repub. lib. vi. § Polit. lib. vii. e. 1. \*\* Plat. Euthydemus.

<sup>+</sup> Tractatus de Virginitate, cap. 24.

may now be seen in countries where a servile war has repeatedly been on the eve of breaking out, to close the tragedy of "mine and thine," personages which have played such a part from the very first in that drama partaking of the terrible and the ludicrous, which professed to represent the downfall of superstition, and the establishment by law of

the reign of primitive Christianity!

What must be the wretched state of that mind which can find delight in the solitude of pride, in the gloomy seclusion of vast parks, from which God and men are equally excluded? In the middle ages the castle of the Lord was surrounded by the houses of his dependents, and yet even then it was not a secret that his elevation had no privilege as to greater happiness. Martial d'Auvergne, in his Vigils of the death of Charles VII. contrasts the life of the great with that of the poor, and says

Mieulx vaut liesse
L'accueil et l'adresse,
L'amour et simplesse
Des bergiers pasteurs,
Qu' avoir à largesse
Or, argent, richesse,
Ne la gentillesse
De ses grans Seigneurs;
Car ils ont douleurs
Et des maulx greigneurs;
Mais pour nos labeurs
Nous avons sans cesse
Les beaulx prés et fluers,
Fruitaiges, odeurs,
Et joye à nos cueurs,
Sans mal qui nous blesse.\*

And in a later age François Maynard could affirm in song, "that all the pompous houses of princes"

Ne sont que de belles prisons Pleines d'illustres misérables.†

What did a splendid palace profit Cosmo de Medicis when, after the death of John, he used to walk in sorrowful meditation through the vast apartments, observing that it was too large a house for so small a family? Yet such is mortal blindness! Our Lord never inhabited any house which he could call his own, and we must establish ourselves in castles and Louvres which are to be called our's, as if we were never to leave

our present habitations.

Riches were also known to be evil in a Christian sense, because of the innumerable obstacles which they evidently oppose to the spiritual life. "Ubi rerum omnium abundantia est, ibi plerumque etiam vitiorum," says Drexilius.‡ Fuller confesses, in his quaint style, the secret which explained many changes which had lately occurred in his unhappy country: "The possession of superfluous wealth sometimes doth hinder our clear apprehensions of matters." "Merchants," says Cardan, "and they who arrive at riches by a continued course of smiling fortune, and also the majority of nobles, are time servers." "Avoid the great,

Prudentia Civilis, cap. vi.

<sup>\*</sup> Gouget, Biblioth. Française, tom. x. 51. † Id. tom. xvi. 69. † De conformit. humanæ voluntatis cum Divin, lib. v. cap. 7.

and confer no benefit upon them, for they are by nature ungrateful; and the experience of this fact is more known than the reason is evident."\*
Nobility, when it is not bound by the chains of the Catholic religion, will generally be proud and terrible in proportion to its power; and men who have only the sentiments of nature will be found to regard it alternately with abhorrence and with a kind of superstitious awe. Children dread the approach of those great men of the earth; and even age forgets, in his presence, what is due to its own native dignity. The proud rich man shews himself to his visitors and guests, as Plutarch says, "

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In ages of faith, when such men did appear, they were sure to hear language as bold and severe as that of St. Jerome, when he said, "Do not say to me, I am sprung from an illustrious race; I have always lived in delights, in the midst of every luxury; I cannot deprive myself of wine, nor of these exquisite meats, nor adopt so severe a mode of life. I would answer you with all the rigour of my ministry. Well then, live according to your law, since you cannot live according to the law of God." † They would have been reminded, that some centuries before the very title on which they prided themselves signified a miscreant, for the méscreants and infidels were the "Gentiles." Father Lewis of Grenada was unable to take any other view of the great nobles of his age, of whom he said publicly, that almost all by pride and heaping up riches precipitate themselves and their heirs into hell.

Curst be estate got with so many a crime, Yet this is oft the stair by which men climb.§

To follow the spirit and manners of the gentle by denomination, from the times described by Spelman in his history of sacrilege to the present, one might almost suppose that the world had receded to that state during which the title passed under its heathen signification. That balance of Critolaus, of which the goods of the soul were placed in one scale and those of the body in the other,\*\* places them in no dilemma, for they decide without deliberation. They stigmatize the choice of a Francis and an Anthony as the folly of an abject superstition; and it would be hard even to find among them an example such as that of the heathen youth Lysiteles, who says of his poor friend, "Quia sine omni malitia est, tolerare egestatem ejus volo." H Speak to them of "loving holy poverty, humility, and patience, following the way of Christ and of his saints," H like such multitudes of men of all ranks as did embrace this way in the ages of faith, and they reply, as in the words of Spencer,

And leave the rudenesse of that antique age
To them, that lived therein in state forlorae.
Thou that dost live in later times must wage
Thy workes for wealth, and life for gold engage."

<sup>\*</sup> Prudentia Civilis, cap. xl. ‡ S. Hieronym, Epist. ad Eustath.

<sup>§</sup> Tasso, ii. 58. †† Plautus, Trinum. ii. 2.

Fairy Queen, ii. 7.

<sup>+</sup> How to discern true Friends, xxxv.

In Festo alicujus martyris Concio ii.
\*\* Cicero, Tuscul. v. 17.

<sup>‡‡</sup> Thom, à Kempis, De tribus tabernaculis, i.

And even when their language is intended to be all disinterestedness and noble sentiment, even when these high-minded followers of reformers and patriots are for declaring their ardent desire to make every personal sacrifice to further some end which is to bear the semblance and win the honours of a holy cause, their tongues are unable to complete a sentence without providing always that there shall be "a reasonable" equivalent" for themselves. Here an important reflection suggests itself. We often seem lost in astonishment at the slowness of men to comply with the loving invitations of the Church of Christ; we are amazed that unanswerable argument should produce no effect upon the crowd of rich philosophers, who are all considered by the world as such enlightened judges. Ah! we might learn the reason of this from the Evangelist, where he says of some who heard all the things spoken by Christ, "erant avari et deridebant illum." \* How should we expect them to answer otherwise to the dispensers of his mysteries? especially in a land like that the poet speaks of, "where for lucre a 'no' is quickly made?"

"Wisdom herself," says Pindar, "is fettered by gain."

άλλα κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται. †

And Mammon wins his way when seraphs might despair!

True, such men may sometimes appear to be convinced, and even perhaps moved in their will to embrace the holy law of Catholics, but it will be only to furnish an example of a most strange and awful phenomenon in the human heart. Father Lewis of Grenada points out this, "How subtle is self-love, and how it seeks some utility for itself, even amidst noble affections. When Paul disputed concerning the judgment to come, before Felix, with such force that we are told that Felix was filled with awe, and that he trembled, what do we find was the consequence of this terror? Truly a wonderful thing. 'At the same time,' says Luke, 'he hoped that he would receive money from Paul.' Who could have conceived this?''‡

No longer, then, let any one be surprised at finding every intellectual force unavailable with the rich, or with those who love money, in poverty; with those whom Cicero describes as "a race of men horrible and fearful, who hold their possessions embraced with such love, that rather than relinquish them, you would say, their limbs might sooner be

torn from their bodies." |

But how far have we wandered from beatitude? Beati pauperes! Ah! how deeply did these words sink into hearts of men in faithful ages! Such is the eminent dignity of the poor in the Church, that Bossuet declares that already, even in this world, by means of the Church, God has partly fulfilled that sentence which will hereafter be fully accomplished, that the last shall be first, and the first last. In the world, the poor seem born only to serve the rich; on the contrary, in the Holy Church, the rich are only admitted on condition of their serving the poor; for those that are last in the world are first in the Church. "The Church, therefore," says Bossuet, "may be called the city of the poor,

<sup>\*</sup> Luc. xvi. 14.
Pro L. Flacco.

as it is the city of God." To the poor was the Saviour sent, to the poor he preached his first sermon. It was the poor who first entered into the Church; it was the poor whom God chose, that they might be rich in faith and heirs of his kingdom. St. Paul besought the brethren to pray for him, that the service which he was about to render the poor, that is, the alms he was about to give, might be agreeable to them.\* With such honour did he revere them! In the world the rich may assume and bear proud titles, but in the Church of Jesus Christ they are only recognized as the servants of the poor.† Observe how this philosophy prevailed in the middle ages. "The Church," says Jona, "wishes to have rich men, such as the Apostle describes, men rich in good works; for the Church understands, by a rich man, one who is rich in Christ; but as for others, they should have no honour among Christians. They are rich at home in gold and silver, but in the Church they are beggars."‡ It is most curious to observe how in these ages the love which men entertained for the beauty of the divine temples induced them to labour with constant diligence in order to qualify themselves for entering them; so that to this end they strove with as much care as men now seek to heap up temporal riches to support their living in the secular courts. They cared not if they were beggars in the world's eye, if they were conscious of having sent that treasure before them which they might hope to find

When that the two assemblages shall part, One rich eternally, the other poor.

Hereafter we shall have occasion to shew in detail, how, under the influence of the Church, a multitude of institutions arose to minister both to the spiritual and material wants of the poor, founded too without gold or silver, but with prayers and fasting, and meek humility; but of these, one instance must be sufficient for the present, to give an idea of the

spirit which animated them all.

In a letter of St. Theresa written to Father Dominick Bagnez, there is the following sentence: "Be assured, Father, that it is an occasion of the greatest joy to me whenever I receive sisters who bring nothing with them to the convent, whom I receive for the love of God; I wish I might receive them all in this manner." There is at present before me a task which might seem to some very difficult, to shew that the influence of this philosophy was diffused in some degree even over the rude and troubled scene of civil society. There exists a long letter from Pope Gregory the Great to the sub-deacon Peter, who had been charged with the administration of the goods of the Church of Sicily, in which the Pontiff desires him to attend minutely to the interest of the rustic population, and to abolish various customs which oppressed them, and which he adds, "he detests altogether." Guizot observes that these prescriptions of benevolence and justice will explain why the people were always so anxious to be placed under the domination of the Church, for that the lay proprietors were then very far from watching

<sup>\*</sup> Rom. xv. 30, 31. † Sermon sur l'éminente dignité des pauvres dans l'Eglise. † Ionæ Aurelianensis Episcop. de Institutione Laïcali, lib. i, cap. 20. apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. i. ¶ Dante, Purg. xix. § Vie de S. Thérèse, par de Villeforc, tom. i. \*\* S. Greg. Epist. lib. i. 44,

so carefully over the interest of the inhabitants of their domains.\* This is a just observation; but yet it is no less true that the principle of respect being due to the poor, was forced by religion even upon the secular society. The famous ordinance of Louis le Hutin for the enfranchisement of the serfs began thus; "Since according to the right of nature, every one should be born free, and that by certain usages and customs, which have been introduced and kept from great antiquity in our kingdom, and that by adventure many of our common people are fallen into condition of servitude which greatly displeases us; We, considering that our kingdom is called the kingdom of the Francs, and wishing that the thing should in truth agree with the name, by deliberation of our great council have ordained, and do ordain, that generally throughout our kingdom, as far as in us lies, and in our successors, such servitudes should be abolished, and that freedom should be given on good and agreeable conditions to all those who are fallen into servitude, either by origin, or by marriage, or by residence."† Guizot says, speaking of this ordinance, that in our age the emperor Alexander would not have dared to publish a similar ukase in Russia: he would not have dared to proclaim that, according to the right of nature, all men should be born free. In these ages, life was all in harmony with itself, and poetry, united with domestic manners and with social activity, was a source of consolation to the poor as well as to the rich. The greatest part of men's time was not devoted to business and speculations, and to what is now called the positive of existence, while only some rare hours belonged, as a privilege, to a select few, during which they might procure emotions by purchase, at a theatre or in a library: and how small is even this privileged number! A late French writer makes this reflection: "The immense majority," he remarks, "are delivered over to labours which nothing ennobles, to cares which nothing can console." There is no more servitude we are told; the emancipation of the people is accomplished. Well, but liberty alone is not sufficient for man; it can be only a mean, never an end. Witness the savage; he is free, and yet what is he? In the middle ages the social state was no doubt imperfect; Christianity had not terminated her work, but was it not better to be one of the people then, than to be so now in the nineteenth century? Was there not more movement around him, and did he not participate in it in a manner more immediate and direct? He was a serf, it is true, but now is he not a workman? The first held to something; a moral tie attached him to the family of his master, to the castle whose old towers protected him as they had his fathers; to the Church at whose door he assumed all the dignity of a man and of a Christian, and which offered an inviolable asylum against the power of the world. Around him all was animated; his habits, his labours, his privations, his perils, were all connected with ideas in which he had faith, and for which he would have died gladly. Behold that great sensation caused by Peter the Hermit, and by St. Bernard. Hearken to the voice of these millions of obscure priests, who are each a power. and who like Foulques de Neuilly, Martin Litz, Herloin, Eustache de

<sup>\*</sup> Cours d'Hist. Mod. iv. 8.

<sup>#</sup> Cours d'Hist. iv. 8:

<sup>†</sup> Ordonnance, des Rois, t. i. p. 588.

Flay, &c. repeated throughout Europe the words which Rome was addressing not to kings, but to Christianity at large. It was in speaking to nations, and in stirring up all the popular convictions, that Urban II. made himself be understood at Clermont, and it was by speaking the same language that Innocent III., Innocent IV., Gregory IX., Pius II., and so many other great Pontiffs, kept alive the sacred fire and enthusiasm, which was to preserve the Christians of the east. It may be observed that all the negotiations of Rome, purely political, to determine kings to bear assistance to the Christian colonies of Asia, and afterwards to the Greek empire, when it was menaced by the successors of Othman, were ineffectual against the rivalry of interests or the implacable enmities of courts; but when the Popes, afflicted by the sad news which came from the Holy Land, shewed to the Christian people their brethren of the East, struggling against the sultans of Egypt and Damascus; when they endeavoured to excite their sympathy for the young colonies of Edessa, Tripoli, and Antioch, founded at the price of their fathers' blood; and, above all, when they made Jerusalem speak, Jerusalem, again polluted by the infidels, then were kings borne away by the people, and obliged to yield before the will of the devout and heroic multitude. Their political combinations could not resist the murmuring population, which demanded an account of their delays. It was not from the circle of courts, but from the heart of countries, that proceeded those cries of enthusiasm and of faith, "Jérusalem! Jérusalem! Dieu le veut! il le faut!"\* So then it was not merely in the decline of the minstrel's art that the wandering harper might

Tune to please a peasant's ear The harp a king had loved to hear.

For there was an union of feeling and even of taste, and a community of enjoyments among the high and low. The same poet, who devoted his genius to instruct princes and nobility, paid an equal regard to the wants of the poor, of artizans and country labourers, who are all severally addressed by Simon Bougouine, in his famous Poem of the Young Prince conquering the Kingdom of Good Renown.† John Bouchet, who wrote so many chivalrous books, in his Epistles gives instruction to all classes of men, from the throne to the cabin: the ploughman is taught with as much detail as the prince; the knightly author disdains no state, not even that of the young scholar in the University of Poitiers, nor that of the printer and bookseller.‡ The gentle Symphorien Champier also, in his "Nef des Princes et des Batailles de Noblesse," gives instruction, useful and profitable, to all kinds of people, to teach them how to live and to die well. In fact, there is no feature of the heroic character, in the middle ages, of which we find more explicit notice, than its Christian affection for the poor, and its scrupulous delicacy in defending them from injustice, as in the instance related by Don Diego Savedra Faxarda, of the king, Don Alonzo VII. who no sooner discovered that an outrage had been committed upon a poor labourer by a certain noble, than he flew in disguise with such speed to inflict punishment, that it was executed before the guilty oppressor knew that he had

<sup>\*</sup> Le Correspondant, 43. † Gouget, tom. x. 169. ‡ Ibid, tom. xi. 303. ¶ Ibid, x. 216,

been discovered. Don Fernando, the Catholic, did nearly the same thing when he set out secretly from Medina to Salamanqua, where he seized Rodriguez Maldonat, who had been guilty of oppression in the

fortress of Monleon.\*

The very maxims of nobility had a tone of spirituality, which had been infused into them by the Catholic religion, and which tended to soften the distinction between rich and poor. "Nobility," says the knight, who argues with the clerk, in a famous book of chivalry, "proceeds at first from nobleness of manners and virtue. Richesses ne peuvent toller ne donner noblesse; car richesse sont de soy viles; et ce qui est vil ne peut aucun nobiliter;" and riches are vile, because he who

hath them "est toujours angoisseux et en soucy."†

But whatever may be thought as to the political situation in these ages of the poor, to whom is promised a spiritual, not a material recompense, there can be no doubt but that the sentence from the mount was fully verified, which pronounces them to be blessed. The moderns, indeed, would hear poverty speaking in her own defence, with far more impatience than did Blepsidemus and Chremulus. Nevertheless, her arguments, as stated in that old play, are unanswerable, even in the school of political economists. The best answer that they can make to her, would be in the unblushing confession of Blepsidemus,-"Truly, by Hercules, I wish to be rich and to feast with my children and my wife, and then, washed and adorned, proceeding from the bath, to spurn at labourers and at poverty." "The rich man," as is observed in the Platonic dialogue, "has power to commit crimes which the poor man is prevented from accomplishing; the powerful can commit crimes which the infirm are unable to act; riches and power are therefore evils, so far as they give means of operation to the will which is inclined to evil."

When Zeno heard that the ship was lost, in which was all his property, he said,-"You do well, O fortune, driving me to the scrip and to a life of philosophy?" O, how deeply were these truths felt by Christians in ages of faith! and with what sweetness and conviction are they expressed by them! Will you hearken to one of that family whom the cord girt humbly? "The falcon, when she is too full, will not know her master: so it was with the prodigal son. Riches did separate him from God, and poverty brought him home again." This is what Father Diego de Stella remarks, in his work on the Contempt of the World.\*\* "Contemplate our Lord," says St. Bonaventura, "seated at the well, waiting for the return of his disciples with food, and see with what humility and condescension he speaks to that poor woman of Samaria, and contemplate his frugality; for the disciples were to return with food, but where was he to eat it? At the side of the well, or by a stream or fountain, and this you may believe was his custom, through poverty and simplicity of life. He had no exquisite dainties, no curious vessels, no delicate wine, but pure water from that fountain or rivulet." The ancients.

†† Meditationes vitæ Christi, cap. xxxi.

<sup>\*</sup> Mariana, Hist. Hisp. † Le Songe du Vergier. ‡ Aristoph. Plutus, 613. ‡ Eryaias. ‡ Plutareh, de exsilio. \*\* On the Contempt of the World, by F. Diego de Stella, of the order of St. Fran-

cis; translated from the Spanish. St. Omers, 1622. Part i. 87.

even in their blind unhappy state, were yet sensible of the blessedness of the very circumstances which are now deemed the evils of poverty:—

Yet was their manner then but bare and playne; For th' antique world excesse and pryde did hate, Such proud luxurious pompe is swollen up but late.

"It seemed," as Cicero says, "an evident thing, and nature herself daily taught them, quam paueis, quam parvis rebus egeat, quam vilibus."\*
There was the supper of Xenocrates, which was enough to teach men that they had no need of riches, and that bribery could not stain their souls.† The laws of Crete, given by Minos, or by Jove himself, and those of Lycurgus, as Cicero observes, trained youth to virtue by labour, and hunger, and thirst, and cold.‡ Plato introduces a speaker, who praises the discipline observed by the Lacedemonian youth, and expressly commends their practice of going barefooted in winter, and of their sleeping under the stars without a bed, and having no servants to wait uponthem, wandering over the country by night and by day; and in reply to the question of an Athenian, he says that "valour and a manly spirit are not evinced merely by resisting fear and pain, but by overcoming desires, and pleasures, and luxury."

Is it not strange that men professing to be Christians should attempt to condemn the same state of manners, when resulting from Christian discipline, poverty and simplicity? "The best discipline for the body," says Plato, "is that simple and Homeric economy, which corresponds to the tone of the simplest music, ή βελτίστη γυμναστική άδελφή τις αν είν της άπλης movoring; for simplicity in music produces temperance and wisdom in the soul, and in gymnastic discipline, health in the body." The learned physicians of the middle age came to the same conclusion. Cardan describing the great importance of moderation, and even austerity as to food and drink, observes, that it is by such discipline that the manners of youth can be preserved from evil, and adds a remarkable allusion to the custom of his time, saying,-"This may be easily seen in the children of nobility so well brought up, merely on account of this spare diet, for it is not by stripes that they are restrained. I have never seen a young person abstemious in food who perished, unless through an accident; but such boys, when otherwise well brought up, generally arrive with glory at great old age."\*\* These habits were called into constant exercise by the ordinary engagements of life. Thus, when Madame de Chantal used to be on a journey, she always chose the poorest houses for her lodging; she used to eat with the poor of their common hard fare, and thus found sources of spiritual perfection, in the very circumstances which fill our modern travellers with such bitter disgust.#

The sons of noble houses did not attempt to introduce the luxurious banquets of a city among the wild mountains and woods, where they loved to dwell. They would have used the words of Tityrus to their welcomed friend,—"How sweet to rest here with me this night under the green boughs, and partake of fruit and milk, the fare of these goat-

<sup>\*</sup> Tuscul. v. 35. † Tuscul. v. 32. ‡ Ibid. lib. ii. 34. ¶ De Legibus, lib. i. § De Repub. lib. iii. \*\* Prudentia Civilis, cap. xxxix. † Vie de Mde. de Chantal, par Marsollier. tom. ii. 294.

herds. And now the smoke rises from the roofs of the distant village,

and the lengthening shadows fall from the lofty mountains."

"There are some kinds of men and families," says Cardan, "which are altogether immovable and inaccessible to any suggestion of treason. Such are the German and Helvetian nations, the Cardan family, and others, in towns which educate their children in a hard and simple

Don Diego Savedra Faxardo, in his Instruction of a Christian Prince, uses the coral growing out of the sea as an emblem of beauty and force, to be a model to kings and nobles. Sprung from the midst of the waves, beaten by the tempests, it grows hard in suffering, and impervious and fit for the most precious purposes of men, while the rose perishes at the first blast. The effect of the two modes of education was seen in the lives of Don John II. and Don Fernando the Catholic; the one educated in the palace, the other in the country; the one by women, the other among men; the one became despicable to the whole world, the other the object of general admiration. This it was which made Don Ferdinand the saint give a hard and manly education to his sons.† Ribadeneira, in his Princeps Christianus, shews that a soft and delicate education is the cause why men are not active and robust, and that the Christian discipline, as observed in Catholic states, tends to produce strong and valiant men, by commending coarse food and raiment, poverty, temperance, and labour. This may now seem physically untrue, "Sed nos umbris, deliciis, otio, languore, disidia animum infecimus; opinionibus, maloque more delinitum mollivimus." In the middle ages, the greatest men did not wish, on ordinary occasions, to be distinguished in dress from the poor.' It is easy now to talk of dressing according to our rank, but St. Francis said well, "It is very difficult for those who are arrayed in silk, and adorned with jewels, to put on Jesus Christ." Job, David, and all the old saints, did often wear vile apparel, and Christians of old did esteem it wisdom to use it on the ordinary occasions of life. It was this which Dante thought worthy of being remembered in Paradise, where, alluding to the simple dress of the Florentines, he says,-

> I saw Bellincion Berti walk abroad In leathern girdle and a clasp of bone: The sons I saw
> Of Nerli, and of Vecchio, well content
> With unrobed jerkin; and their good dames handling The spindle and the flax.\*\*

The great Basil had only one suit of clothes, and all the riches which were found in his possession on his death were a crucifix, as St. Gregory Nazianzen relates. St. Chrysostom lays great stress upon the danger of wearing fine apparel, and shews its inconsistency with the apostolic precept. "I admire," he says, in writing to Olympias, "that admirable simplicity in your dress, in which you have so much resemblance to the poor." The old writers of chivalrous romance are fond of that trait in the great Sir Perceval, that he would never abandon the good hempen

<sup>\*</sup> Prudentia Civilis, cap. lxxiii. † The Instruction of a Christian Prince, lib. i. 29. Cicero, Tuscul. v. 27.

<sup>§</sup> Le sacré Mont d'Olivet, ou le Paradis de la Religion du Seraphique Père St. Francois, par F. Elzeare L'Archer, Paris, 1614. \*\* Canto xv.

shirt that his mother made for him, and their heroes are generally as fond of going without shoes or stockings as Socrates and his friend Aristodemus, of whom we read dyunidates del.\* Socrates would go barefoot in frost and snow, and use no other dress than his ordinary one, so that the very soldiers thought that he did it to shame them. This was the spirit of our great heroes. Charlemagne, who hated distinction in dress, used to complain of being obliged sometimes to wear a cloak made more for decoration than use. "Of what use are these little cloaks? We cannot be covered by them in bed. When I am on horseback they cannot defend me from the wind and rain, and when we retire for other occasions, I am starved with cold in my legs."† If in our times there should be any one among the great like Vespasian, not distinguished in dress from persons of the lowest rank, there is too often reason to fear that it will only be as Tacitus adds, "Si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par." It was the same with respect to the employments in which men of all ranks were willing to engage. The sons of kings and nobles served at the table of their fathers or lords, and were ready to discharge any office, however There was but one word to signify the servants who rubbed down the horses, and all young noblemen under the dignity of knight, both being called from the stable or the shield which they carried for their master. Albertus Magnus places it among the signs of true humility to converse with poor companions; and assist them in their work, and follow their customs. And the sons of our great Catholic ancestors thought this no dishonour. They never forgot the discipline of their college where no distinctions were allowed on account of birth or fortune. St. Bonaventura, general of the order of St. Francis, and the seraphic doctor, was washing the vessels of the convent when they came to present him with the hat of a cardinal; which he caused to be hung upon a hook in the kitchen until he had finished his employment. sounds strangely, but there is never any justice in drawing an inference from the thoughts and manners of men in these later times, when we are endeavouring to estimate the minds of Christians in ages of faith. would be far safer to have regard to what was done by several of the wise ancients, who, as Alcibiades said of Socrates, seemed always to despise what the world most esteemed, riches and honours, so that he never appeared aware whether a man were rich, or had any public honours or privileges, for which the multitude might count him happy, but he thought all these possessions to be worth nothing, and that we ourselves were as nothing, and in this manner did he spend his whole life, always indulging in irony, and playing as it were with the thoughts of men.\*\* But with our simple ancestors, possessing that spiritualized mind, which was able to put almost every thing around them in harmony with truth, there was the dispossession without the necessity for concealing it under a form of disdain. The very circumstances of affluence, of men with whom.

Ring all their joys in one dull chime Of luxury and ease,

§ Le sacré Mont d'Olivet, 648.

<sup>\*</sup> Plato Symposium.

¶ De Paradis, Animæ. c. 2.

\*\* Plato Symposium, 33.

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<sup>†</sup> Chron. S. Gall. ‡ Hist. lib. ii. 5.

could excite no envy where there existed the faculty of appreciating the beauty of spiritual good, for it is in proportion as men are imbued with matter that riches become so powerfully attractive. Amyot says in his Breviaire, "that one can know by the countenance of a man whether he loves money or not." This is, in fact, the love which makes so many countenances hideous and almost fearful to behold. In the ages of faith, to be known to love money, or even to possess it in any extraordinary degree, would have been no recommendation to-love and friendship, and

to all that made young and generous hearts beat high.

. In truth, in a Catholic country, where the sons of the rich behold the generous and amiable manners of the rustic chivalry among whom they spend their youth; where the noble has learned to weep over the sad tale of many a poor companion, and to sing to himself those plaintive songs which are so sweet and wild, that the traveller oft stops on his road, by the meadow's side, to hearken to them, and to wonder at the melodies of the poor-the simpler and lower ranks of society are so estimable, that noble natures will often seek to be confounded with them, and to conceal even from others those very distinctions of wealth, which are brought forward with such haughtiness under all other circumstances of human society. The Catholic form of life tends necessarily to keep the hearts of men susceptible of all the innumerable, gracious, and beautiful harmonies of social relation. To Nature's unclouded eye, the manners of the rich and dissipated seem so full of affectation and selfishness, that they are wondered at as a spectacle, not admired as a model of imitation. And even by the influence of this general impression, the rich are at length delivered from the delusion of vanity, so that they would now as anxiously court community with others, as formerly they would have shunned it. Such beauty is there in the simplicity and modesty For human life, when restored and spiritualized by the Catholic religion, is full of grace and loveliness. There are a thousand expressions of goodness, which are only destroyed by the absurd vanities of the rich and haughty. There are forms of moving, even tones of voice, which breathe joyous simplicity and angelic innocence, and which young hearts would not exchange for the wealth of worlds. Hence, in relation to the fine arts, it is the poor who almost always have the feeling and the sentiment of beauty, which is the source of genuine taste, . though in them it may often remain rude and imperfectly developed; whereas the rich, by luxury and pride, have often lost that feeling and sentiment, though they may vainly attempt to supply their place by assuming the conceit, the tone, and the phraseology, of the insolent connoisseur. The simple, virtuous poor are men of first thoughts: the sophists and people of the world, who deem themselves so knowing and enlightened, are men of second thoughts. The profound sages and learned holy Christians, are men of third thoughts, which only bring them back to the first, convinced of the vanity and emptiness of the intermediate stage in their intellectual progress. It is the poor who have the most lively sense of the beauty and solemn grandeur of the holy ritual of the Church. It is they who are sure to catch the tender mystery. Jacob, indeed, was the son of a rich man, but, as St. Jerome observes, it was when he was going into Mesopotamia alone and naked, with staff in hand, and when, being wearied on the road, he lay down;

and he who had been educated with such delicacy by his mother Rebecca, had now a stone for a pillow to his head; it was then that he beheld the ladder of angels; \* and as an old writer says of Jacob sleeping thus on the ground, "who would not have had his hard lodging, therewithal to have his heavenly dream?" And observe too, that where such sentiments prevail, the real wants of nature are sure to be supplied. "Ubi caritas est, etiam exigua sufficiunt," says Ardo, in his Life of St. Benedict. Abbot of Ania. Love knows no distress of poverty; and let it be remarked also, as a general rule, that almost always, whatever costs the least is the most conducive to health, and even to beauty. Riches cannot . procure the blessings which belong to love and innocent simplicity, in a Catholic land, where a sweet look is of more avail than a long purse. The rich are amazed on entering it, to find how indifferent men seem to their stern orders. It is not there that they would be able to quote their favourite maxim, which they seemed to have learned from Bacchus, who cries out in the shades, when he hears that Charon will ferry him across for two oboli,-

Φεῦ! ὡς μέγα δύνασθον πανταχοῦ τὰ δο ὀβολώ.†

Their two oboli will not go so far here as with their own unhappy people, whom they have debased, and as it were, imbruted, in matter. It would be endless to produce instances of the ennobling influence of the Catholic religion upon the minds and manners of the poor. The historians of Italy, (though it is not in history that we should look for such records,) relate numerous cases of the highest generosity and heroism evinced by poor peasants, and labourers in cities, which prove how completely the humbler classes may be exalted to the highest intellectual and moral dignity. Assuredly, in a Catholic state, Virgil would have found another term for his husbandman besides "greedy." What pure and noble chivalry, even when extravagant, shewing a root of goodness, appeared in the brave and pious peasants of the Bas-Maine, as related in the later histories of France! The brother of John Chouan dies "because he will declare his roal name to the enemy; he does not know how to lie, for he has never lied."

But if such was the condition of the poor in all these respects, which might seem earthly and temporal, how must it have been blessed in regard to purely heavenly interests, and to those that are spiritual and eternal! Beati pauperes. And here I will forget all the blessedness which we have hitherto ascribed to that condition in ages of faith, because so far it may seem allied even to the choicest goods of this present life. But let us view them even in the most extreme bereavement, as described by Dante, among the blind and poor, who

Near the confessionals, to crave an alms,
Stand, each his head upon his fellow's sunk,
So most to stir compassion; not by sound
Of words alone, but that which moves not less,
The sight of mis'ry §

What a wretched state is here to the eye of flesh! Yet prejudging

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. xcii. † Aristoph. Ranæ, 141.

<sup>‡</sup> See, for instance, Matt. Villani, lib. x. § Dunte, Purgatory, xiii.

men, the world, is blind; that world from which you come; but enter the sanctuary, and perchance

That sweet strain of psalmody will give ye Light which may uncloud your minds.\*

Perchance you will learn to see, that even this is blessedness,

For those who live that life, which is a race.

So thought the holy Fathers, who drew their wisdom herein from experience. For what avails it to come to the churches like the men of whom St. Ambrose speaks, who are wholly of earth, and occupied with its interests; who come now, non quia ex fide Christiani sunt, sed ne Christiani ab hominibus non putentur? who have always an excuse for themselves on account of the season or circumstances of their life, not to obey the Church. For when a fast is appointed in the summer months, they say, "The day is long; we cannot bear thirst;" and in the winter, "The cold is severe; we cannot endure hunger." Thus these rich men, whose soul is always bent upon dining, seek reasons for themselves why they should always dine, and to excuse themselves from fasting, accuse the seasons of the Creator. In like manner, when you ask them to give any thing to the poor, immediately they object to you that their necessities are infinite; they cannot pay the taxes; and they become so eloquent, that you seem to be almost a culprit for having wished to admonish them: so little do they understand that the greatest of all necessities is that of salvation.† With what a different mind do the poor frequent the divine courts! 'The poor! to behold whose sweet and saintly countenances, at moments of devotion, the artists, as at Rome, repair to the churches! For in the churches, before the divine altars, or following those that walk and sing solemn litanies, in the delight and transport with which all their senses minister to the soul, is already partly fulfilled the promise from the mount, that their's is the kingdom of heaven. To the Church they repair humbly at morning and at eve, enjoying that privilege which was felt to be so great by David, that he said, in allusion to it, "One thing I have asked from the Lord, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, and visit his temple." Here they were inebriated with the fatness of his house, and were given to drink of the torrent of his pleasure. And where were the rich and lofty ones the while? What was their felicity? Restless and in want, they were driven abroad to the theatre, to the proud assembly; they were at home in their palaces, satiated and weary with splendour and dissipation, saying, like Theseus in Shakspeare,-

Where is our usual manager of mirth? What revels are in hand? Is there no play To ease the anguish of a torturing hour?

And remark too, with St. Chrysostom, that "it is the rich and prosperous who condemn Providence, in affected pity for the sufferings of innocence."

Strange to observe, the French sophists of the last century confessed

<sup>\*</sup> Dante, Purgatory, xxviil,

<sup>\*</sup> Psalm xv.

<sup>+</sup> Serm. xxxix.

Midsummer Night's Dream, v. 1.

this of themselves. "It is from the midst of voluptuous prosperity," said Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, "that these murmurs against Providence issue. It is from these libraries, so filled with light, that the clouds rise up which have obscured the hopes and the virtues of Europe."\* "It is not Lazarus," says St. Chrysostom, "that pronounces such blasphemy. He would have shuddered at the thought of it. Is it not revolting, then, that while those whom God has visited with all kinds of misery, bless him and give him thanks, you, who are only bare spectators of the combat of humanity with suffering, should thus blaspheme against Providence? For if the sufferer should for a moment give way to grief, and utter some guilty words, there would seem to be some excuse for him; but that another, who is a stranger to the sorrows of life, should lose his soul and outrage his Creator, condemning things which are regarded by those who endure them as benefits, and a subject of gratitude,this certainly is inconceivable, and undeserving of pardon." † Nor let it seem rhetorical, to ascribe such sentiments to those who suffer the extreme of poverty. A great theologian discovered a master of theology in a poor beggar who sat at the door of a Church. This poor afflicted man assured him, upon being interrogated, that he was always prosperous, that he was never unfortunate; that he never had an enemy; and that every thing happened to him exactly according to his wish. Omnia fiunt ut volo. The secret consisted in his being contented with his lot; in feeling assured, that whatever came from God was good for him; that no man could injure his soul; and that whatever event befell him, was conformable to the divine will. "Et hoc unum volo quod vult Deus," said he, "ita omnia fiunt ut volo." Therefore this theologian drew a general conclusion, saying, "Verè sub sordido palliolo sæpe magna latet sapientia." ±

The father of Thomas a Kempis was a poor rustic labourer. If John Aumont, a poor simple peasant of the valley of Montmorenci, composed a treatise on prayer, which was approved of by the doctors of Paris: he died in the middle of the sixteenth century, in the odour of sanctity. The parish of Stains, near Paris, produced a peasant named John Bossart, of a very ancient family in that place, who died at an advanced age in Paris in 1752: he was of such piety and goodness that the curate of the village wrote his life. Persons of the first quality used to visit him

out of respect to his virtue.\*\*

The ingenious tenderness of divine Providence does not even exclude the poor from the full benefit of making offerings to God. The widow's mite was received and applauded. "O thrice happy woman, and covered with glory!" cries St. Cyprian, "to have deserved even before the day of judgment to be praised by the mouth of the Judge." "Who knows not that the offerings of the lowest persons are most grateful to God?" said Gerson. The self-called reformers, those enemies of the poor, as the result quickly proved, were so absorbed in matter that they overlooked this. Fuller cannot consent to go the whole

<sup>\*</sup> Etudes de la Nature, tom. i. 158. † Hom. iv. † Drexelius de Conformitate Voluntatis Hum. cum Divina, lib. ii. cap. 1.

<sup>¶</sup> Vita Ejus, cap. 5. § Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. iii. p. 392. †† De Bon. Op. et Eleemos.

length of their profaneness, but says, "the Magdeburgeness, out of a spirit of opposition to the Papists, do in my mind, on the other side, too much deery St. Peter, causelessly caviling at his words to our Saviour, 'Ecce reliquimus omnia:' what say they had he left?' St. Jerome would have taught them, that though the Apostles, as we read, did only leave their ships and nets, yet did they leave all things to follow Christ, because they offered themselves, which was an offering beyond all the treasures of Darius and Cresus.\*

"Abraham was rich in gold and silver, in flocks, possessions, and raiments: he had such a household that on a sudden emergency he could produce young men to form an army which was able to rout the host of four kings; and yet in his exercise of hospitality he did not give orders to his servants and maidens to minister to the guests, but, as if he had found a treasure, he applied himself alone with Sara to waiting upon them: he stood as a servant to serve supper to the strangers. Hence it was taught that we also should learn not to be content with offering money, but to offer ourselves to Christ, and imitate the Son of Man, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister." This is what St. Jerome says.†

So great, indeed, and numerous, are the spiritual advantages of poverty, that it might even be argued that the general influence of religion during the ages of faith was in some measure owing to the varied and constant application of that moral power which, though it may not have found a place in history, was most certainly exerted by the people, that is, by the vast majority of men who lived in a comparative state of poverty. The poor common people have often been the protection of the saints, as they were of John the Baptist from the fury of Herod, for we read "timuit populum: quia sicut prophetam eum habebant." How often would the foul crew of rich sophists and greedy plunderers of ecclesiastical property, who hold their counsel on the Seine, have overthrown whole churches, but that, like Herod, they feared the people? It is the poor common people too who have the quickest and most judicious sense of admiration for heroic virtue in distress.. This is shewn in Homer, when he says, that "when Telemachus, at the close of his address, wept and threw his sceptre to the earth, all the people were moved to pity, but that Antinous, who represented the proud suitors, began to accuse him." Nay, the holy poor have often exerted a direct influence upon the manners of the great. At Florence, after the defeat and execution of the conspirators, the people, who remembered the blasphemies to which old James Pazzi had been addicted, began to murmur publicly at his having been buried in holy ground. At length a multitude of country peasants repaired to Florence, and required that his body should be removed from the sacred place: it was dug up and thrown into the Arno. Of a still more remarkable instance there is a monument yet existing, if we give credit to what is reported by some historians of Normandy, for there is a place on the banks of the Seine, opposite Jumiéges, which is called Heulerie, or Jolerie, and it is said that the origin of the name is to be traced from the inhabitants

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. xcii. † Epist. liv. † Matt. xiv. 5. † Od. ii. 81.

having been accustomed to assemble there frequently in order to express their detestation of immorality, by hissing Agnez Sorel, as the king's mistress, who had retired there.\*

## CHAPTER III ....

So far we have regarded the state of the poor in ages of faith; but it is obvious that a far wider range is opened to our view in reference to the first circle of beatitude than the mere limits of material poverty, which, after all, may itself, in some instances, be excluded from it; for "if humility be not joined to poverty," as Thomas a Kempis says, "poverty cannot please God."† 'Poverty is not a virtue," says St. Bonaventura, "but the love of poverty."†—There may be religious poverty amidst riches, and worldly riches amidst poverty: the poverty of religion, that is, the spirit which is disengaged from the love of riches, distinguished Abraham, Job, David, Josias, in the Old Testament, to all of whom Providence had given great wealth, and the Augustins, the Paulins, the Gregories, and so many other holy bishops and kings and nobles of the Christian Church, who regarded their riches and dignities as treasures of which they were only the dispensers for the good of others. St. Jerome appeals to the example of noble men and rich men then living who had renounced all things for Christ. The great possessions which every Christian must renounce are his attachment to creatures and his self-love.

The Church, that city of the poor, as Bossuet calls it, possessed great wealth in these ages of faith. We must shew in what manner this was consistent with that spiritual poverty which is the object of the divine benediction.

From the very first, we know that offerings were brought to the churches, and placed at the disposal of the ministers. The Church had virtually acquired property long before the time of Constantine; for that emperor ordered that all things which had been unjustly taken from the Church, whether houses or lands, should be restored to her, at the same time making it lawful for all persons to leave property to her by will.\*\* After Constantine, in the Greek Church, we find St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Chrysostom urging the duty of devoting tents to support the ministers of God. St. Augustin, than whom no one could be more pure from all terrene cupidity, presses upon the latty their obligation to "enable those who serve the altar to live by the altar, and warns them to beware lest the silence of the clergy should reprove their illibe-

<sup>\*</sup> Hist de Jumièges, par Deshayes. + De Tribus Tabernac. cap. 7.

<sup>#</sup> Medit. Vita Christi, cap. 43.

§ St. Bonaventura de Sept. Grad. Vit. Spiritual. cap. 45.

\*\* Thomassinus de veteri et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina. Pars iii. lib. i. cap. 16.

rality."\* He advises them to reserve some fixed sum for this use, "something fixed either from your annual or your daily fruits," and he even prescribes tenths;† as does also St. Jerome. † The maxim was "Laïcorum est antevolare cleri necessitatibus." Charlemagne, without regard to the remonstrances of several of the clergy, established the system of tithes by law. The laws of Justinian would not even allow a church to be constructed unless it was also endowed so as to support

the clergy.

Besides this legal provision, an immense source of wealth was derived from the faith and spirit of the people. Some made offerings through gratitude: thus in the year 1103, Hugue, count of Troyes, published the following letter at a time when he made great donations to the churches. "In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, I, Hugue, by the grace of God, count of Troyes, after great sufferings and affliction from dangerous wounds, and despairing of a cure, expecting only death; and yet God having granted me a recovery, considering in myself that I have in many ways offended the grace of my God, and that I had justly deserved this penalty for my sins, and acknowledging that I had deserved a still greater; after this great benefit of God in restoring me to health, I have proposed to render him thanks, by giving alms and doing good to some churches." Others made offerings through fear of God's judgment. Thus at the close of the tenth century, the Church received a great influx of riches, in consequence of the opinion which then generally prevailed, that the world was near its end. I cannot refrain from observing here that the moderns need not make this a ground of triumph, for so far is this fact from being favourable to their views, that it is on the contrary one which reflects the highest honour on the spirit of men in these ages. For what must have been the holiness and grandeur of that society to which persons of every rank and country offered their treasures, thinking that they were about to appear in a body before the eternal Judge, and that these offerings would recommend their souls to his justice? What must have been the faith and piety of those men who had their hearts thus fixed upon the good of the future and eternal world? When property was given to the Church, it was the practice to add the most solemn imprecations against all who should attempt to sever and convert it from the holy purpose to which it was destined. Thus the charter of Ædnothus to the Abbey of Ramsey, giving to it his estate of Acleia ends thus, "Rogamus ergo et obsecramus per Dei terribile nomen, ut nullis omnino hane terram donet, vel vendat, vel aliquo modo ab eadem Ecclesia alienet; quod si quis fecerit, sit ille maledictus, et alienatus ab omni beatitudine præsentis vitæ et futuræ, sitque ejus commoratio cum dæmonibus in inferno, úbi ignis eorum non extinguitur et vermis eorum non morietur."††

Long after the change of religion in England, it seemed a horrible and fearful thing to many even who went with it to take any part in the plunder of property which had been so solemnly dedicated to God.

<sup>‡</sup> In Matt. xxii.

<sup>\*</sup> In Psal. iv. 46. † Serm. 219, de Temp. | Cap. Car. M. ann. 801. § 39. T. I. Col. 355. § Thomassinus iii. lib. i. cap. 19. \*\* Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, par Desguerrois, 266:

<sup>+</sup> Hist. Ramesiensis, cap. xviii. Gale Hist. Brit. tom. ii.

indeed, of the rich and powerful agents made no scruple, like Sir John Russel, in making a dwelling-house of the dissolved abbey, and a stable of the church; but in a vast majority of instances, when the first plunderers had departed on their circuit of destruction, the people durst not take any advantage of what then stood defenceless and open to any invader. people, as Sir Henry Spelman says, were fearful to meddle with places consecrated to God.\* Sir Henry Spelman, in his history of Sacrilege, gives a list of all the peers who were present in parliament on Friday the 23rd of May, in the thirty-first year of Henry VIII. when the act passed for dissolving the monasteries, and he shews the calamities which fell upon them and their races: he also gives a list of the abbeys, traces the property through various hands, and shews that the acquirers never prospered. A remark which was repeated by Jeremy Taylor and many of the Protestant preachers, with what consistency, indeed, might have been questionable. Such, then, was the wealth of the Church, and such the mode of its acquisition during the ages of faith. Now one observation suggests itself before we proceed to consider the spirit with which it was received and the objects to which it was applied. It would seem that the wealth of a particular church, or convent, was only a memorial of its sanctity. Hear the accurate Abbé Lebeuf, "The reputation of holiness which belonged to the Abbey of Livry, was the cause why Matilda de Cramoel gave to it in the year 1244 twenty acres of land at Berneau."

We shall have occasion hereafter to produce many curious instances of a similar kind. At present I pass on to shew the spirit of the Church in receiving this influx of wealth and the purposes to which it was applied. "The holy fathers," says Thomassinus, "regarded the accession of temporal goods to the Church as a subject, not of joy, but of religious

fear and necessary caution, and even of grief and sadness." t

In a letter which Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne, he desires the emperor not to require that tithes should be always paid to the clergy. "It is much better to lose tithes than faith: we who have been born, nourished, instructed in the Catholic faith, even we can hardly consent to give the tenth of our goods, and must not the new-born faith, the weak heart, and the avaricious spirit of these people still less consent to it?" This was his view of their legal enforcement. In the year 813, a council of bishops under Charlemagne grievously inveighed against those who tempted the faithful to endow the Church, and ordered such gifts to be restored to the natural heirs, but it added, "Hoc vero quod quisque Deo juste et rationabiliter de rebus suis offert, firmiter Ecclesia tenere debet." A certain matron, by name Ammonia, left land and her house to the Church. Stephania her nurse, and Calixenus her son, hastened to Pope Gregory the Great, and exposed their poverty to him, upon which he ordered the land and house to be restored to them.§ "Why desire gold which cannot help us?" cried St. Ambrose, "the Assyrians formerly plundered the temple of Jerusalem of its gold, but the gold of the Church, that is, the poor, holds out a prey to no one."\*\* "The tribute of the Church," says the canon of the Irish Church, in

<sup>†</sup> Hist. du Diocèse de Paris. tom. xiii. 235. \* Hist. of Sacrilege, p. 245.

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. of Sacrilege, p. 240.

† De veteri et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina, pars iii. lib. i. cap. 4.

† Thomassinus iii. i. 20. \*\* Offic. lib. ii. c. 28. VOL. I .-- 7

the eighth century, published by Dacherius, "is according to the custom of the province, tamen ne pauperes in decimis vim patiantur."\* "The synod decreed that a priest should not receive gifts from any one of whom he did not know the conscience, for as much as the hosts do not profit him, so much do the gifts of the wicked man injure him who receives them." The bishop Jona, in his work de Institutione Laïcali, quotes as follows from St. Gregory's morals. "He who gives his external substance to the needy, but does not at the same time preserve his own life from sin, offers his substance to God and himself to sin; that which is least he gives to his Creator, and what is greatest he keeps for iniquity; he gives his property to God, and he prepares himself for the devil." We may observe that this is not the language of men who only thirsted for the riches of the laity. In like manner, Walafred Strabo, Abbot of Fulda, in the ninth century, shews that no offering to a monastery or church would be acceptable, unless from men who obeyed the precepts of Christ with a pure heart. In accepting offerings, the Church had always regard to the purity and innocence, or penitence, of those who offered, whence Epiphanius says in his exposition of the Catholic faith, "The Church admits the oblations of such as have done injury to no one, and done no wickedness, but lead an innocent life."§ "The offerings of the faithful at the altar were bread and wine, hosts for the Divine sacrifice, testimonies of gratitude for the clergy, and proofs of charity for the poor. The names of those who offered were solemnly read at mass from tablets which were the Diptycha."\*\* Men would not have relinquished the benefits of the Church, if they could have escaped the burden of tenths. The farmer of the farm of Orengis, in the deanery of Montlhery, was declared by sentence, exempt from paying tithes. The curate concluded that he was not his parishioner; but the farmer not choosing to remain without a pastor, offered to pay twenty livres every year, if he would put him among the number of his The offer being accepted, it was approved of by the viparishioners. car-general in the year 1660.

It is worthy of remark, that in the ages of munificence to the Church, we read of no consequent distress among the people. It was then the well known proverb, "que donner pour Dieu n'apauvrit jamais un homme." Thus, then, did riches pour into the Church. It remains to observe the purposes to which they were applied. Tenths were given to the clergy as shining in their divine mission, as representing Christ, "quo fit ut eis non frui, sed uti debeant religiose, pie, et parce."

"The tithes are to be divided into three portions," say the canonical rules of Crodogang, Bishop of Metz, decreed in 816, "one for the ornament of the church, another for the poor and for strangers, which is mercifully to be dispensed with all humanity; the third part for the priests themselves." St. Ambrose says to Symmachus, the champion

+ Ibid. cap. xxii.

<sup>\*</sup> Capitula Canon. Hibernens, cap. xxx. Spicileg. tom. ix.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Thomassinus, iii. lib. i. cap. 12.

<sup>††</sup> Lebeuf,-Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. xii. p. 38.

<sup>†</sup> Desguerrois Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes. | | Thomassinus, pars iii. i, cap. 4. § Crodogangi Regula Canon. cap. lxxv. apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. i.

of the Pagan Temples, "the Church possesses nothing for herself but faith; the possessions of the Church are the expenses of the poor. Let the Pagans count how many captives their temples have redeemed, what sustenance they have given to the poor, to what exiles they have afforded support."\* Thus, at the council of Rheims, in 596, those who retain the goods bequeathed to the Church are styled murderers of the poor.† Hence in the time of Charles the Bald, while many seculars had taken possession of ecclesiastical property, and were expending the goods of monasteries and churches in secular pomp, some of them proceeding to justify their conduct by representing that riches were a poison to the Church, to their specious argument the fathers of the sixth council of Paris replied in these terms, "It is right that the pastors of the churches should possess the goods of the Church, not be possessed by them, and, as Prosper wrote, they ought, while possessing, to despise them, and not possess them for themselves, but for others. It is certain, that the most holy pontiffs who will reign with Christ their Remunerator, whose place we that are unworthy hold, possessed the goods of the Church, not for themselves, but for others; not for their own glory and delight, but rather to the honour of God and to the advantage of the faithful. Let cease, therefore, that ambition which is accustomed to say that the Church of Christ has too much wealth; and let it observe, that however great may be the riches of the Church, so long as they are dispensed in the manner in which they ought to be dispensed, they are never too great."

Mabillon relates, that in the monastery of Cluny, in one day there was a stipend given to 17,000 poor, as is stated by Udalricus. In fact, it was one and the same thing to give to the poor and to give to the Church, for all the substance of the Church was the patrimony of the poor, and the money intended for the poor was, therefore, committed to the Church; and this will partly explain why Constantine desired that the clergy should be exempt from paying taxes. In the primitive Church, the bishop was the sole dispenser of the goods of the Church, by the hands of the deacons. Thus we read in the Apostolical Constitutions, which are of great antiquity-" It is for you, O layman, to contribute liberally; it is for the bishop, as the steward and administrator of ecclesiastical matters, to dispense. Beware, however, lest you wish to call the bishop to account; and do not watch his dispensation, in what manner he expends it, or when or to whom, or whether well or otherwise; for he has God to call him to account, who hath delivered this procuratorial office into his hands, and desired to commit to him this great sacerdotal dignity." Thus we read that St. Cyril of Alexandria, protested against any attempt to call bishops to account. | But while the bishop had the sole dispensing power, he was bound to follow the canonical law of dispensation, and if he swerved from it, he might be summoned to answer before the metropolitan. This law divided the goods of the Church into four parts, one being for the poor, one for the clergy, one for the bishop, to enable him to exercise hospitality, and to redeem captives; and one for the repair of churches. In the cathedrals

<sup>\*</sup> Epist, xxxi.

<sup>†</sup> Thomassinus, pars iii. lib. i. cap. 16.

<sup>. †</sup> Hist. de Reims, par Anquetil. || Can. tom. v. par. ii.

of Spain, it was a threefold division, to the bishop, to the clergy, and to the repair and support of buildings; for what was received by the bishop and clergy, contributed to the maintenance of the poor.\* To attempt to enter upon any detail as to the distribution of ecclesiastical property, would not only lengthen this present discussion beyond proper limits, but lead me upon ground which I shall have to explore minutely in a future place, when we shall have to review the character of the clergy in these ages. Yet before we interrupt the subject, it may be well to give some idea of the extent of ecclesiastical charity, by stating a few instances. When the provinces of Gaul and Italy had been laid waste by the Goths, St. Patiens, archbishop of Lyons, distributed an incredible quantity of corn, which he caused to be conveyed from parts beyond sea. Sidonius Apollinaris congratulates the pontiff upon his munificence. "You sent corn gratuitously to these desolated provinces. We have seen the ways obstructed by your corn. We have seen on the banks of the Arar and the Rhone, not merely one granary which you had filled; you have filled rather two rivers than two ships." From the laws of Theodosius, Valentinian and Theodoric, it appears that the Church possessed great ships, but it was for the sole purpose of assisting the poor, by procuring corn and other provisions for them. It was in this manner that the Church of Alexandria, under the holy pairiarch John the Almoner, nourished, besides a numerous clergy, 7500 poor. Victor Vitensis says of Eugene, bishop of Carthage, during the Vandal persecution, "He never kept money in his possession, unless it was offered so late in the evening that nocturnal darkness had closed the labours of the day; he reserved for himself only what was sufficient for the day." The blessed Honoratus, who, after living in the monastery of Lerins, became bishop of Arles, used to distribute whatever he received without reserving any part even for his convent. Hilary, his successor in that see, says of him, "Exhausta est aliquando dispensationis substantia; fides nunquam." St. Chrysostom says that laymen must not hold themselves dispensed from hospitality to the poor, because the churches receive them. "Let every Christian have a hospice in his own home, a house in which Christ may enter. Say this is Christ's room." The Romans having gained a great victory over the Persians, and taken 7000 prisoners, whom they kept in chains and dungeons, Acacius, bishop of Amida, hearing that they suffered also from hunger, obtained the consent of his clergy to melt down all the gold and silver vessels of his Church, to redeem them from chains and hunger. So they returned back to Persia. "The thing done by Acacius being known, the king of Persia was seized with admiration, that the Romans should labour to conquer in both war and benefits, and the king desired to see the bishop." When Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, had sent 369 pieces of gold to the Church of Nicene, he advised the priest Calliopus, who was to dispense them, not to give to those who made an art of begging, but to the ingenuous poor. The distribution of corn for the use of the poor, which had been committed to the Church by Constantine through all the imperial cities, was

<sup>\*</sup> Thomassinus, pars iii. lib. ii. cap. 13.

<sup>†</sup> Lib. vi. Epist. 12. † Lib. ii. § Socrat. lib. vii. cap. ii.

revoked by the emperor Julian, but again renewed by Jovian, his successor, and confirmed by Marcian, from whose edict it appears that whatever was conferred upon the Church was conferred upon the poor.\*

St. Gregory the Great used to give gold and habits to strangers natalitio apostolorum vel suo, that is on the anniversary of his consecration. His wonderful charity is described in detail by John the Deacon, who wrote his life. When the Persians laid waste Syria, vast multitudes of every condition and sex fled to Alexandria, when the holy patriarch, John, received them with wonderful charity, and when some of his clergy asked him what they were to do when men dressed in splendid habits asked alms of them, he replied that he was the dispenser of Christ, from whom he had these orders, "Omni petenti te da." These are wonderful things, but still more wondrous was the sweetness and humility which accompanied his bounty. On one occasion, seeing a poor person appear ashamed to receive so great a gift, he encouraged him, saying, "nondum sanguinem meum pro te, frater, effudi, sicut mandavit

mihi Dominus meus et omnium Christus Deus."†

The sixth council of Paris, in 829, condemns the accumulation of riches in the Church, because the Church always is in want as long as there are poor in want. In a general convention of abbots in 817, it was decreed that of all the alms which were conferred upon the churches and upon monks, the tenth part should be given to the common poor. In the more opulent churches under Charlemagne and Lewis the Pious, two parts out of three of all oblations were given to the poor, and the third was reserved for the nourishment of the monks and clergy; but in churches which were less rich, an equal portion was allotted to the poor and to the clergy. The council of Paris in 1212 enjoined the practice of hospitality to the poor, and at the same time taught, that what was occasionally expended upon the rich might be for the use of the poor, when it propitiated the favour of the rich, and inclined them to love and liberality. Such were the gifts of the holy Vuanus, Archbishop of Hamburg, as appears from the Chronicle of Adam, "Ut ferocissimos reges Aquilonis hilaritate suorum munerum ad omnia quæ voluit, benignos obedientesque haberet." When a great famine afflicted Rome, Pope Innocent III. nourished 8000 poor, besides those whom he sustained in fixed houses. On his elevation to the Pontificate he gave to the poor all oblations which came to him from the Church of St. Peter, and the tenth of all other supplies, and also all offerings which were presented at his feet in the ancient manner. It would be endless to relate the charity of the blessed Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, St. Thomas of Villeneuve, Archbishop of Velentia, St. Laurence Justinian, the first of the Venetian Patriarchs, St. Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, &c. The decrees of cardinal Pole, Legate of the Apostolic see in England in 1566, reminded the clergy of the charge of Pope Gregory to St. Augustin, the apostle of England, respecting the distribution of ecclesiastical goods, that they should be dispensed to the poor, and for the purpose of educating youth in schools, to the glory of God and utility of

<sup>\*</sup> Cod. lib. i. Tit. i. leg. xii.

<sup>†</sup> Vita ejus, cap. 29.

t Conc. Gall. tom. ii. p. 429. Capitulio Carl. Mag. lib. i. c. 87.

Baron, An. 1013.

man; that the ministers of holy Church should be the fathers of the poor, of orphans, and widows.\* And the council of Trent renewed all the ancient canons prohibiting the expenditure of the goods of the Church

upon relations and friends of the dispensers.†

When the son of a certain count was elected bishop, Peter of Blois, fearing the temptations that his rank and family would occasion to him, wrote a long letter of counsel to him, "Ad honorem vocavit te Deus propter onera, non ad multiplicandum numerum familiæ aut equorum, non ad dandas parentibus dignitates, sed ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus.‡—Si quia filius comitis aut consobrinus regis es, manu effusiore teneris expendere, necessitas hæc Christi patrimonium non contingit." Yet this very bishop became so charitable and liberal, that Peter himself wished that he would moderate it, or rather regulate it better.

In the general chapter of the Cistercian order in 1134, in whose churches the splendor of monastic poverty shone most remarkably, it was decreed that the goods of the Church were not to be expended upon the vessels and furniture of their temples, but upon the poor. Yet St. Bernard, even in his censure, furnished an apology for the magnificence of other churches, "Dicite pauperes in templo quid facit aurum, &c. Expenditur, ut augeatur; et effusio copiam parit. Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur homines magisad offerendum, quam ad adorandum. Sic opes opibus hauriuntur, sic pecunia pecuniam trahit, quia nescio quo pacto ubi amplius divitiarum cernitur, ibi offertur libentius. Ostenditur pulcherrima forma sancti, currunt homines ad osculandum, invitantur ad donandum." Well does-Thomassinus observe here, after relating the zeal of St. Bernard, of Pope Alexander III., of Hugo Victorinus, and of Peter of Cluny, in condemning the acquisition of wealth in monasteries, "Cautiously and wisely were these decrees instituted: and yet we ought not to be angry at these holy congregations if, in course of time, other counsels were followed which seemed to militate against them, while they departed not from the rule of piety and sobriety, which they always professed, that each, contented with necessaries, might dispense the superfluity to the poor. It is not of such consequence whether the riches of these abbots and bishops were little or great. Virtue is not always a faithful companion of poverty, nor does vice necessarily accompany wealth. It often happens that even heroic virtue arises from wealth; but it is of the greatest consequence that these riches should be dispensed according to canonical custom; and with that practice, they who abounded in riches might have retained all that belongs to evangelical poverty." Pope Innocent III., in this age of monastic and episcopal wealth, changed his golden and silver vessels into wood and earthen, and would not suffer more than three dishes upon his table. And the chapter of Rheims went so far as even to sell many reliquaries of gold and silver to contribute to the ransom of king John.\*\* But when Francis I. required the canons of that cathedral to sell for his use many pieces of silver plate belonging to it, saying that he would secure them a rental for the sum obtained, they replied, "that the king might dispose of their treasure, but as for us,"

they continued, "we should regard as a sacrilege the converting to our own profit any thing which had been consecrated to God." The king

was admonished, and restrained his impatience.\*

When the plague and famine desolated Rheims, in the year 1521, Robert de Lenoncourt, the archbishop, refused to abandon his languishing flock: his granaries were open to the poor; every day he fed three hundred people in his palace, and he made a general remission of all debts due to him.† During the famine in Normandy, consequent upon the wars of England and France, the abbey of Jumièges was a resource for a multitude of unhappy people. There was another similar occasion in 1538, when the citizens of Rouen would have perished by famine had it not been for the generosity of the same monks. At this very time their farms and granaries were pillaged by riotous people, and an order was dispatched to hang a troop of the seditious who had committed this outrage, but the abbot, François de Fontenai excused them, saying that it was to be ascribed to the distress of the times, and petitioned for them, and succeeded in obtaining their pardon. An instance of the same kind is related of St. Remi, who, foreseeing a year of scarcity, had made large provision of corn for the sake of feeding his people. For this action the holy man was ridiculed and reviled by some, who used to say over their cups, "What means this old man, this jubilee priest? (for he had been now a priest for fifty years) does he wish to found a new city?" A mob was collected and inflamed by these leaders; they set fire to the bishop's granaries, which were all consumed when the holy man arrived at the spot. What then think you did he say and do? He alighted from his horse, and as it was the winter season, he approached as near as he could to the fire, as if to warm himself, saying, "A hearth is always good, especially for an old man." This was all the vengeance he took.\*\* In the seventeenth century a troop of four hundred poor people from Orleans, driven out by the civil war, came to Jumièges, and the monks supported them, at the expense of 15,000 livres. I mention this last instance for the sake of repeating the remark of their historian, for he says, that "in consequence of their having received the reform of the congregation of St. Maur, they were enabled to accumulate at the very season of their greatest expenditure: so true is it that austerity and holiness were often the chief source of ecclesiastical riches."

Thus then we are warranted in concluding from the whole, that the wealth of the Church in these ages of faith, was in its extent, in the mode of its acquisition, and in the rule of its dispensation, consistent with that spiritual poverty which belongs to the attainment of beatitude. But our meditations must not terminate with our enquiries respecting those who lived in external poverty or riches. We must proceed to examine from other sides in what manner men in these ages corresponded with the injunction from the Mount, following the first counsel that Christ gave; and the next point of view which offers itself for this purpose, is that which regards their humility, and the manners to which it gave rise.

†† Deshayes Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, p. 143.

<sup>+</sup> Id. lib. iv. 96. \* Anquetil, Hist. de Reims, lib. iv. 100.

<sup>‡</sup> Deshayes, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, 61. 

‡ Id. 118. 
§ Id. \*\* Drexelius, de Conformitate Human. Volunt. cum Divin. lib. iv. cap. 8.

## CHAPTER IV.

WE are arrived at a passage where an opinion must be expressed, that many will deem groundless and extravagant; but notwithstanding the prospect of such a reception, it must be expressed, though it should overwhelm me with ridicule and the reproach of incapacity, as Socrates used to describe it, coming upon me as if it were a laughing wave, Long มันน เมาะมัน.-Be it affirmed then that to one who has studied the history of Christian ages, and the character of the present times, there can be no conclusion more certain, than that the real and practical adoption of the humble spirit in ages of faith is one cause to which must be ascribed, in a great measure, the contempt with which the modern writers are so inclined to speak of them, as it was certainly one most influential in placing them in opposition to those examples of proud glory which men had formerly been told to admire, and to which they have so often in later times recurred with approval and expressions of applause, for different results needs must be the fruit of principles formally opposed. Rome, as the mistress of the Pagan world, and Rome as the capital of Christendom, might be produced as symbolical of the two opposite characters into which ages and nations, as well as men, individually, may be divided; for as Plato says, "There are the same things, and the same number, in the state, as exist in each separate soul."\* Thus in the dark and sanguinary annals of Tacitus, we behold the combats of contending despots, or of the more despotic and capricious legions. We are present at the atrocious triumphs, we see the chained captives, the heads borne aloft on spears; we hear the horrid rattle of the martial car, and the subdued groans of those that read the list of proscriptions which is to complete the conqueror's glory. Or if we look to the condition of the same people at a period more remote, as described by the historians of the republic, we find the same restless humour of perpetual wars, along with an interminable contest beween the different orders, which led at short intervals to crimes of the greatest atrocity and horror; we hear of nothing but the camp and the forum; abroad we behold proud and merciless oppression in its most hateful form of affected protection; and at home, the ceaseless war of separate parties and interests, whose mutual accusations sufficiently exposed the delusion of that pretended liberty which could yield such small protection to the majority of the poorer citizens. All this is now changed for the Catholic type of felicity. We now have nothing but images of quiet wisdom, sanctity, and innocence; symbols of infinite love, of divine and everlasting peace, the daily sacrifice, the evening hymn, the sweet music of the pilgrim's litany, the portals that open to receive the living to joy, and the dirge of requiem, to supplicate rest and deliverance for the dead. The one is the result of the world's theory of grandeur; the other, that of the Christian philosophy; and in ages of faith men were sensible of its superior advantages. Thus it was with a view to this latter kind of greatness, that the humble St. Isidore, when in the article of death pre-

<sup>\*</sup> De Repub. lib. iv.

dicted to Spain, that if it ever fell from the true religion, it would be brought to ruin; but that if it persevered in observing it, its greatness would rise above that of other nations, and as Don Diego Savedra Faxardo remarks on this in his Christian Prince, from the time that Don Pelavo and his little band of faithful Christians had retired into the cavern of Covalonga, Spain has always increased in grandeur as the reward for its perseverance in the Catholic religion,\* that is to say, in the Christian and real sense of grandeur; for a saint would have wished no other for There will seem to many in this proposition (more shame for human wills disordered,) something false or overbold; but the difficulty may be solved, or the hopeless nature of the mistake detected, by recurring to first principles. The fact is then, (not according to Paley, that there are two opposite descriptions of character under which mankind may always be classed,) but that the Christian faith has created a character which passes from men to nations, and even to ages in the history of the world, and which is diametrically opposed to that of animal, or, as religion expresses it, unregenerated men, whether developed in the lives of men, or in the ages of nations. "The one," as the same writer says, "possesses vigour, firmness, resolution; is daring and active, quick in its sensibilities, jealous of its fame, eager in its attachments, inflexible in its purpose, violent in its resentments. The other meek, yielding, complying, forgiving, not prompt to act, but willing to suffer; silent and gentle under rudeness and insult; suing for reconciliation, when others would demand satisfaction; giving way to the pushes of impudence; conceding and indulgent to the prejudices, the wrongheadedness, the intractibility of those with whom it has to deal. former of these characters is, and ever hath been, the favourite of the world. It is the character of great men," he continues, without observing the opposite idea of greatness in the ages which beheld a St. Louis and a Godfrey on the thrones of the world. "There is a dignity in it," he adds, as if almost acknowledging his own identity with the character he describes, "which universally commands respect. The latter is poor-spirited, tame, and abject. Yet so it hath happened, that with the Founder of Christianity, this latter is the subject of his commendation, his precepts, his example; and that the former is so in no part of its composition." Beati pauperes spiritu,

The strains came o'er mine ear; e'en as the sound Of choral voices, that in solemn chant With organ mingle, and, now high and clear Come swelling, now float indistinct away.†

With St. Luke, who places only four beatitudes, and with St. Matthew, who hath eight, the first is that of the poor in spirit, for as St. Ambrose says, "it is in fact the first in order, and as it were the parent of virtues." The character of the middle ages may be estimated in respect to it by referring to what was taught and believed, and to what was practised. Now it was taught and believed that humility adopted with sincerity and practised in all the circumstances of life, was the basis of all virtue and happiness, of all temporal honour, and of all eternal hopes. The truth of this proposition is so clear, from the slightest acquaintance

<sup>\*</sup> I. 267. 

\* Dante, Purg. ix. 

# Hom. lib. v, in Luc. 6.

with the history and learning of Christian antiquity, that one would rather comment upon it than proceed to prove it; one would rather fondly gaze "upon those patterns of meek humbleness" which they place before us, than bring forward reasons to believe that they existed. Throughout the whole literature of the ages of faith, we might in vain search for any of those ingenious speculations with which so many modern philosophers have sought to make the Christian rule of life reconcilable with worldly views of grandeur and elevation. It is clear that it continued to be received in the spirit in which it was first proposed, and we see that the whole Christian life in the first ages, when it was confronted with the proud seductive forms of heathen philosophy, was regarded by all men who did not embrace it as a poor servile form of life. Thus in the office of St. Agatha, which the Church reads on the fifth of February, we find that Quintianus, the Roman prætor, said to her, "Nonne te pudet nobili genere natam humilem et servilem Christianorum vitam agere?" To which she only replied that the Christian humility and servitude were better than the wealth and pride of kings. never any attempt to represent it as reconcilable by any views of human philosophy or of earthly wisdom, with the proud ideal of intellectual greatness which is so flattering to the mere reason of man. If we proceed to examine their doctrines in detail, we find all their arguments and meditations directed to the same end. St. Augustin wonders why Eve should be called by a new name after her condemnation; and that then, for the first time, she should be styled, the mother of all living; and he concludes that "it was on account of her having been humbled and deprived of celestial gifts, that she might feel her own wretchedness; for humility is the commencement of spiritual life." \*

Nor was it forgotten, that she too, that pure and wondrous creature,

Created beings all in lowliness, Surpassing, as in height, above them all,

that she, ennobler of her nature, through whom that spiritual life was to be restored to the children of men, was indebted for her exaltation to the humility which was infused into her spotless soul. "Vide humilitatem, vide devotionem," cries St. Ambrose, alluding to the reply of the blessed Virgin to the angel. "She that is chosen to be the mother, styles herself the handmaiden of the Lord. She is not moved to high thoughts by the promise, but styling herself the servant, she vindicates to herself the prerogative of unprecedented grace." The same mind remains to her throughout the astonishing period which succeeds; for, as another holy writer observes, on no occasion of the miracles of Christ does she come forward to claim the honour of being his mother.† Let this serve to indicate the mark at which desire in these ages aimed. The facts which so repeatedly present themselves, in the history of the middle ages, of men declining and flying from honours and posts that offered great private advantage, not like the moderns, who sometimes refuse to accept dazzling prizes only from a cool calculation of selfish interests, but from a simple spirit of humility, and desire of obeying the precept of Christ, can best be appreciated by contrasting them with all that the world, before Christianity, had beheld in men placed in similar

<sup>\*</sup> In Genes.

circumstances; and also, it must be admitted, with the recognised principles of action which now govern the multitudes which have refused to hear the Church, In this respect, the influence of the Christian spirit, in the middle ages, among the nations of the West, seems the more astonishing, because from the first there was no passion which offered so great an obstacle to its reception as the love of honours and separate distinction; and there was no offence against heaven, which so soon and so fatally opposed the happiness of the race of men, and the fulfilment of the beneficent and wondrous designs of their great Restorer, as the same passion developing itself in the East. The apostles, James and John, nourished in the school of Christ, the master of true humility, who gave not the pre-eminence to the disciple whom he especially loved, and imbued with his divine precepts, after such a discipline of wisdom and humility, were instigated by their mother to demand from their Lord the privilege of sitting, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left, in his kingdom! "So hardly," observes Lewis of Grenada, "can the thirst for honours and principality be quenched in the soul of man."\* And in the ninth century, the same thirst impelled the learned Photius to invade the see of the illustrious Ignatius, which was the original cause of the most deplorable event that is found in the records of history: for what followed after the lapse of two ages, was but the consum-

mation of that first pride.

If we proceed to the review of manners, and the intercourse of private life, the character of the ages of faith is perhaps equally admirable: all the other good effects, domestic, that would follow from this spirit, one can already see; for the humility of men then was not a feigned sentiment, such as Sismondi ascribes to them, which he says was united with a most insulting contempt for others. They knew of no such humility, though their invincible patience may have seemed insulting to the pride of irritable spirits. Hear the gentle strains of their soul-"Humble yourself, and with sincerity regard yourself below all men. 'And how can I do so,' you reply, 'when the majority of men, rejecting all fear and shame, live in such disorder, from which I turn in horror? What! can I regard myself below these wretches?' Yes, yes, I repeat it: for if you only consider that the men who are the most perverse to-day may to-morrow be more near perfection than you; that if they had received from heaven the same assistance as you have had, they would have led a much more holy life than you have done, and that you would have sunk into much deeper crime than theirs, if you had not been preserved by a more abundant grace; if, I say, you pay attention to these things, you will easily acknowledge, that there is no sinner whom you ought not in justice to prefer to yourself. O, if you knew the secrets of God, how willingly would you yield to others the first rank! With what sincerity of heart would you take the lowest place! With what pleasure would you prostrate yourself at the feet of your brethren! With what zeal would you serve the lowest of them! with what joy would you honour them! with what affection would you obey them!" These are the words of Louis de Blois. "We owe it

<sup>\*</sup> Ludovic. Grenadensis in Festo B. Jacobi, Concio II. † Spiritual Guide, chap. vi.

to the grace of God," says Father Lewis of Grenada, "that we have not committed all the sins for which we see others punished; for there is no sin that one man commits of which another may not also be guiltv." - The same remark had been made by St. Augustin. Moreover, all ecclesiastical customs, manners, and institutions, which gave a tone to the whole form of society, were framed with a view to eradicate pride from the souls of men. It is only by keeping this in mind, that we can learn to understand the character of those ages, in which all things that we behold are of humble seeming. Thus the rules of Crodegange, Bishop of Metz, made by the Fathers of the Council of Aixla-Chapelle, in the year 816, are introduced by the sacred texts which prove pride to be the origin of all sins. "Ut omnes homines ad amorem humilitatis provocemus, et detestabilem, inimicamque Dei superbiam ab eis retrahamus."† Hence, the want of humility was regarded as a sure sign of not having had a regular education. It is true that men were shewn great honour in these ages; but, as Father Diego de Stella says, writing on the contempt of the world, "The honour which the saints of God had, both here on the earth and also in heaven, was not gotten by the seeking of it, but by the flying away from it." + For their own sentiments were always those expressed by St. Ambrose-"I in royal grandeur, and the cross of Christ in the dust! I in princely courts, and the triumph of Christ amidst ruins! How shall I consider myself redeemed if redemption itself is not beheld!" The humility of the learned in these ages was truly admirable. Hugues, of St. Victor, savs, "Wise men learn willingly, though it were a child which showed them the way: they regard not the person who speaks, but the doctrine which he delivers: if it be good, they retain it; if evil, they abandon it." St. Gregory says, "Ab omnibus corripi, ab omnibus emendari paratus sum;" and that great doctor, St. Augustin, says, "Ego et senex et Episcopus, paratus sum a puero doceri." The men whose genius and immense learning seemed so sublime and astonishing to their contemporaries, were approached with the utmost familiarity and affection by the youngest and most simple student. In fact, the titles bestowed on them were all founded rather on their spiritual graces than on their wondrous acquirements in human science; for these are the men who were known only as the Angel of the School, the Seraphic Doctor, the Master of Humility. If we open their writings, their style is always marked with the utmost meekness, presenting so great a contrast to that of the proud men who now condescend to publish the result of their studies. Whenever they venture to express an opinion of their own, it is in the spirit of that sentence of Ives of Chartres-"Dicent forsitan fortiores, fortiora, meliores meliora; at ego, pro mediocritate, sic sentio." Even when they had it not in their power to doubt the justice of their own views, they were still far from wishing to propagate them at the risk of that peace, which should be sacrificed to nothing but the truths which bring salvation. Theirs was not the fierce contention of lofty-crested words;-

ύψιλόφων τε λόρων κερυθαίολα νέλκη;\$

<sup>\*</sup> In Festo B. Mariæ Magd. Concio II. † Apud Dacherii Spicileg. tom. i. ‡ Part i. 122. | Ivi Carnotensis, Epist. clxxi. § Aristoph. Ranæ. 818.

so that their mere opinions were in this respect Divine, and opposed in their nature to all those of human wisdom, which latter, as Bonald observes, "like the Minerva of the heathens, came out ready armed for

battle, from the brain of their founders."\*

"Be not obstinate," says Louis de Blois, "in your own opinions and private judgment. Avoid contradiction, if truth and justice do not oblige you to use it. Yield easily to others. Suffer all the world to correct you and to instruct you, and do you acknowledge your faults with candour."† How many authors offend against this counsel of the middle ages! How impatient are they of censure, while they cruelly insult others in a strain of affected politeness; saying hard things softly, like artful Creon to Œdipus, σκληςὶ μαλθακῶς λέγων; thow tenacious of applause; how full of themselves; how quick to reprove those who are not filled with admiration at their works! they remind one of Pindar's line.

He that breathes humility, secretly rages.

ό δε χαμικά πνέων, δραντον βρέμει.

This was Pagan lowliness.

There were, indeed, some traces to them of a gentle character in the writings of the ancient sages, from whom they loved to extract the gold of natural or traditional wisdom. Thus the Athenian, with Plato, in reasoning with the youth who had been so perverted as to affect a disbelief in the Divinity, proceeds to teach him better things, in negation adjour. "We must approach him mildly," he says. und he water reduct, offerantes riv Suμόν. \$ Let no one, he says again, speak any evil of another, but if arguing with any person in a discourse, let him teach and convince the person with whom he argues, and those that are present; but let him carefully refrain from calumny and opprobrious words; for from curses and spreading women's tales by the use of shameful epithets, the most heavy enmities take their rise. And it is an ungracious thing to let the soul again grow wild after it has been tamed and made gentle by education.\*\* Thus, too, Pindar describes the first address of Jason, who "instilling a placid speech with a gentle voice, laid a foundation of wise words," βάλλετο κριπίδα σοφῶν ἐπέων.†† Who need to be told that humility belonged also to the heroism of these grand ages? When the Turks raised the siege of Clisson, and fled in dismay upon hearing of the approach of the Christian army under Josselin, though this brave count was carried in a litter to command it, the humility of the Christian hero was nobly expressed in the prayer which he uttered upon hearing of the flight of the infidels. I will give it in the old French of Brother Nicole, because his great work, "Le Grant Voyage de Hierusalem," in which he relates it, which yet exists in Gothic letters, was both a history and a book of instruction for secular nobles, so that it furnished means of extending the spirit it so often describes. "He caused himself to be set down on the ground, and then with joined hands, he made this prayer to God. 'Tres doulx Saulveur et Redempteur Jesu Christ sans lequel n'est aucun bien fait, je vous rends graces et mercis humblement

<sup>†</sup> Institution Spirituelle, chap. ii. § 4. \* Législation Primitive, tom. iii. 268. § Plato, de Legibus, lib. x. Pyth. Od. xi. # Sophoc Œdip. Col. 774.

de tous les benefices et graces qu'il vous a pleu me donner et conferer tant en guerre que en autres lieux. Et mesmement que de present a moy qui ne suis que ung ver de terre prest a rendre l'esprit, avez fait telle grace de chasser de mon pays ung si puissant prince comme le Souldan de Turquie. Lequel au sceu de ma venue s'en est fuy devant ma face comme l'aigneau devant le foup et tout par une digne vertu, non pas par ma force ne de mes gens d'armes. Et au surplus souveraine Dieu je vous recommande mon ame vous priant devotement qu'il vous plaise la recevoir lassus en paradis.' And with these words he departed

and humbly rendered up his spirit to our Lord."\*

We must remember that poverty of spirit, in all the circumstances of its development, was not unknown even among the great in the worst ages of Christian antiquity. "How many persons, even in these deplorable times," says Lewis of Grenada, writing at the period of the great religious innovations, "how many persons of great quality, generously despising all the greatness and riches of the earth, have chosen to live despised in the house of God, rather than enjoy the riches and advantages of the world!"† Humility was even embodied and shadowed forth in a multitude of customs, amidst the very pomp of secular courts, of which Dante might have said as well as of David dancing before the ark,

Less, and yet more, than kingly.

These occasions might serve to explain the saying of St. Anselm, that "perfect humility and perfect pride have some works in common."

The ages of faith differ in no respect more from modern times than in the total absence of that activity in matters of earthly and material interest which is now regarded as the criterion of excellence, whether in an age, a nation, or an individual, and of which the origin is pride. There was not that interminable contest for superiority in rank, riches, or fame, which now keeps every nerve of society in full stress, without intermission, till snapt by some overwhelming destruction. Men were poor in spirit, that is, they were content to obey and follow the will of Providence, and the footsteps of their Saviour.

Dante, in representing the state of blessed spirits in Paradise, borrowed the sentiments which he ascribes to them from the doctrines of the school which had an influence then upon all the thoughts and ways of men, beyond any extent that would now be believed possible. Thus

he addresses one of them:

Yet inform me, ye, who here Are happy; long ye for a higher place, More to behold, and more in love to dwell? She with those other spirits gently smiled; Then answer'd with such gladness, that she seem'd With love's first flame to glow: "Brother! our will Is, in composure, settled by the power Of charity, who makes us will alone What we possess, and naught beyond desire; If we should wish to be exalted more, Then must our wishes jar with the high will Of him who sets us here."

<sup>\*</sup> F. cxxix. † Catechism, part ii. cap. xi. | De Similitudinibus, cap. cxxxvii.

And besides, in ages of faith, when multitudes of souls on earth clothed in saintly flesh, were each a Paradise, men saw too much of heaven to feel any great anxiety or admiration for earth and its brief aecidents. Jacob, after he had wrestled with the angel, remained lame of one of his legs, and was after called Israel, which is as much as to say, "the man that seeth God." "And so," observes father Diego de Stella, who wore the humble cord, "he that seeth and knoweth God must be lame outwardly to the world. If, therefore, thou do see worldly men going carefully and diligently to get honours and worldly riches, do not thou mervele thereat, if they go not lamely nor haltingly about that business, for they have but a small knowledge of God. The just men that do see God, as Jacob did, through the knowledge that they have of our Lord, are, as it were, lame in the knowledge of earthly things, and those doth the world think fools because they be wise before God."\*

For the clear and full insight into this mystery we are indeed indebted to the light of the Christian doctrine; but yet this and nothing else is the meaning of those remarkable passages which so frequently occur in the writings of Plato, where, on a comparison between the effects of injustice and justice, the advantage is ascribed to the former, and it is shewn to be more powerful, more spirited, and more despotic.† Dante, in that passage where he describes the imagery upon the ground in Purgatory, which exhibited various instances of pride recorded in history, does nothing but express the view which men in ages of faith generally enter-

tained of the true nature of national pomp and glory:

Troy I mark'd
In ashes and in caverns. Oh! how fall'n,
How abject, Ilion, was thy semblance there!

And the same popular and scholastic judgment, respecting the sinfulness of pride in separate men, is expressed in that passage where he describes the proud loaded with the weight of vast stones that crushed them. Upon first seeing them bent down beneath the dreadful weight, he cried out in astonishment to his guide,

"What I see hither tending, bears no trace
Of human semblance, nor of aught beside
That my foil'd sight can guess." He answering thus:
"So curb'd to earth, beneath their heavy terms
Of torment stoop they, that mine eye at first
Struggled as thine. But look intently thither;
And disentangle with thy lab'ring view
What, underneath those stones approacheth: now,
E'en now, may'st thou discern the pangs of each."
Christians and proud! O poor and wretched ones,
That, feeble in the mind's eye, lean your trust
Upon unstaid perverseness: know ye not
That we are worms.!

<sup>\*</sup> On the Contempt of the World. St. Omers, 1622, i. 160. † De Repub. lib. i. † Purg. x.

## CHAPTER V.

And here I must pause awhile, and from this mount, "which healeth him who climbs," look back upon the scenes which so often arrest the early steps of men while conversing with the forms of mundane chivalry. Many, like Stesichorus in classic story, have had, before the course was done, to sing their palinodia. Cornelius Agrippa, practised in every slight of magic wile, lamented his vain labour in books of dangerous science: Erasmus, whose pleasant shafts have often wounded piety, expressed himself afflicted at the result of many of his writings: others, of more antique days, whose names are too venerable to mention here, have left whole books of their retractions; and in sooth, whoever has eulogized the chivalry of this proud world, returning unto the holy triumph, may well add himself to the number, and smite upon his breast; for, although he may hope to have avoided gross offence, yet is there always ground to fear that somewhat has been uttered not in harmony with lowliness, meekness, poverty of spirit,—the weapons of the just, who must con-. quer by yielding, -- peacefulness, and the awful sanctity of the school of Christ, whose sweet food can hardly then be tasted "without the cost of some repentant tear."

It is true the motive of honour is not always vicious. The doctrine of St. Thomas, the angelic teacher, and of the school is, that honour being despised meritoriously, when we refuse to commit a bad action, in order to possess it, may be also desired with praise, when we commit no evil that can destroy it: but so is also true that sentence which in lower regions is but seldom heard, "Sunt viæ quæ videntur hominibus rectæ, quarum finis usque ad profundum inferni descendit:" and there is an honour to be gained on earth which no favour wins in Paradise. It is not that I am willing to level those images of dignity and grace which so essentially belong to every form of chivalry that presents itself to the young imagination. It is not that I would add my puny efforts to aid those who are labouring to destroy every relic of the antiquated shrine of heroic virtue that has been left in the world. A modern writer, who seems to think, that to understand the spirit of the middle ages it is merely required to observe that of the nineteenth century among the people of the north, says, "the truth is, a very large number of the knights errant, comprising the chivalry of every country, were mere idle adventurers, bent only on the gratification of their own passions and seeking to enjoy life in the easiest and best manner possible." No coarse destruction of beautiful and ennobling thoughts is my object in this retrospect. A son of ancient chivalry was often extravagant, proud, intemperate, sensuous, and yet he was not what our modern sentimental pigmies would represent him; I rather hold with the wiser poet, where he says of his ideal hero,

> "Yet in his worst pursuits, I ween That sometimes there did intervene Pure hopes of high intent;

<sup>\*</sup> St. Ambrosii Officior. lib. i. 5.

For passions link'd to forms so fair.

And stately, needs must have their share
In noble sentiment.\*

But from this station, on which we now stand to survey the ways of men, one feels the importance of distinguishing broadly between the modern idea of chivalry as an institution self-existing, and the source, as it is thought, of the greatest benefit to mankind, extending its influence even to our times, (for to this length do many writers now proceed in speaking its praise,) and that which represents it under the forms of Christian knighthood, the humble and constant dependent upon religion, drawing all its excellence from the faith and influence of the Catholic Church, in its specific character and peculiar circumstances, framed only to meet the particular evils which, during a certain period, existed in society, and in its general and primary state presenting nothing but a ground more than commonly favourable to the reception of that religious instruction, without which, its best fruit, however beautiful when seen from far, would be delusive even as the apples on the Dead Sea shore, which, when touched, are discovered to be only ashes and bitterness. It is in this latter sense alone that chivalry can be defended with truth and justice, as being a Christian form of life, and consistent with the first qualification for beatitude. Whereas, in these later times, when men have begun to recur to the days of chivalry with a poetic admiration, contrasting them with the wretchedness and sensuality around them, the system is invariably represented under the former character; and against this manifest error, or rather perhaps this artful invention of proud men, who concert every ingenious measure to deprecate the benefits of that religion whose graces were common to the rich and poor, it is the solemn duty of every Catholic Christian who has ever loved the real spirit of the ancient chivalry, to express his convictions without disguise.

To begin then with the impressive formula of the Homeric heroes:

άλλο δέ τοι εξέω, σὰ δ' ενὶ φζεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν.

chivalry was a noble and beneficial mode of life, so far as it was a Catholic mode of life; but out of those limits it was only one of the many forms in which pride and sin ensnare the hearts of men; it was evil and unholy, and on that ground alone not deserving of the ridicule of which some have thought it the proper object. For, in the first place, to return to that love of honour which is thought to have been its soul, there must be always danger here, not only of forgetting to glory in the cross, but even of falling short of the natural magnanimity of which we find traces in the ancient sages. Thus Crito's argument to persuade Socrates to leave the prison was, that the world would say that he had been neglected and forsaken by his friends, who might have enabled him to escape if they had chosen, but that they preferred their money to their friend. "O good Crito!" replied Socrates, "what is it to us what the world may say? for they who are honest and wise, whose opinion alone is worth considering, will conclude that these things have been done precisely as they have been done."† Cicero, even though he had said man was born for glory, t yet, coming to speak of true magnanimity, bids men remember "unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam, eoque pulchriorem, si vacet populo, neque plausum captans, quin etiam mihi quidem laudabiliora videntur omnia, quæ sine venditatione et sine populo teste fiunt: non quo fugiendus sit, sed tamen nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia majus est."\* And in another place he reckons those who seek glory among the men who are opposed to philosophers." Codrus, indeed, was really devoted, for if he proposed to die for his country, he was willing to forego the honour, and therefore he took effectual measures to enable him to accomplish the offering of himself, by assuming the habit of a slave. But with men who speak of honour, with these admirers, I do not say with the actual possessors of the chivalrous spirit, it is often more the fame than the substance which they regard. It is only a respect for fame which actuates them: they speak in the Homeric style to their own conscience, "if I do so and so, men will accuse me of such and such things; men will say that I am poorspirited, superstitious, extravagant,"

ώς ποτέ εις έξέει τότε μοι χάνοι εὐξεῖα χθών.‡

Ibyous wrote a celebrated sentence, "I fear lest I should commit an offence against the gods and receive in return honour from men." So just a sense had even this heathen of the essence of human honour.

With respect to those philosophers who have of late endeavoured to conceive a purer and more spiritual idea of honour, as a self-existing principle, it seems to the Christian ear as if the subtilty of their words may have only aggravated the evil, spreading a thin varnish over the wide separation between pride and that spirit with which they attempted to unite it, if indeed such an union was in their thoughts; and such seems to be the case in that passage where Fichte says, that the hero whom the world supposes to be influenced by glory, "is only actuated by his own private judgment of right, and that in acting as he acts, he is no way led by the hope of the applause, but that he achieves the act which bursts forth in all its purity within his own mind from the primal fountain of honour, and imposes on mankind the obligation of approving of it and honouring it; that is, provided he takes any thought about their judgment; utterly despising both them and their judgment, in case it is not the echo of that which he himself has pronounced for all eternity."

If this be the only language with which chivalry could prove that it had a humble spirit, the cause must assuredly have been hopeless: but we may believe that in ages of faith it was often with men in the ranks of temporal chivalry as with the saints; they gained honour more by flying from it than by pursuing it. Among the papers of the Archduke Leopold of Austria, son of the Emperor Ferdinand II., were found certain rules of life which he had drawn up for himself in 1639, on taking the cross of the Teutonic order. Among these we read as follows: "I resolve to have in aversion and hatred of heart, which shall be shewn by my deeds, as far as my condition and profession will permit, all that the world possesses of honour, glory, pride, vanity, ambition, commodity, and power, and I wish to live with great joy in detachment and poverty

of spirit, stript of affection for all that the world esteems, that I may possess God alone, my infinite treasure, and that I may be useful to others, desiring, as far as is possible, to follow the example and traces of my

Lord Jesus, who was put naked on the cross, for my love."\*

Nevertheless, the opening to dangerous abuse was broad. Hear the sentiments of a daughter of Spain, who had once drunk deep of the high spirit of that knightly land. It is St. Theresa who speaks: "As we forgive those, &c .- Remark here, my sisters, that it is not said, as we shall forgive, but as we forgive; for it is not to be conceived that any one would approach the eternal majesty to supplicate forgiveness, without having previously forgiven all that have injured him. It was for the saints a subject of joy to suffer persecution and injuries, that they might have something to offer to God: but alas! what can a poor sinner like myself offer, who has so seldom had occasion to forgive, and who has such need of forgiveness? Let those who have the misfortune to resemble me reflect seriously upon this. I conjure them to estimate, according to their real value, these miseries to which we give the name of insults and affronts; these false honours of the world, with all these little sensibilities, which are only toys and plays of children, and that in things so vain they may never make a merit of their pretended acts of forgiveness. O my God, my God! if we did but know the real worth of this wicked honour! Alas! there was a time when I esteemed it without knowing what it was, carried away like so many others by the torrent of opinions and customs. What things did I then convert into subjects of trouble and vexation! With what shame do I now remember it! Certes, I knew not then true honour, the only honour which is profitable to our souls, the only honour which merits our research. O my Saviour, thou who art at once our model and our master, what was thy honour in this world? In what didst thou make it consist? Didst thou forfeit it by thy humility in humbling thyself to death? No, truly, and so far otherwise, that this abasement, to which thou didst consent, has become for all mankind a source of glory and honour! Alas! my sisters. Do we believe ourselves offended at what does not even merit the name of offence, and for having forgiven things which are neither injuries nor affronts, and which are not worthy of being named, do we fancy that we have performed something considerable, and do we suppose that God ought to forgive us, as if in reality we had forgiven others? diffuse light amidst this darkness. Lighten our ignorance; give us the grace to know that we do not know ourselves, that we come before thee with empty hands, and forgive us our trespasses only by the effect of thy goodness and thy mercy."†

Again, in another place, resuming her saintly strain:—"O my God, how clearly doth a soul see here the sense of that verse of the Psalmist, and that both he had reason, and that all the world should have reason, to desire the wings of the dove. For it is easily and clearly understood of that flight which the spirit makes, by which it raises itself up above all creatures, and in the first place, from and above itself. But this is a sweet flight, a delightful and pleasant flight, and a flight without noise.

† The Road of Perfection, chap. xxiv.

<sup>\*</sup> Les Vertus Héroïques de Leopold d'Autriche, par N. Avancin, 141.

What kind of dominion doth such a soul possess, which our Lord doth once conduct to this pitch, that she may be able to look down upon all things without being once entangled by any of them! And how full of confusion will she now be, for that time wherein she was entangled before! And how much will she be amazed to look back upon that blindness of her's! How full of compassion will she be for such as do yet remain therein! She is now much afflicted with the thought of that time wherein she had any regard to the point of honour, and for the gross error wherein she was to imagine that to be honour, which the world calls honour; for she now sees that it was all an abominable lie, and yet that every body lives in the practice of it. But now this soul understands that right honour is built, not upon a lie, but upon truth; esteeming that to be worth something, which indeed is so; and holding that, which indeed is nothing, in no account at all, since all is nothing, and less than nothing, which comes to have an end and pleaseth not God."\*

In these magnificent passages, where the piety of a saint is expressed in language as noble as that of Plato, he must indeed be slow who does not recognize some shade which did occasionally stain even that fairest and noblest chivalry, which claimed the admiration of mankind. Dante must have had deeper thoughts than meet the ear, when he speaks of having seen in Paradise, though in an inferior star, some good spirits,

Whose mortal lives were busied to that end, That honour and renown might wait on them:

adding,-

And, when desires thus err in their intention, True love must needs ascend with slacker beam.†

That some under knightly banners were busied to that end is more probable, than that such spirits could afterwards be raised at once so high. With greater justice does the same poet describe such spirits among the members of the suffering Church, to whom these words are spoken:—

Because ye point your wishes at a mark, Where, by communion of possessors, part Is lessen'd, envy bloweth up men's sighs. No fear of that might touch ye, if the love Of higher sphere exalted your desire. For there, by how much more they call it our's, So much propriety of each in good, Increases more, and heighten'd charity, Wraps that fair cloister in a brighter flame.‡

Among the stains incident to the chivalrous soul in which its whole spirit is now often supposed to consist, was noted that attention to little sensibilities which St. Theresa describes as only toys and plays of children. Here was a source of bitterness which argued no proximity to the first beauteous circle of sweet life, the beatitude of the humble and the poor. The heathen portraits were strongly marked with this dark feature. Medea prepares to murder her children most dear to her, and to destroy the whole house of Jason, and to commit, as she admits,

<sup>\*</sup> The Life of the Holy Mother St. Theresa. 
‡ Purg. xv.

a crime of impiety and horror, after which life will be intolerable to her, and all this for what reason? She declares it thus,-

Οὐ γὰρ γελάτθαι τλητὸν ἐξ ἐχθεῶν, φίλαι,\*

the motive that was sufficient to make Sir Walter Raleigh command a number of wretched people to be massacred! Goëthe, in his celebrated drama, entitled Torquato Tasso, represents his hero as under the same The quarrel with Antonio would be ludicrous, if one did not pity the agony of the poor victim to his own morbid sensibility. It is a quarrel of Germans, which seems noble to the hero who fancies himself injured, and which fills the dispassionate beholder with alternate commiseration and disgust; so true is the saying, that a man who is not perfeetly dead in himself is quickly tempted and conquered in little and vile things.† Now, in opposition to this tone of mind, which is supposed to belong to chivalry, they who would hear a blessed voice inviting them to the Mount, must be ready to renounce all claim to the honour that waits upon these quick and delicate sensibilities; and as St. Ambrose says, they must be careful never to betray passion by their words, what-

ever may be the provocation. ±

Delicacy and nobleness of mind, when well directed, and kept subservient to the ends of piety, were indeed regarded as a great treasure, but it was one which was known to require more than ordinary direction, and which exposed the possessor to a peculiar danger of incurring guilt and misery; guilt in forfeiting divine charity, refusing to forget and forgive little things, from which the heaviest enmities so often arise, and misery, in depriving himself of the friendship of others; for the number of such minds as could comprehend that intensity and delicacy of feeling must have been small, in comparison of those with whom were given a thousand occasions of offence and of saying, "Non irascendum sed insaniendum est." It was in proud silence, the delicate heart received the wound, whereas if there had been humility to leave a free course to the complaint of nature, the coarse dart might have been extracted, and no interruption caused to friendship and peace. The wise Spaniards say, "a cheerful look and pardon are the best revenge for an injury;" and again, they say, "If thou art vexed, thou wilt have two troubles." And if, after all, there had been no disposition to make amends, there would have been then an opportunity to remember St. Theresa's exclamation, and to renounce such vanities, following Christ through sacrifice and mortification. But uncorrected heroes of this noble stamp, who were left merely to nature, were for immediately withdrawing in silence, like Achilles, to sit alone and eat their own heart, under the intolerable pain of outraged feeling and a wounded imagination. Such persons, indeed, were often reminded, that after all, their conduct was only that of the vulgar, of the weakest and basest characters: and, on the contrary, that it would be a rare and noble testimony to the qualities of their soul, if it could be always said of them, by men of coarser minds, "I can do this, I can break this engagement, give this sign of indifference, for I know that man to be one who never takes offence, or who is always ready to forgive little, as well as great offences against him." "Grow

<sup>\*</sup> Eurip, Med, 795.

angry slowly," say the Spaniards, "for if there be cause, time will not

fail thee to become so."

In the sphere of morality this morbid sensibility may have been productive of great evils. It is a just remark of a modern writer, with regard to the mind of chivalry, if we suppose it undirected by religion, that is, taking it in the sense in which men now understand chivalry. "The beauty of the virtue itself," he says, "was lost sight of, under the specious colouring of ambitious fancy. It was not truth which obtained the praises of the chevalier, or which he sought to exhibit in his conduct, but the extravagant imitation of her effects." Thus we have the ridiculous spectacle of these admirers of chivalrous honour pretending to have a greater regard for truth and sincerity, than the saints and the Christian doctors of the school. A great historian of our times, who, in this single instance, seems to have borrowed their language inadvertently, affirms that no defence is available in the case of one who, being innocent and about to suffer the last penalty of an impious law, should, on a review of his own conduct, during the mock trial, persist in maintaining that it was lawful for a man to equivocate, if an inhuman judge endeavoured to force him to accuse himself; but, on the contrary, this is an opinion which has been approved of by the whole Church. Saints, like Athanasius, blessed spirits that may not lie, since they ever dwell near the source of primal truth, are expressly recorded to have acted in conformity to it. The Just One said, "non ascendo ad diem festum hunc,"\* and he meant "manifeste," for he went in secret. proud Herculean openness which rushes upon destruction, may be esteemed sinful as well as a sign of ignorance and want of just discipline. We see that there was no direct answer given to the crafty chief priests and elders of the people, who asked by what authority those things were done; but that in reply, a question was addressed to them, which they could not or durst not answer.† Indeed, the sober judgment of the universal reason has sometimes been able to prevail, even over the extravagant fancies which the moderns seem to regard as inseparable from chivalry. Thus De Argentine, in order to save Bruce, when attacked in the hall of the Island-chieftain's castle, is represented by the poet as pretending to claim the prisoners, in his sovereign's name, as vassals who had borne arms against their liege lord, and then we read—

> Such speech, I ween, was but to hide, His care their safety to provide; For knight more true in thought and deed, Than Argentine ne'er spurr'd a steed.

Yet every barbarous Cyclops would exclaim here,—" This is deceit, not

manly force."

The justice, however, of an opposite conclusion was not unknown to the knight of chivalry. Don Diego Savedra Faxardo did not want to be instructed in honour, and yet he proves, in the very book which is to teach honour, that it may be lawful sometimes to dissemble; appealing to the conduct of David before King Achis, to Samuel's pretence of sacrifice, \*\* and to the hair applied to the hands of Jacob, †† which latter

<sup>\*</sup> Joan. vii. 8. † Matt. xxi. 24. ‡ The Lord of the Isles. ‡ Od. ix. 408. § 1 Reg. xxi. 13. \*\* Ibid. xvi. 2. †† Gen. xvii. Christian Prince, i. 452.

instance, however, is interpreted by St. Augustin as having been a mystery prefigurative of the atonement.\* The conduct of Abraham, too, might have been added, of whom St. Ambrose says, "Truly, a great man, illustrious, with many virtues, whom philosophy, with all her vows, could never equal."†. But all this is widely different from the spirit ascribed by Homer to his heroes, and even to his divine personages, who are not in error, but in total want as to the principle of truth.†

Another danger to which the chivalrous mind may have been exposed, consisted in men affecting to have higher and purer motives of action than belonged to ordinary Christians, so that in fulfilling a real duty, they appeared to obey only their own will. Of this we have an instance, in the custom of bearing those rings of iron, silver, or gold, which signified that the wearer was the slave of his word. They are described by Olivier de la Marche, Monstrelet, Mabillon, and Ducange, and even by Tacitus, whose testimony to the fact might of itself lead us to trace their real origin. In many instances, however, whatever may have been their origin, the use may have been sanctified. But if this extreme delicacy of the chivalrous mind may have sometimes been an evil, in pushing virtue to extravagance, what must it have been when it made a virtue of indulging, even to excess, some of the most vicious passions of the corrupted heart! Yet it is too true, that it sometimes did so; though by pity may the mind be overpowered, when it hears this affirmed of those dames and knights of antique days. It was only the powerful and incessant action of the Catholic religion, which induced them to renounce the sentiment of nature, as expressed by Medea, when she glories in the crime she is about to commit, and declares that she is of this character, to be terrible to her enemies and benevolent to her friends, adding, that this is the most glorious praise,-

των γάρ τοιούτων εὐκλεέστατος βίος. [

And so it will always be in the judgment of the world; for it is the sentiment of uncorrected nature which Callicles expresses in addressing Socrates,—"It is not the part of a man to suffer injuries, but only of some slave, to whom it is better to die than to live." It was from a far higher source that Socrates drew his maxim, saying, "We must never retaliate by doing evil for evil, and we must never injure any man, though we may suffer ever such great injury from him." This is not what is now supposed to be the spirit of chivalry, nor what it really is, if we consider it as self-existing and in its primary state; in man, choleric and bloody, in his partner, reckless, spurring others on maliciously to strife. We can form a more correct estimate of it, by referring to that sad picture of the scene in Tantallon hall:—

On the earl's cheek, the flush of rage O'ercame the ashen hue of age.

Or even to that hero described in Tasso, who, as a hot brand, flames most ere it goeth out.

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. cont. Mendacium, cap. iv. ‡ Odyss. i, 179. || Eurip. Med. 808.

<sup>†</sup> Lib. de Abraham. Patriarch. § Plat. Gorgias. \*\* Plat. Crito.

So he, when blood was lost, with anger wroth Revived his courage; when his puissance died; And would his latest hour, which now drew nigh, Illustrate with his end, and nobly die.\*

Such may be an Homeric death, or chivalrous, if men will; but theology would teach us to admire other portraits and other modes of spirits' All this acquires additional force, when it is remembered that the soul may continue under the influence of these passions, even to the extreme verge of life; and what an image is then presented by men, like the master who translated into French the history of Gyron le Courtois, who is represented as an old knight in a very advanced age, coming to king Arthur's court to enter the lists with young knights, "et à scavoir lesquels estoient les plus vaillans ou les jeunes ou les vieulx,"† and who is subsequently described in mortal combat, acquitting himself in such a manner, that "he seemed no longer a knight, but thunder and tempest?" In truth, it cannot be denied that there is a great deal of this blind world in all the affectation of chivalrous sentiment, as it appears in the discourse and writings of the moderns. The very use which is made of terms to express it, proves this; for what Thucydides relates of certain miserable times in Greece, takes place here: the usual worth of names is transferred to other and contrary deeds, for irrational boldness is styled manly courage and good companionship; temperance is called effeminacy, and prudence in every thing, idleness in every thing. Or, as Plutarch says of flatterers, dissipation is called liberality, rashness activity, licentiousness the love of society and warmth of natural affection; and the love of mankind entitles men to the charge of being abject and contemptible. does all this indicate but the approach to those straits which none have passed and lived? Then, too, the crimes and injuries of unholy men are sung and extolled in legends and in poetry, although even the heathens would have shewn the evil of this. For Pindar says, "Whatever thing is done without God is not the worse for being consigned to silence and oblivion:"-

"Ανενθε δε θεοῦ, σεσιγαμένον γ' οὐ σπαιότεςον χςῆμ' "Επαστον.‡

a principle, which, if observed by writers in our time, would leave their splendid histories as meagre as many of the monkish chronicles, which they deem so insipid. And Euripides says,

Σιγὰν ἄμεινον ταἰσχεά· μηδ'ε Μοῦσά μοι

With idle fables, in which "there lurks a still and dumb-discoursive devil, that tempts most cunningly," the mind is ever occupied.

Dangerous food
For knightly youths, to whom is given
So much of earth, so much of heaven,
And such impetuous blood.

Nor is it to be overlooked, that the importance attached to birth exposes men under this influence to the danger of contracting a thousand stains

<sup>\*</sup> xix. 22. ‡ Olymp. ix.

<sup>†</sup> L'Hystoire de Gyron le Courtois, f. 1. Troad. 388.

of pride. "Nobilitas generis sæpe parit ignobilitatem mentis," said St. Gregory.\* It was well for many to resemble Bernardin di Fosco, as described by Dante,

A gentle scion from ignoble stem.+

The heart, on that account, was often lighter, the conscience less oppressed. This is shewn by the very bard of chivalry, where he describes how to the mind of Marmion, the wild and innocent song of youth sounded as if disgrace and ill and shameful death were near.

Her wing shall the eagle flap O'er the false-hearted; His warm blood the wolf shall lap, Ere life be parted. Shame and dishonour sit By his grave ever; Blessing shall hallow it Never\_O never!

So sung the simple Fitz Eustace, hoping to amuse his lord, in whom, on the contrary, it awakened all the pangs of horrible remorse.

Not alone nobility of birth, but the being placed in the condition of the rich and powerful, and even that very excellence of disposition which gave rise to chivalry, and which we have seen to be peculiarly favourable to the reception of the Christian doctrine, required more than an ordinary assistance from heaven, to prevent it from becoming the very source of the greatest evil. To understand this position, which at first may seem partly to contradict itself, we need only attend to what Socrates says in the sixth book of the Republic, and every one will perceive that his argument receives additional force from the philosophy of Christians. He speaks thus, "I think that all persons must admit that the qualities which are required to constitute a true lover of wisdom, are imparted but seldom, and to very few men, and see how many and great are the causes of corruption even to these few. For in the first place, that which is most strange of all to hear, each one of the qualities which we have lately praised as requisite for philosophy, destroys the soul and tears it from philosophy, such as courage, temperance, and all the other virtues of which we spoke. In addition to this, all the things that are called good, corrupt the soul and tear it from philosophy, such as beauty and riches, and strength of body, and the having powerful relations in the state, καὶ ξυγγένεια ἐβρωμένει ἐν πόλει, and all such things, for you have the type of what I wish to describe. This can be made to appear most clearly. For we know that every seed, whether of plants or of animals, which does not meet with the nourishment proper for it, neither the seasons nor the locality, by how much the more vigorous it is, by so much the more does it want what is proper for it. It is reasonable, then, that the best nature, when it receives an education improper for it, should become worse than an evil nature; so that the souls which are of the best disposition by nature, when they receive an evil education, become eminently bad. The greatest crimes spring from such natures, spoiled by a bad education; for a weak nature is capable of nothing great, either in virtue or in vice. If, then, the philosophic nature should

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. ii. Dialog. cap. xxiii. Vol. I.—9

obtain the education proper for it, of necessity it will grow up to all virtue; but if it experience a contrary, it will proceed to the very reverse of this the μά τις αυτή βουθήσας θέω τύχη. If, then, any one should come softly up to a man in this condition, and should say truly, that there is no sense in him, and that he wants sense, and that this is not a thing to be acquired by any one unless by him who is content to make himself a slave for the sake of its acquisition, μη δωλεύσαντι τη ατήσει αὐτοῦ do you think that he would take pleasure in hearing this, while oppressed with so many evils? Far otherwise indeed. But, on the other hand, if through the excellence of his natural disposition by birth, from being well born, and from his natural affinity to what is delivered, any one should be enabled to perceive what a thing philosophy was, should be bent and drawn to it, what think you would those men do who would know that the use for them and the grounds on which they had enjoyed his company would perish if he yielded to the love of wisdom? Would they not do and say every thing respecting him, that he might not be persuaded, and respecting those persuading him, that they might not be able, conspiring against them in secret, and even calling them before the tribunals? How then can such a man attain to the exercise of philosophy ?-We see, then, that the parts of a philosophic nature, when they meet with an evil education, are the very cause why the men who possess them fall from their vocation to philosophy; that the things which are commonly called good, riches and all other attendants, conduce to the same effect, -so great is the facility of destruction and corruption to best natures, which are themselves but so few in number as we have shewn, -and that it is from these men that the greatest evils are produced, both private and public, as well as the greatest good whenever they happen to flow in that direction if an ταύτη τύχωτι ξυέντες whereas a little nature never does any thing great to any one, either in private or in public."\* This remarkable passage might be illustrated by many memorable events in the intellectual history of the middle ages, by shewing the perfection to which men of noble natures did sometimes attain, the difficulties which they had always to surmount from the very causes above enumerated; the persecution of those who converted them to a life of sanctity, respecting whom the world made as anxious enquiries as the suitors of Penelope did after Minerva, who, in disguise of a guest, had reminded Telemachus of his father; † and the number of those whose evil and extravagant deeds of robust profligacy appear in such dark contrast with the generous and brilliant actions of the just, and whose crimes and follies may be traced to the misdirection of noble qualities, proving the justice of what Dante also says, that.

> The more of kindly strength is in the soil, So much doth evil seed and lack of culture Mar it the more, and make it run to wildness.

Indeed, this position is no novelty in the schools. "The blindness of fallen nature," says a famous book, "judged a life of pleasure and licence to be the best and happiest. Nature adheres to this as most agreeable to it. And this results most powerfully in those who are endowed

<sup>\*</sup> Plato, de Repub. lib. vi.

with an excellent natural reason, for this ascends so high in its own light. and in itself, that it thinks itself to be the eternal and true light, and proposes itself for that; and being deceived by itself, it proceeds to deceive others along with itself." The conclusion, therefore, is the same, that the very best qualities, and the very choicest intellectual and moral treasures are changed into evils and obstacles to virtue, by the pride and self-sufficiency which they generate; and that in this respect the only possible safety, reserved for the chivalrous nature, was in its complete and unreserved submission to the influence of that Catholic doctrine, which taught and enabled men to embrace practically poverty of spiritwhich taught the monarch on his throne to say, with the son of a poor labourer, "Let others, like the Jews, seek honour one from another: I will desire that which is from God alone. All human glory, all temporal honour, all mundane altitude, compared with thy eternal glory, is vanity and folly. O veritas mea et misericordia mea, Deus meus, Trinitas beata! tibi soli laus, honor, virtus, et gloria, per infinita seculorum secula." \*

And now, in passing from this retrospect of the ways and thoughts of pride, may we feel that joy which Dante experienced, when he had traversed the first division of the suffering Church, where this sin was expiated and purged away:—

—We climb the holy stairs:
And lighter to myself by far I seem'd
Than on the plain before; whence thus I spake:
"Say, master, of what heavy thing have I
Been lighten'd; that scarce aught the sense of toil
Affects me journeying?" He in few replied:
"When sin's broad characters, that yet remain
Upon thy temples, though well nigh effaced,
Shall be, as one is, all clean razed out:
Then shall thy feet, by heartiness of will,
Be so o'ercome, they not alone shall feel
No sense of labour, but delight much more
Shall wait them, urged along their upward way."
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<sup>\*</sup> Theologia Germanica, cap. xviii.

<sup>†</sup> De Imit. Christ. iii. 40.

## CHAPTER VI.

The line of this argument presents a changing scene, and brings before us men of very different classes in one succeeding order. From knights who were exposed to the danger of seeking glory in their deeds, I pass to the consideration of the learned and the holy writers, whose indifference to fame, though their's were souls wanting nothing of great praise, furnishes a subject of itself instructive and suitable to the present enquiry. Here are presented two objects most characteristic of Christian ages—the motives, and object, and expectations of men in writing books, and the style and general tone of their composition. The great writers of heathen antiquity have generally taken care to acquaint us at once with their motives in writing, and the expectations which they founded upon their labours. With one,

Eximiæ laudis succensus amore,

it is to transmit his own achievements to posterity; with another, to beguile a period of exile, or to divert his mind from public calamities; with another, to amuse his leisure, and prepare glory for his own name: thinking with Pindar, "that he is happy whom fame celebrates"—

-----ό δ' ὅλβιος ὅν. Φὰμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί \*

"I am persuaded," says Dionysius, "that those who would wish to leave monuments of their genius to posterity, ought in the first place to choose a splendid and illustrious theme, which can afford much utility to those who study it: for they who undertake to write upon obscure, ignoble matters, or such as are evil, and of no importance, whether from a desire to shew their knowledge and to make a name for themselves, or merely from a wish to display their skill in writing, are never the objects of emulation to posterity, in consequence of this knowledge, nor are they praised on account of their eloquence."† Cardan seems to express the sense of nearly all Pagan writers on this point, where he says, "In universum nil prosunt literæ ni tympanum pulset aliquis. Infelix autem conditio tua est quum ipse cogeris pulsare."‡ They nearly all indicate the sentiment expressed by Jason in the tragedy—"May I never possess treasures without the applause of men."

μήτ' 'Ορφέως κάλλιον ύμνῆσαι μέλος, εἰ μή 'πίσημος ἡ τύχη γένοιτό μοι.

A result which they deemed adequate compensation for any previous injury; so that Jason reminds Medea of the advantage he has already conferred upon her in causing her to reside in Greece, where every one praises her talents and wisdom; whereas, if she had lived it is there would have been no talk of her. In the ages of faith, the motives and views of men who were authors of books, were totally opposed to these: and therefore, without proceeding to enquire farther, it

<sup>\*</sup> Olymp. vii. † Antiquit. Rom. lib. i. Eurip. Med. 542.

<sup>‡</sup> Prudentia Civilis, cap. xc. § Ibid, 540.

would be but reasonable to expect, à priori, that their works themselves would have a new and distinctive character. There were also external and accidental circumstances, which contributed to secure this result. Many of the chronicles, and other books of the middle ages, were written by monks for the use of their brethren in the cloister. "The greatest number of these writers," says a learned historian of the Crusades, "believed that their books were to live and die like themselves, in solitude. Hence the simplicity of their narrative, and sometimes its indiscretion. What would have been their surprise if it had been announced to them, that on a future day their volumes were to be judged before the tribunal of the proud world, or of the age, and that the invention of printing would multiply copies of their manuscripts! As they never thought that the public would behold them, their style was frank and natural. Piety prescribed to the writers of the cloister to fly from all falsehood; and that fact should be a warrant to us at least of their good faith. Some condemn themselves to the punishment of hell if they should ever write in the spirit of prejudice or of hatred; others in their preface implore the charity of their readers, and, addressing themselves to the Divine clemency, hope that, if they should commit any errors, God will pardon them when they appear at his dread tribunal. In relating events, they are accustomed to date from the festivals of the Church, for religion was always in their thoughts. After the interests of the Church they attend to those of their respective monasteries. In speaking of heroes or princes, they represent them rather according to their physical than their moral qualities, unlike those 'who look not at the deed alone, but spy into the thoughts with subtle skill.' They relate only facts, and make no speculation as to causes or effects; only they sometimes conclude the account of a mournful event with a pious reflection-as when they have related the fall of an empire or the death of a great king, they exclaim that the glory of the world vanishes like a vapour, that it passes like the water of a torrent, or decays like the flowers of the spring. A wet season, an inundation, a drought, a storm, would then occupy the attention of history, for the public prosperity depended upon the harvest; and they even descended to the least particulars, as when the monk of St. Denis says, that the lightning fell upon the gilt cock on the belfry of the abbey. To observe their attention in recording eclipses, comets, and all remarkable phenomena of the atmosphere, one would suppose that they were writing the history of the seasons. Nothing embarrassed them in the natural or political order; for whatever seemed unaccountable and horrible to reason, was ascribed by them to the secret designs of God." \*

In describing the evils of their age, their intense sense of justice, writing as if before the Divine altars, may have led them to adopt language, from which we can at present argue but little; for though they judged no man personally, they might freely condemn a general misery: and it was kindred spirits to theirs which Dante had in view when he exclaimed.

———O clear conscience and upright! How doth a little failing wound thee sore †

<sup>\*</sup> Michau sur le Caractère et l'Esprit des Chroniques du Moyen Age. † Purg, Cant, iii.

The spirit with which these men wrote may be inferred from the circumstance of their having so often succeeded in concealing their names from posterity. They were content to be forgotten or unknown if they could but save their readers, unlike so many writers of later times, who are ever anxious to secure for themselves a name; and if they can but further this object, scruple not to excite the passions, and to expose their readers to eternal ruin! The author of the Imitation of Christ is unknown. Some ascribe it to Thomas à Kempis, others to the Abbot Gersen; and this diversity of opinion has been the source of long, and, as the Abbé de la Mennais says, useless controversies; "but no object," he observes, "is too frivolous for human curiosity. Immense researches have been made to discover the name of a poor solitary of the thirteenth century. What is the result of so many labours? the solitary has continued unknown; and the happy obscurity in which his life glided has protected his humility against our vain science." The historian of the Abbey of Jumièges is obliged to confess his inability to do justice to the admirable men who pursued learning and the arts within that cloister, "because," he says, "their modesty and humility rendered them unambitious of being known to posterity."\* "The monks," says the Chronicle of Richarius, "greatly cherished St. Filibert, as being the most fervent disciple of the late St. Richarius. At that time faithful men, holy and good, took no great care to commit to writing the things which were done, because they only attended to this end, how they might deserve to be inscribed in the book of life; therefore we should not have known even the names of the abbots who succeeded, had not the venerable Abbot Angelran made a catalogue of them, thinking that such men ought to be remembered." And in the same manner Desguerrois, in his history of the Diocese of Troyes, observes of the ancients, that "they were more desirous of being saints than learned historians, and that there is therefore much obscurity in their accounts of the early saints of Gaul." A great theologian laments that Pagan authors, such as Diogenes Laertius, and Suetonius should have given more exact histories of the philosophers and Cæsars than many Cath-

olic writers have left of martyrs, virgins, and confessors.‡

The cloister had its poets too, but they sought not to follow that Theban eagle, "to walk," as Pindar says, "high in the paths of life." It was enough if they could compose some hymn or melody for the glory of God and the utility of the Church. The author of the sublime hymn Salve Regina is said to have been Herman, a Benedictine monk in the year 1059, who was altogether devoid of polished literature.§ The names of those who composed some others are unknown. "Whatever you do," says the father of the Scholastic Theology, "do all for future benefit, in expectation of the eternal recompense: a future, not a present recompense is promised to the saints; in heaven, not on earth, reward is promised to the just. What is to be given elsewhere must not then be expected here. Be dead to the world, and let the world be

<sup>\*</sup> Deshayes, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, 154.

<sup>†</sup> Chronic. Centulensis sive Richarii, lib. i. cap. xxviii. ‡ Melchior Canus, lib. ii. de locis Theolog. § Carl. Bona de Divina Psalmodia, 406.

dead to you. As if dead, look upon the glory of the world; as if buried, be not careful for the world; as if dead, cease from earthly cares. Despise, living, what you cannot possess after death. Study nothing on account of praise, nothing en account of temporal opinion, nothing for the sake of fame, but all things on account of eternal life, which may he grant you who liveth in heaven blessed for ever and ever."\*

What a contrast is here to the spirit of men who do nothing from these supernatural motives, whose writings, alms, and even prayers, are all for the sake of the world; and of whose devotional literature it may be said with truth, that "gainful merchandize is made of Christ throughout the live long day!" 'The muse of Pindar would perhaps have disdained the sanctuary of the Christian soul, "Who of those that are destined to die would wish to cover in vain an inglorious old age without a name, sitting in darkness άπάντων καλων ἄμμιορος."† This is a darkness in which the holy writers of past ages were willing to sit expecting the manifestation of the Son of God. "Unknown to the world," says Louis de Blois, "they conceal themselves in retreat. Hardly do men without perceive their interior application to the things of heaven, and their conversation so Christian, so heavenly, which they maintain with God; unless, indeed, they be men who have received from heaven the same grace, for they avoid letting appear without any thing extraordinary or singular. In the commerce of life they are gentle, beneficent, and full of sweet humanity; they study to become the most amiable of men, but in such a manner as to preserve themselves pure from all sin; they are full of indulgence for all men. Such are the obscure children of God, who never utter any words but those of humility, and who comport themselves always in all things as if they were worthless, being often despised even by those who appear externally to have some sanctity."t

Do not these inhabitants of the cloister seem like those of a higher

world, to which the poet alludes:

I might relate of thousands, and their names Eternize here on earth; but those elect Angels, contented with their love in heav'n, Seek not the praise of men .-

Were these writers in the ages of faith deceived in their estimate of the value of human fame? Ah! there are some who seemed to think so, though even there were heathen sages who abstractedly made the same.

"Ornat hæc magnitudo animi," says Pliny, "quæ nihil ad ostentationem, omnia ad conscientiam resert." "Multi famam," he says again, "conscientiam pauci verentur." If fame were not vanity in itself, its capricious and unjust dispensation would prove it worthless. Pliny thought that the verses of Martial would not pass to posterity; "and yet," says the philosopher with an air of deep reflection, "he wrote as if they were to endure to future ages." \*\* They did endure, and will probably last with the world, while no one knows who were the authors of the two most sublime books that exist, the Poems of Homer and the

<sup>\*</sup> S. Anselmi lib. Exhortationum.

<sup>‡</sup> Louis de Blois, Institution Spirituelle, chap. xii. §. 4.

<sup>§</sup> Lib. iii. 20.

<sup>†</sup> Olymp. i. || Epist. lib. i. 22. |\*\* Epist. lib. iii. 21.

Book of Job. How many holy wise men are forgotten! how many fools and villains immortalized! Ælian has immortalized the names of several great eaters.\* How many base calumniators of truth and goodness have we seen rise up whose volumes will descend to the latest posterity with the applause of a blind world, though Justice, if she had a voice on earth, would cry,

"Cancell'd from heav'n and sacred memory, Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell!"

If we turn now to consider the style of their compositions, we shall find that it corresponds with the motives which induced them to write: their standard seems to be expressed by Raban Maur, where he says, "Magis eligo sanctam rusticitatem, quam eloquentiam peccatricem."† St. Gregory of Tours apologizes for having undertaken to write upon the glory of the confessors, acknowledging that he has no genius or eloquence to qualify him for such a task, and adding, of himself, "whom no worldly boasting hath lifted up to write, but whom shame admonished to be silent, the love and fear of Christ have impelled to relate these things." Nothing can be greater than his reluctance to presume to write concerning the miracles of St. Martin: he wishes that Severus or Paulinus were alive to continue their histories; but he is impelled to do it by a vision, and by reflecting that the Saviour of the world chose poor illiterate men for his apostles, and therefore he undertakes the task without being dissuaded by the conviction of his own rusticity. It does not enter into their idea of writing to begin as if constructing a palace, by raising a vestibule of golden columns, and thus making the frontispiece beautiful; to their humble books nothing can be more simple than the entrance. "I have made a little treatise respecting the mode of preparing for a happy death, and I have said something respecting our heavenly country, and also concerning the divinity and the rational creature." It is in this style that Louis de Blois introduces one of his books. The prologue to the four books of Sentences, by the celebrated Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Paris, who was known by the title of the Master of the Sentences, begins with these words, "Desiring, with the poor widow, to cast something out of our poverty into the treasury of the Lord, we have presumed beyond our strength, moved by the zeal of the House of God, opposing our faith to the errors of carnal and animal men." Dante alludes to this in describing him in the quire of Paradise:

> Peter, he that with the widow gave To Holy Church his treasure.\*\*

With the same simplicity they allude to the works of their contemporaries. Thus the blessed John of the Cross, Director of St. Theresa, says in one of his books, "I leave this matter to some one else more worthy; especially since our blessed Mother, Theresa of Jesus, has written admirably on this subject; and I hope from the Divine goodness that her works will be printed and given to the public before long:" they saw the Divine goodness and they trusted to it in every thing. Petrus Cel-

<sup>\*</sup> Var. Hist. ‡ De Gloria Confessorum Præfat. ‡ Ludovic Blosius Enchiridion Parvulorum Præfat. † De Institutione Clericorum, lib. iii. 27. ‡ Epist. Ante, lib. Miracul. D. Martini. \*\* Paradise, x.

lensis, Abbot of St. Remy, says, in a letter to a monk of St. Bertine. "You desire to have our letters, which, like useless feathers, are borne in every direction by the four winds of heaven, though you sit at the rich tables of the Augustines and Gregories and Jeromes, the Ambroses and Bedes and Hilaries and Origens, whose crumbs I am not worthy to pick up. If you are pleased with new things, behold the works of Master Hugues and St. Bernard, of Master Gilbert and Master Peter, in which neither roses nor lilies are wanting; but our writings have no depth or fertility."\* The moderns, who so love moral abstraction in their misguided desire to be spiritual that they would have us to believe them humble, while using the proudest words, will object to these passages, and accuse them of affectation; but yet a natural and unvitiated taste will agree with Pliny where he says, "Nescio quo pacto magis in studiis homines timor quam fiducia decet."† A distinguished professor in the Academy of Paris has lately written a book, and styled himself on the tille page "Philosopher." Epictetus would have taught him better, Μπόαμοῦ σεαυτὸν είπης φικόσοφον.‡ Το their humility of style was added that Epictetus would have taught him better, certain tone of deep conviction and stability, amounting even to playfulness, which necessarily belongs to those who are established

———In that holy faith Which vanquishes all error.

Thus Petrus Cellensis, the Abbot of St. Remy, writes as follows: "Brother Nicholas, in jesting you have said the truth, when, in allusion to my name, Peter, you have called me a stone, and I grant you it suits me, if you understand constancy and not hardness, for I am by nature and profession, in age and in will, as well as in name, petrine, rocky, rooted and founded in the mountains of the holy authorities, and in the midst of the rocks, where mother Church builds her nest in the clefts and caverns." Hence there is often more solid instruction in the mere titles of their works than we could gain from all the frothy contents of modern volumes, which are nothing to the touch but clouds and vapour. Such was that adopted by Rodolphe le Maitre in 1635, expressing so much in few words, "Treatise on Catholic Constancy against the floating errors of this time." In later times an author would be anxious to add a long list of honourable distinctions to his name; whereas the most learned and illustrious writers of the middle age are contented to sign themselves, like St. Anselm, a monk and a sinner; the title by which St. Peter Damian was distinguished while he dwelt beside the Adriatic, in the house of our blessed Lady, as he reminds Dante on appearing to him in Paradise. It is remarked by Father Lewis of Grenada, that he "into whose keeping, from the cross, the mighty charge was given," might have called himself an Apostle, a Prophet, an Evangelist, and the son by adoption of the Virgin Mother; but he passes in silence over all these magnificent titles, and calls himself the disciple whom Jesus loved. Thus, in ages of faith, to be his humble disciple was deemed more glorious than to be celebrated as an historian or orator, a poet, a general, or a king.

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. lib. vii. 19. Epist. lib. vi. 23. Vol. I.—11

On the other hand, the chronicles and lives written in the middle ages are simply written, and in an unguarded, artless style which requires a Catholic interpreter. Thus sentences often follow sentences, apparently with but little, or even with a false connection; but here we must not, like the moderns, immediately commence a charge of error, of superstition, or of inhumanity. The author of an amusing history of Grenada, would lead his reader to form an uncharitable opinion of the illustrious Mariana, from his concluding the account of a loss sustained by the Christian army with the words, "but as these latter were chiefly people of low rank, baggage carriers, and such like, the loss was not of great importance." Similar to expressions in Froissart, which have involved him equally in the like charge. But in these instances do not the words merely express the fact? Is not the loss to an army of some great captain greater than that of a private soldier? Mariana is not preaching a sermon, but writing a history; and indeed I do not believe that even this writer, who accuses him, and who is generally so estimable, would maintain that the great historian of Spain required to be taught humanity by the modern philanthropists. In all similar instances, to the page of the monkish chronicles, a closer attention would enable us to discover the writer's goodness and purity of intentions, though a hasty glance at the passage might furnish ground to a modern reader for accusation against him. What Dante sings of higher matters is applicable here:

——Things oft appear
That minister false matter to our doubts'
When their true causes are removed from sight.\*

But the fact is that these writers never contemplated the possibility of men so mistaking their meaning, or that these inaccuracies of style would become of consequence. "He founded a monastery, for he was most pious," says a chronicle. So then, will the Robertsons and their followers observe, this was the grand proof of piety! Attend a little, you hasty judge. "For he was most pious, a lover of the poor, and of all that appertained to God." Here the meaning is clear; but frequently the sentence would not have been completed, and thus a ground would have been left open to these suspicious, uncharitable, and overknowing readers to condemn the holy men of these simple ages. Where they do err it is not the fault of their intention, their language clearly shows this. Thus the monk Richerius, in his Chronicle of Sens, says, "Because I have found little or nothing recorded of the acts of the successors of the blessed Gundelbert, excepting only their names, I have not presumed to add any thing of my own, lest I should be accounted a new author of rumours."† And again he says of the Abbot Magneramnus, "quia nihil plus invenio, nihil scribere possum."‡ Facts that seem contrary to this view should be interpreted, bearing in mind that these books were written for a confined and almost domestic circle of readers, to whom the object and intentions of the writer might be known or transmitted. That love of sacred antiquity which inspired Mabillon, went hand in hand, as he declares, with the love of truth. Not that in this respect he

<sup>\*</sup> Purg. xxii. † Chronic. Senoniensis, lib. iii. Præfat. in 1 Sæcul. Benedictinum.

differed from those who went before him, but that as soon as men could foresee the danger, we find that they took care to provide against it. For others who never contemplated such a result, as Mabillon says of Trithemius and Arnoldus Wion, who first attempted to put in order the history of the great and holy men who followed the rule of St. Benedict, they are to be excused if amidst such difficulties and obscurity they erred sometimes. Yet, continues the great Mabillon, "Imprudent and precipitous admirers," (like those who claim saints that do not belong to their order,) "may be as opposed to truth as unjust calumniators. Under mihi semper maxime cure fuit hune scopulum vitare, et quamvis eruditione et scientia inferior, nulli tamen sinceritate verique studio cede-

re unquam sustinebo."\*

But there remains to be considered a class of writers who form a distinctive feature of the middle ages, whose lives and labours were especially directed by the view of that beatitude which is promised to the poor in spirit. Louis de Blois, of the ancient house of Blois and of Chatillon, was from childhood a model of piety and virtue; educated at the Court of Prince Charles, afterwards Charles V., the world was always a strange country for him; he had a distaste for pleasure, riches, and grandeur. At the age of fourteen years he renounced the world, and entered into a monastery of Benedictines. At the age of twenty-four he was named to preside over the Abbey of Liesse, which he continued to edify till his death, which happened in 1566, for no persuasions had prevailed upon him to accept the archiepiscopal see of Cambray. The admirable translator of his spiritual guide, in the Preface which he has prefixed, speaks in general of the ascetical writers of the middle age, and says, "It is allowable to suppose that these men, or rather these angels on the earth, enlightened within by eternal splendour, refreshed and vivified by that dew of light, of which the Prophet speaks,† have let fall some of its drops in their writings, and that it is less their words which we hear than the very words of God himself. Their thoughts, their language, all bespeak a celestial origin. It is not thus that men speak. Man has not, along with so much grandeur, such simplicity; nor with so much love, such peaceful calm. This Divine mixture of innocence and sublimity, of ardour and quiet, is a distinctive character of these ascetical authors; they alone know how to touch and to move the soul profoundly, without causing it to lose its peace. The eloquence of man, all passionate, because addressed to the passions, inflames, exalts, and overwhelms; its strength is in its violence; it is a torrent which, in its course, breaks and carries away hearts; but hear a poor monk speaking of the Saviour Jesus-"his countenance is calm and serene-his words are simple and sweet; and yet hardly has he spoken two words when you feel yourself affected, and you let fall some delicious tears. With means so weak in appearance, how are such wonderful effects produced? To explain this spiritual miracle it would be necessary to unveil the very foundations of the pious and fervent soul, to enter into the secret of grace, and shew by what concealed ways, by what mysterious channels, it communicates itself, and passes from one heart into another, things almost ineffable, or which but very few men are enabled to know

<sup>\*</sup> Præfat. in 1 Sæcul. Benedictinum.

and to reveal; for us, who are but infants in Jesus Christ, we shall confine ourselves to acknowledging here the finger of God, and to adoring in silence his incomprehensible power and his ravishing good-

ness."

The Greeks had a saying that every man lived as he spoke; and Quinctilian tells us that it used to be said of Cæsar, that he always spoke with the same mind as that with which he conducted war.\* The same may be said of these ascetical writers of the middle ages; they wrote as they spent their innocent lives, in the house of God. ravishing calm, that inexpressible peace, which we experience, in reading their writings with a docile faith, and a humble love, place us, as it were, within the very sanctuary of the secluded spot, amidst woods and mountains where monasteries stood. It is as if the noise of the world had died away around us. What are the pleasures of the world compared with these unutterable joys? These books, like the Cantica Canticorum of Solomon, "Seraphic all in fervency," seem to begin with a kiss of peace; they could not have been written by men who studied only the virtue which is known by means of lofty song.† It must have been by men who drew all their science from benign goodness, like St. Dominick, who, when he was asked where he found all the admirable things which he preached to the people, replied, "in the little book of charity." T Well is discerned,

> How in their intellect already shines The light eternal, which to view alone Ne'er fails to kindle love.

St. Bernard comments thus upon the words of the Evangelist: "He was a burning and a shining light," &c. and adds, "It is not said shining and burning; because the light of John was from his fervour, not his feryour from his light; for there are some who shine not because they burn, but rather they burn in order that they may shine; these men burn not with the spirit of charity, but with the ardour of vanity." Such men have need of the caution of Antony, of whom Cicero says, "that he never wrote his discourses, that in the event of his own words being opposed to him, he might have it in his power to deny them."\*\* It was the predominance of such characters among those of his sect, which made Fuller exclaim, "How easy is pen-and-paper piety for one to write religiously!" He would have deemed it writing religiously, to compose books like those we see entitled, "Piety without asceticism," that must be, in other words, how to love both God and the world, and how to avoid the cross, taking up a kind of natural and amiable temper, for which the highest expressions may be found in Plutarch or Seneca. All this, indeed, is easy; but to write like the holy authors of the ages of faith, there must be the solemn and irrevocable will to live like them, in poverty of spirit.

It is this renouncement of intellectual possessions which gives the distinctive character to their writings. Following him, "qui semetip-

<sup>\*</sup> Instit. lib. x. 1.

<sup>‡</sup> Ludovic. Grenad, in Festo B. Dominici, Concio III.

<sup>§</sup> In S. Joan. Bapt. Nativ. Serm.

<sup>†</sup> Pind. Pyth. iii.

Dante, Parad, v. \*\* Pro Cluentio, 149.

sum exinanivit," through humility, they might have expressed the fervour of their desire to imitate him, in the line of the poet,

εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ δὰ φροῦδος εἰμι πᾶς ἐγώ.\*

"Take from me, O Lord," cries St. Anselm, "if it be thy will, my substance; take from me the members of my body, my hands, my feet, my eyes, only leave me a heart with which I may be able to love thee!" Their highest rapture is derived from beholding some saintly man, and it is only to make an instant offering of it to God, without the least thought of its being made serviceable to answer any proud purpose of their own hearts; unlike that poet, who sang his vision of the future world, and whose unerring style seems for once to fail him, when he

There, on the green enamel of the plain, Were shewn me, the great spirits, by whose sight I am exalted in my own esteem.

They knew their wisdom not to be their own, and whatever store they had, freely they ascribed it to the grace of him who had heard their prayer. What a contrast was here to the judgment of all mortal men! if the ancient philosopher has truly described it; for he asks, "Did ever any one thank the gods for being a good man? but was it not only for being rich, for being honoured, for being preserved; for this is the judgment of all mortal men, that fortune is to be sought for from God, but wisdom

to be obtained from oneself.";

St. Anselm, in his sublime meditations, prays to God that he may be delivered from that curiosity which desires to know everything. ‡ such an extent did these men carry their detachment and humility, taught by the blessed spirits, who, though they see their Maker, yet know not the scope or essence of his mysteries, and "esteem such scantiness of knowledge their delight; for all their good is in that primal good concentrate, and God's will and theirs are one." In a lower respect, their humility was but the natural consequence of their choice, as reason herself can in some sort discern. Thus the ancient sage said, "If you wish to advance, be content to suffer, that you should appear to others senseless and stupid as to external things. Do not wish to seem to know any thing. You must either renounce your resolution or neglect external things." And Seneca complained, that as in every thing else, so also in the study of letters, the men of his age were intemperate; § by which he meant that they were not endowed with real wisdom. "J'ay prens plaisir," says Montaigne, "de veoir en quelque lieu, des hommes par devotion, faire voeu d'ignorance, comme de chasteté, de pauvreté, de penitence; c'est aussi chastier nos appetits desordonnez, d'esmousser cette cupidité qui nous espoinçonne à l'estude des livres, et priver l'ame de cette complaisance voluptueuse qui nous chatouille par l'opinion de science; et est richement accomplir le voeu de pauvreté d'y joindre encore celle de l'esprit."\*\* This must sound very strange to a modern lover of learning, who seeks to fly as a conqueror upon the tongues of men;

"Victorque virum volitare per ora." +

However, such a vow required great simplicity of intention; for with these ancient writers it was not learning, but the pride and spiritual riches consequent upon it, which offended them. Thus Louis of Blois, in giving rules for the direction of studies, says, "Seek not superfluous science and eloquent words, for the kingdom of God consists not in eloquence of language, but in holiness of life. Yet this eloquence need not be disdained when it is found, for it is also a gift of God. Receive it then with thanksgiving, and all will be useful to salvation. It is not necessary that you should be able to remember the words, but that you should appropriate to yourself the substance of the doctrine." \* Nay, by choosing ignorance, they shew that men may be rich in spirit, so as to be examples of spiritual riches or spiritual pride, and of the inordinate false liberty consequent upon it. "With this," they say, "a man supposes that he has no need of learning from books or other instructors; not only he counts them for nothing, but he even derides all rites, institutions, laws, precepts, and sacraments of holy Church, as also all men who use them and attribute aught to them; he concludes that he knows more than all other men, and therefore he always loves to talk and dictate to others, and he will have his sayings alone esteemed, and all other men's words to be regarded as false, or rather to be scorned as ridiculous and absurd."†

St. Jerome had expressly argued against the disparagers of learning, and had said, "venerationi mihi semper fuit, non verbosa rusticitas, sed sancta simplicitas." † And, in fact, there are many passages in the ascetical and other writings of the middle age, than which as nothing can be wiser, so also it will be found that nothing can be more eloquent.

Guizot, who, in such a question, is an authority not to be suspected, says of the writers of the middle ages, who recorded the deeds and thoughts of holy men, "If we consider them in a purely literary point of view, we shall find their merit no less brilliant, and no less varied. Nature and simplicity are not wanting in them; they are devoid of affectation, and free from pedantry." A slight acquaintance with them will, with most minds, generate a distaste for those innumerable books of later times, which bear undoubted signs of having been written by men who were full of themselves, and who, in composing them, were really no otherwise occupied than in worshipping their own miserable image. "Et quia magis eligunt magni esse quam humiles, ideo evanescunt in cogitationibus suis." The very language, all neglected and unpretending as it may be, will please more than that apparelled eloquence, "or rather disguised in a courtezan-like painted affectation, made up of so far-fetched words, that they seem strangers and even monsters in the tongue," with which the writings of so many of the moderns are recommended to the half-learned and superficial public, which is to be amused with sounds and flattered into a conviction of its own wisdom.

Our object at least seems now fulfilled, in having shewn what were the effects of poverty of spirit upon the writings of men in ages of faith.

<sup>\*</sup> Guide Spirituel, chap. iii.

<sup>†</sup> Epist. xxxiii.

<sup>†</sup> Theologia Germanica, cap. xxiii. || Cours d'Hist. Mod. tom. ii. 180.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE first beatitude answers also to the mind and state of youth, and this shall be the subject of our next meditation. The justice of this proposition may be inferred from the assurance given by Truth itself, that no one shall in any wise be permitted to enter into the celestial city, unless he approach in this character of youth: sicut puer,\* or velut parvulus:† for there can be no doubt that this testimony in favour of the young had in view the absence of all proud adherence to private judgment, and of all worldly ambition, a readiness to submit to authority, simplicity, and poverty of spirit, which we must therefore admit to be, through a singular grace, generally the inherent and distinctive qualities of the young. Our object here must be to review the character of youth, in reference to these qualities, as exhibited in the history and institutions of the ages of faith. It must be admitted, that many of the wise ancients have left in their writings admirable instructions respecting the education of the young, and the end to which it should be directed. It is curious to remark, that there is hardly any one point on which the opinions of the moderns differ more from those of heathen antiquity, than on this head of the mode and object of education. The ancients say that "the essential things in the education of the young, are to teach them to worship the gods, to revere their parents, to honour their elders, to obey the laws, to submit to rulers, to love their friends, to be temperate in refraining from pleasure;" t objects, not one of which the moderns would think proper for entering into a philosophic plan of education, since it is notorious that with them the direction of the energies and passions is always excluded from it. Aristotle, however, says of this direction, "it is not a little matter whether it be in this manner or in that from youth, but it is a very great matter, or rather it is every thing, μᾶλλον δε το παν." | The moderns, again, have determined, practically at least, that the whole of education consists in acquiring knowledge, and that the only subject for deliberation is respecting the mode best calculated to further that end in the shortest time, and with the least possible expenditure. With them, the person who can speak or argue on the greatest number of subjects, with the air of knowing all about each of them, is the best educated. Hence, within the very hallowed walls of the ancient theological schools, have arisen philosophical colleges and universities, which, after a time, most parents have been induced to regard with the same eyes as those with which Strepsiades, in the old play, looked upon the school to which he had foolishly sent his son, supposing it to be an admirable academy to teach men all that ought to be known, but which he soon regarded very differently, when his son came home to him, and seized a trifling occasion to fly in a passion, and on his remonstrance, proceeded to inflict stripes upon him, his own father; proving at the same time, that children ought to be allowed to beat their fathers. Then the poet laughs at the poor old man, who

<sup>\*</sup> Luc. xviii. 17.

<sup>‡</sup> Plutarch de Educat. Puer. cap. xix.

is now so changed in opinions, that he is for setting fire to the school-house!\* This opinion of the ancients, which identified education with the direction which was given to the passions, will explain the sentence of Socrates, when he says that "the soul departs to Hades, taking no-

thing along with it but its education and nourishment."†

If we proceed to enquire into their ideas respecting this direction, we shall find that here also they differ totally from the opinions of the moderns. Plato constantly speaks of it as the great object of education to make the young mild and gentle, to tame that savage spirit which he seems sometimes to suppose is natural to them; whereas the moderns generally applaud that system of public education which nourishes what they call a manly spirit, by which a boy is made bold and insolent, and constantly ready to fight, or to contend with any one that offers the smallest opposition to his will, which makes him resemble the son of Strepsiades returning from the school of the Sophists, of whom his father says with joy, "In the first place, I mark the expression of your countenance; your face indicates at once that you are prepared to deny and to contradict. Yours is the Attic look, 'Αττικόν βλέπον." Hence many of their young men are like those who were disciples of the Sophists, of whom Socrates says, that they were fair and of good natural dispositions, what the moderns would term of polished manners, but insolent through youth, μάλα καλός τε κάγαθός την φύσιν όσον μέν, ύβριστής δε διά το νέος είναι. To this system Socrates seems to allude, when he says, "What should we say of a breaker-in of horses, asses, or oxen, if, receiving them not addicted to biting, or kicking, or butting with their horns, he should return them, doing all these things through ferocity? Is it not the sign of an evil instructor, whether of a man, or whatever may be the animal under his care, if he should render what was mild and gentle more ferocious than when he received it?"\\$

Indeed, Plato has continually in view the necessity of softening and making mild the nature of men, by directing the education of youth to that end. Thus it is shewn in his writings, that music should be instilled into the young with rhythm and harmony, Γυκ ἡμεςωπερεί τε ωτι, καὶ εὐχοθμότειχοι καὶ εὐαρμοστότεροι ἡγόμενοι χρότμοι ἀστι εἰς τὸ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν.\*\* He says, "that man, when he has received a right education, is the most gentle of all creatures, ἡμεςωπατον ζώον, but when not sufficiently, or not well educated, he becomes the most savage that the earth produces, ἀγχιώτατον ὁπόσα φύει γῶ."†† Pindar seems to have had the same opinion of education, in

praising that of Demophilus:

κείνος τὰρ ἐν παισὶνέος, ἐν δὲ βουλαῖς πεέσβυς ἔμαθε δ' ὑβείζοντα μισεῖν, οὐκ ἐείζων ἀντία τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς,‡‡

Such, indeed, was the importance of a similar direction even in heroic times, that Homer, when he represents Ulysses finding himself in a strange country—a circumstance which must then have been of frequent occurrence to many men—makes him express anxiety on no other point

<sup>\*</sup> Aristoph. Nubes.

| Plato, Euthydemus.
| † De Legibus, lib. vi.

but that of ascertaining whether the natives had been trained to gentleness and piety, or were disposed to haughty insolence.

''Ω μοι έγ', τέων αθτε βροπών ές γαθαν Ικάνω; η β' σηγ' υβρισταί τε καὶ άγριοι, οὐδε δίκαιοι, κὲ φιλόξεινοι, καὶ σφιν νόος εστι Θε:υδής;\*\*

This was the Homeric criterion of civilization; and though it does not of necessity comprise a great extension of what is termed knowledge, perhaps it would not suffer much in comparison with the theory of some of the moderns on the same subject; the influence of whose doctrines would often lead a stranger to fear that he was in the neighbourhood of

the Cyclops, ander insenvogeintay.

It may be observed also, that the rules given to youth by Plutarch, for conversation, in his Treatise on the manner in which men should hear, approach nearer to the mildness and delicacy of Christian charity, than perhaps any other passage in the heathen writers. He inculcates, what approaches to its modesty, its patience, in attending to others, and in waiting for the voluntary self-corrections of those with whom they converse, and its slowness to contradict and give offence. But all this falls very short, and, indeed, can yield not the slightest idea of the effects of education upon the young in the ages of faith, when the Catholic religion formed its basis, and directed the whole system in all its objects, manners, and details; and to make the truth of this observation apparent, I shall proceed to adduce instances from the histories of the period, and to suggest the conclusions which necessarily must be drawn from other passages of ancient writings which relate to this subject; reserving, however, for a future place, what belongs immediately to the discipline of the great institutions of the middle age, schools, and colleges, since it is only with the disposition and character of youth as resulting from it, that we are at present concerned.

In the delightful and instructive memorials which have reached us of the lives of men in ages of faith, there is no part more refreshing, and, as contrasted with the present scenes around us, more curious, than that in which is described the manners of the young, the flight of innocent wings, the elevation of the youthful heart to God. This will best be understood by giving examples, the force of which will consist in taking

them collectively.

St. Boniface, writing the life and martyrdom of St. Livinus, describes his education and early life as follows: "This boy of excellent disposition, and adorned with many divine gifts—distinguished by the spirit of humility, and engaged in admirable contemplation of the future state—chose the contemplative life, according to the law of ecclesiastical discipline, and lived with the blessed Benign, a priest of the Scottish nation, a man of lofty blood as to nobility, but conspicuous by the still more lofty illustration of holy virtues. Seeking to be instructed by him in the melody of psalms, and in the mellifluous readings of the holy Gospels, and in other divine exercises, his tender age was conformed to his likeness, so that, as if in a wide garden of paradisiacal beauty, he walked from day to day, and by the degrees of virtue, passed into glory. The subtilty of his intelligence was wonderfully developed, so that, by the

co-operation of divine grace, he found no difficulty in the study of so many divine things, and in the application of the examples of the just."\*

If some of the instances that follow refer to an age which might seem too tender to merit consideration, it must be remembered that the mind even of infants was trained to piety. "The soul of the child," says St. Jerome, "is to be educated with a view to its becoming a temple of God. It should hear nothing but what pertains to the fear of God. there be letters of ivory," he continues, "with which it may play, and let its play be instruction. No learned man or noble virgin should disdain to take charge of its education." Children, as he says, were to learn to to chant the Psalms, and at seven years of age should know the Psalter by heart; but as for the songs of the world, they were not to know them. In the same Epistle, on the education of an infant, there is something added about frolic, and hanging on its mother's neck, and kissing friends; but there is no mention, as with the moderns, of infants being taught to sing the deductions of arithmetic. Many pious customs observed with children, which do not even want the recommendation of a high degree of poetic grace, will shew the care with which their spiritual interests were attended to in these ages. Thus an Irish monk of the twelfth century relates of St. Patrick-"And a certain woman who was strong in the faith, brought unto the saint her little son, named Lananus, to be instructed in letters; and as she believed that his blessing would render the child more docile and ready unto learning, humbly she besought on her son the benediction of his grace; and he signed the boy with the cross, and delivered him to St. Cassanus, that he might be instructed in virtue and learning. And the boy soon learned the whole Psalter, and afterwards became a man of most holy life." The piety of children, therefore, under the influence of this faith, may be entitled to our regard. "Every age is perfect in Christ," as saint Ambrose says, adding "that even children have confessed Jesus against persecutors." t

These observations will have prepared us to feel the beauty of the examples following. Thus of St. Blier we read, that while a child, he gave admirable signs of piety and grace. Nothing could be imagined more sweet, benign, gentle, and agreeable, than his whole manner: he seemed like a little angel in human flesh, who used to pray devoutly, visit holy places, converse with saints, and obey the commandments of God with the utmost diligence. Christine de Pisan says of Louis due d'Orleans, son of King Charles V. that the first words which were taught him were his Ave-Maria, and that it was a sweet thing to hear him say it, kneeling with his little hands joined before the image of our lady, and that thus early he learned to serve God, which he continued to do all his life. The loyal servant who wrote the life of Bayart, says also, "However young the child was, the first thing that he used to do, as soon as he was risen, was to serve God."\*\* And Dante, in the Paradise, commemorating the youthful

graces of St. Dominic, says of him,

Many a time his nurse at entering found That he had risen in silence, and was prostrate, As who should say, "My errand was for this." ††

<sup>\*</sup> Page 238. † St. Hieronymi Epist, lvii, ad Lætam. ‡ Epist, xxx. † Desguerrois Hist, du Diocèse de Troyes, p. 170.

<sup>§</sup> Livre des Fais et Bonnes Meurs du sage Roy Charles V. liv. ii, chap. xvi. \*\* La Tres Joyeuse Hystoire, &c. chap. xi. ++ Canto xi

Such children were regarded with a kind of reverence, as representing the infant Jesus, and all their little sufferings, sanctified by reference to his, were proposed as a subject of instruction to men. Thus St. Bonaventura says, "Behold and meditate how the Lord, in the person of the infant Jesus, experienced things prosperous and adverse; and therefore, be not impatient when you find the valley near the mountain. For behold, in his nativity, Christ is magnified by the shepherds as God; and soon after his birth he is circumcised as a sinner. Then came the magi to worship him, and again he remained in the stable weeping, like any child of man. Afterwards he is presented in the temple, and extolled by Simeon and Anna; and now it is revealed by an angel, that he must

fly into Egypt."\*

From the age succeeding childhood, we have an example in the life of St. Peter Damian, by Joannes Monachus; for he relates that Peter, when a little boy, happened one day to find some money, and, as if suddenly enriched, he began to rejoice, and to ask himself what he should buy with it. After revolving this matter for a long time, at length he said, "It is better to give it to a priest, who may offer sacrifice to God for The same motive which made the child an object of my dead father." reverence, continued to secure respect and tenderness for the boy. St. Bonaventura, in his Meditations on the life of Christ, and Sermons on the festivals of the infant Jesus, will shew what tenderness for youth was entertained by holy men, from an especial regard to the sufferings of Jesus, in that age; and his reflections on this subject, will serve more, perhaps, than any other passage that could be produced, to give an idea of the beautiful halo which was thrown around it by the spirit of religion. "The angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying that he should fly with the child Jesus and his mother into Egypt. So Joseph, without delay, informs the mother, who is all obedience and zeal to save the life of the child, and they set out in the night to go into Egypt. See and meditate on what is said, and how they raise the sleeping child Jesus, and feel compassion for them, for then the tribulation of the mother and Joseph was great, when they found that there was a design against the life of the child: for what could they hear more grievous, since, though they knew that he was the Son of God, yet through their sensuality they might be troubled, and say, 'Lord God Omnipotent, what need is there that thy Son should fly? Can you not defend him here?' Moreover, there was tribulation from the length of the journey before them, and their ignorance of the way through rough places, and from their being but ill able to travel; from the youth of Mary, and the old age of Joseph; and the infancy of the child which they had to carry; and they would have to dwell in a foreign land as poor people, having nothing-for all these are matter of affliction. Consider the benignity here shewn, how soon he suffers persecution, and how he yields to the fury of men, and refuses to attack in his turn. The Lord flies before the face of his servant. They fly into Egypt by a way woody and dark, rough and solitary, and very long. For them it was a journey of about two months or more. How did they procure food and lodging for the nights? for rarely did they find houses in that desert.

<sup>\*</sup> Meditationes Vitæ Christi, cap. xii.

Compassionate them-because the labour was difficult, and great, and long-and go with them, and help to carry the child, and serve them in every way that you can imagine. Now let us behold them arrived; and here will be another ground of meditation. For how did they live during all this time? Did they beg? The mother earned what was needful by spinning; and when the child was five years old, did he not often carry her work for sale? and perhaps at times some proud and loquacious woman would take the work, and send him away empty, without the price. O what injuries await strangers; and the Lord is come, not to avoid, but to endure them! What, and if returning home, and having hunger, after the manner of little boys, he asked for bread, and his mother had none to give him? Must not her bowels have yearned at this? But she consoled her son, and procured work, and perchance deprived herself of part of her food, that she might reserve it for him. On these and similar things you can meditate respecting the boy Jesus. I have given you the occasion-do you extend and pursue it, and make yourself little with the little boy Jesus-and do not disdain such humble and puerile things. For they seem to give devotion, to increase love, to kindle fervour, to excite compassion, to confer purity and simplicity, to nourish the vigour of humility and poverty, to preserve familiarity, to make conformity, and to raise hope. For we cannot ascend to sublime things; but the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and such meditations cut off pride and weaken cupidity, and confound curiosity. Therefore, I say, be little with the little, and grow tall with him, as he grows in stature, and always follow him whithersoever he goes, and always behold his face.

"At the end of seven years the angel of the Lord appeard to Joseph in a dream, saying, 'Take the boy and his mother and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead who sought the life of the boy.' Now let us meditate on this return of our Lord, for it is full of pious fruit. Let us suppose ourselves in Egypt, for the sake of visiting the boy Jesus, whom you will find, perhaps, amongst other boys; and he seeing you, will come up to you, because he is benign and affable, and courteous; but you bending a knee will kiss his feet, and receive him in your arms and rest with him. Then, perhaps, he will say to you, We have leave given us to return home to our country, and to-morrow we are to set out from hence; and you will answer joyfully that you are glad of it, and that you are to go with him wherever he may go, and with such words be delighted with him. And then he will lead you to his mother, who will receive you with courtesy; and you bending a knee will shew her reverence, and also St. Joseph, and you will rest with them. next morning you will see some good matrons of the city, and also some men coming to see them set off, and following them without the gate of the city, on account of their amiable and holy conversation; and from their having talked of their journey some days before. So they walk on, and Joseph, with the men, goes first, and our lady follows from a distance with the matrons. But do you take the boy by the hand, and walk in the midst before the mother, for she does not wish him to be after her. And when they have passed the outer gate, Joseph will not allow the rest to follow them any longer. Then some one of the richer sort, pitying their poverty, calls the boy to give him some pieces of

money towards the expense of the journey, and the boy is ashamed to take it; yet through the love of poverty he prepares his hand, takes the money, and returns thanks; many of the friends do the same: the mother is called by the matrons, and they do the same. Nor has the mother less shame than her son, albeit humbly she thanks them. At length, thanking them all, they wish them farewell, and proceed on their journey. But how is the boy Jesus to return, who is still but a tender child? It seems to me that the return is more difficult than the first coming; for when he came into Egypt, he was so little that he was carried: but now he is so big that he cannot be carried, and yet he is so little that he cannot go by himself. Perchance some one of these good men accommodated them with an ass, upon which he might go. O admirable and delicate boy, King of heaven and earth! how thou hast laboured for us, and how soon thou didst begin! well did the prophet predict in your person, 'Pauper sum ego et in laboribus a juventute mea.' Great poverty, arduous labours, and afflictions of body, thou didst constantly assume, and thou hadst thyself, as if in hatred, for the love of us. Certes this single labour ought to have been enough for our redemption. Take, then, the boy Jesus, and place him upon the ass, and lead him faithfully, and when he wishes to alight take him joyfully in your arms, and let him wait for his mother, and then he will go to his mother, and she will have consolation in receiving him. So they travel onwards, and then pass through the desert by which they came, and during that journey you may often compassionate them, having so little rest; and behold them fatigued and spent with labour by night as well as by day And when they were near the end of the desert, they found John the Baptist, who there was doing penance, though he had done no sin. It is said that the place of the Jordan where John baptized, was the same as that where the children of Israel passed when they came from Egypt; therefore it is probable that the boy Jesus, in returning, found him there. Meditate, then, in what manner he received them, and how they tarried a little with him, and did eat with him of his raw fare, and at length took leave of him spiritually refreshed. Do you also, in advancing and retiring from him, bend the knee to John, kissing his feet and asking his blessing, and commending yourself to him; for that boy was excellent and wonderful from his cradle; for he was the first hermit; he was a most pure virgin, and the greatest preacher, and was more than a prophet, and was also a glorious martyr. And thence Joseph passed into Galilee to Nazareth. And when the child was twelve years old he went up to Jerusalem with his parents, still going through labours; and he went to honour his heavenly Father in his festivals, and so he stood observing the law, and conversing humbly along with others, as if he had been only any other poor little boy. And when the days were accomplished his parents returned, and he tarried in Jerusalem.

"And now attend well, for you will be shewn a devout and fruitful matter. Nazareth was distant about fourteen or fifteen miles from Jerusalem, so when the mother and Joseph, returning by different roads, had reached the place where they were to lodge, it being late, our lady seeing Joseph without the boy, whom she believed had been accompanying him, she asked him, where is the boy? And he replied, I know

not; he did not return with me, for I thought he had returned with you. Then she burst into tears, and said, he did not return with me. I see that I have not well guarded my child, and so immediately, that is, as quickly as might accord with decent grace, she went about to all the houses, asking for him, and saying, have you seen my son, did you not see my son; and scarcely through grief and ardour did she feel her desire. Joseph followed her in tears. Not finding him, you can judge what rest that mother had. And though encouraged by her acquaintances, she could not be comforted. For what was it to lose Jesus? Behold her, and compassionate her, because her soul is in straits; never since her birth had she been in such. Let us not, then, be disturbed when we suffer tribulation, since the Lord did not spare his mother; for he permits them to come, and they are the signs of love, and it is good for us to have them. At length, our lady, shutting herself in her chamber, had recourse to prayer and complaint, saying, 'O God and eternal Father, most clement and benign, it was your pleasure to give me your Son; but lo, I have lost him, and I know not where he is. Give him back to me. O Father, take away my bitterness, and shew me my son; have regard to the affliction of my heart, and not to my negligence; I was imprudent, but I did it ignorantly; but give him back to me, for without him I cannot live. O dearest child, where are you? what is become of you? with whom are you? Are you returned to your Father who is in heaven? I know that you are God, and the Son of God, but how, would you not have told me? O say where you are that I may go to you, or that you may come to me. It is but a moment since I have been without you, and I know not how it has happened. Never since you were born was I before alone.' With such words did the mother mourn all the night for her dearest son. Early the next morning they sought for him through all the ways, for there were many ways of returning, as if he that would go from Sienna to Pisa, might go by Podium Bonichi, or by Celle, or by other places. On the third day they found him in Jerusalem, in the temple, in the midst of the doctors. Then she rejoiced as if she had been restored to new life, and bent her knee, and thanked God with tears. But the boy Jesus seeing his mother, came up to her, and she received him in open arms and kissed him, and put face to face, and holding him to her bosom, remained without moving for a short time, because through tenderness she could not then speak. At last, looking on him, she said, Son, what hast thou done? thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he, wherefore didst thou seek me, knewest thou not that I must needs be about my Father's business? But they understood not his words; therefore his mother said to him, Son, I wish to return home, will you not return with us? And he, I will do what you please; and he returned with them to Nazareth.

"You have seen the affliction of the mother; but what was the boy doing during these three days? Mark him attentively. He took up his lodging with some poor people; himself poor. See him sitting among the doctors, with a countenance placid, wise, and reverend, hearing them and asking them, as if he was ignorant; which he did through humility, and lest he should make them feel ashamed by his wonderful answers. But you must consider here three things very remarkable.

First, that he who wishes to adhere to God, ought not have his conversation with his relations, but to depart from among them; for the boy Jesus dismissed his beloved mother from him when he wished to be about his Father's business, and afterwards he was sought for among his relations and acquaintances, and was not found. Secondly, that he who would live spiritually ought not to wonder, if he should be sometimes left by God, since this happened to the mother of God. not, therefore, despond, but diligently seek him in holy meditations, and persevering in good works, and he will find him again. Thirdly, that he ought not to follow his own will; for when the Lord Jesus said, that he must needs be about his Father's business, he changed his mind and followed the will of his mother, and departed with her, and was subject to her. On his return, then, from the Temple and from Jerusalem, he lived with his parents in Nazareth, and was subject to them till the thirtieth year of his age. What do we suppose he was doing during this time? It is not said in the Scriptures that he did any thing which seemed wondrous. What do we suppose he did? Was he unemployed, that the Scriptures should have recorded no action of his then? It seems altogether amazing; but mark well, and you will perceive that doing nothing he did things magnificent; for none of his actions are without mystery. But as he laboured virtuously, so he kept silence, he remained quiet, and withdrew himself. He went to the synagogue, that is, to the church; he prayed in a humble place, he returned home; he assisted his mother; he passed and returned amidst men as if he did not see men. All were surprised that so comely a youth should do nothing worthy of praise; they expected that he would do magnificent things, for when a boy, he grew in favour with God and men; but growing up and advancing to thirty years of age, he did nothing remarkable or manly: they began to deride him-he is a useless fellow-good for nothing-a fool. see, then, what he did while doing nothing: he became abject in the eyes of others. But does this seem little to you? Certainly in all our works this is the most difficult; for he has reached the highest grade of perfection, who, from his heart, and with a mind not feigned, has conquered himself and subdued the pride of the flesh, and is willing to be despised. Greater is that man than he who has conquered a city. Consider, therefore, that you have done nothing until you have effected this; for we are in truth all unprofitable servants, and until we are in this mind, we are not in truth, but we walk in vanity.

"But let us return to a view of the life of our great pattern, our Lord Jesus. Consider, therefore, the poverty and humble state of that blessed family, the mother working with her hands, and the son endeavouring, as far as he was able, to assist her, for he came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. So you may consider him arranging the table, and fulfilling all kinds of offices; see how the three eat at one little table every day, and partake not of exquisite fare, but of the commonest and vilest; and consider how holily they conversed together, and how, after some little recreation, they applied themselves to prayer, having no place to meditate but by their beds, for it was but a small house; and consider our Lord Jesus composing himself to sleep upon a poor bed on the floor, as if one of the poorest sons of the people. O hidden God, wherefore dost thou afflict that innocent body, for the travel of one night ought to

have sufficed to redeem the world. Immense love impelled him to this, the fervour of zeal for the lost sheep which he was to carry back to the celestial pasture. Where, then, are they who seek their bodily ease, with eurious and varied ornaments? We who desire such things have not been taught in the school of this master; and yet he is the highest master, who neither wished to deceive nor who could be deceived.

"Having thus completed the twenty-ninth year of his age, our Lord said to his mother, "It is time that I depart to glorify and make manifest my Father, and work the salvation of souls, for to this end was I sent. Be comforted, good mother, for I shall soon return to you;" and, bending his knee, he besought her blessing, and she similarly bending, with tears, embraced him. So he departed, and took the road from Nazareth to Jordan, where John was baptizing. But the Lord of the world goes alone, for as yet he had no disciples. Behold him, then, how he goes alone diligently for God, bare-footed, on so long a journey. O Lord, whither goest thou? Art thou not above all the kings of the earth? O Lord, where are thy barons and counts, dukes and soldiers, horses and camels, elephants and chariots, servants and officers? Where are they who may encompass and defend you from sudden attacks, according to the custom of other kings and great men? Where are the blast of trumpets, and the sound of instruments, and the royal banners? Where are they who go before to provide what is needful? Where the honours and pomps which we worms use? Are not the heavens and earth, O Lord, full of thy glory? Do not thousands of thousands minister to thee in thy kingdom? Why, then, goest thou alone thus beating the earth with bare feet? I think the cause must be, that you are not in your kingdom, for your kingdom is not in this world; you have humbled yourself, taking the form of a servant; you are made one of us, a pilgrim and a stranger, as all our fathers were, and this in order that we may be kings. But why do we neglect such an example? why do we not follow you? why not humble ourselves? why seek for pomps and honours? Certainly because our kingdom is of this world, and we do not consider ourselves strangers. O vain children of men, why do we thus studiously embrace vanity for truth, perishable things for what are secure, and temporal for eternal?" \*

The whole spirit of the middle ages seems to have been infused into this beautiful meditation of St. Bonaventura. Here are expressed almost in painting, their affectionate piety, their intense interest in all that relates to our Saviour and his blessed mother, their sublime sense of the wondrous mysteries of faith; and, on the other hand, their tender humanity, their sweet simplicity, their innocent and holy manners. Moreover, in especial reference to the present purpose, it furnishes us with the model and type of the youthful character in these ages, illustrating also the grace and dignity with which it was invested in the eyes of men, from a consideration of its being a period of the human life, peculiarly sanctified by the patience and sufferings of Jesus. "Qui susceperit num parvulum talem in nomine meo, me suscepit." Who could enumerate or imagine all the kind, affectionate things, which used to be said and done to poor little innocents from the remembrance of this one sen-

<sup>\*</sup> St. Bonaventura, Meditationes Vita Christi.

tence! It is related of St. Felix de Valois, of that royal house of France, who gave proofs of great piety and charity, while a child, that, in his early youth, he used to select the choicest dishes which were placed on the table, and send them to the poor; and the Church, in her office, does not disdain to add, that he used to recreate poor little boys with nice food, pauperculos pueros recreabat. This was he of whom we also read, that when grown up to youth, he more than once gave the clothes off his person to clothe the needy; and who, afterwards, in order to avoid succeeding to the crown of France, to which he had a title by the Salic law, became a priest. It was even deemed worthy of record in a monastic chronicle, that a certain holy monk of Villars, named Godfrey, used to go into the orchard, and whatever fruit he could gather, would hasten with them to the poor children for their refreshment.\*

The old writers love to dwell upon the description of this age. Thus the young Archduke Leopold of Austria is described as having the looks as well as the innocence of an angel; and it is said that the mere sight of him in the church used to inspire people with devotion.† The young St. Francis Regis, while at college at Puy, was known to all the inhabitants of the town under the title of the Angel of the College.‡ There might have been seen a young nobleman, a modest novice in a religious order, employed in collecting the poor little boys of a town and explaining to them the Christian doctrine. What school of ancient philosophy

ever conceived any thing like this?

The exquisite grace with which the old Italian painters represented the youthful form in the angelic character, could only be the result of having beheld living models imbued with that grace and celestial sweetness which the Catholic religion is capable of yielding to the human countenance. Witness the picture by Francesco Albani, of the school of Bologna, of the Repose in Egypt, which is in the gallery of the Louvre at Paris, where two angels, as youths, are offering fruits and flowers to the infant Jesus, whom they regard with an expression of the utmost interest, of innocent curiosity and child-like love, as he plays on the knees of his mother; a picture which seems to breathe perfume, and which might have inspired Tasso in his beautiful description of the gentle Gabriel when he is sent to Godfrey.

A stripling seem'd he thrice five winters old, And radiant beams adorn'd his locks of gold. Of silver wings he took a shining pair, Fringed with gold, unwearied, nimble, swift, With these he parts the winds, the clouds, the air, And over seas and earth himself doth lift. Thus clad, he cut the spheres and circles fair And the pure skies with sacred feathers clift; On Lebanon at first his foot he set, And shook his wings with rosy May-dew wet.

Men were impressed with such a sense of the respect due to youthful piety, that even the title of martyr used to be granted to such young

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. Monasterii Villariensis. lib. ii. cap. viii. apud Martini Thesaur. Anecdot.

<sup>†</sup> Les Vertus de Leopold d'Autriche, par Avancin, 13. ‡ Vie de St. François Regis, p. 16.

<sup>|</sup> Book. i. 14.

persons as met with death from the hands of unjust men. Thus St. Kenelm was regarded as a martyr, though all that is related of his death is as follows: "Ingulphus, abbot of Crowland, says that St. Kenelm was the son of Kenulphus, king of the Mercians, and a great benefactor to the monastery of Crowland, which had been lately founded by King Ethalbald. Kenelm was left heir to the crown in his seventh year; he was enticed into a wood by the craft of Quendreda, and it being late in the evening that most innocent boy was cruelly martyred by Ascebert, his tutor." William of Malmesbury indeed supposes that such men as St. Dunstan would never have allowed Kenelm or Egelbrith to be venerated as martyrs unless God had confirmed their title by miracles;\* but devout people were willing at all times to have recourse to the holiness of youth as possessing a grace that was self-evident. Thus, in the church of St. Hilary at Paris, there was a tomb of a young student of the college of Harcourt, called Louis Pelet: his death was stated to have taken place in the year 1747, without mention of the month or day, but the inscription was terminated with these words, "Sancte puer, ora pro nobis."t

In like manner all the sufferings of that age were regarded with great tenderness, and inspired somewhat of reverence. In our times the young English students in the distant schools of Spain and Portugal used to be regarded with wonderful interest by the devout people of those lands, who commiserated their condition in being sent so far from their country. It used to be a common opinion with the captains of vessels from England to Bilboa, that it was a good pledge for them when they had on board an English student for Valladolid. On one occasion of a storm in the Bay of Bisquai, the captain hearing that a certain youth was one of these students going thither, became quite cheerful and composed, observing, that since this student was on board they had nothing to fear. Generally too, on the death of young persons, it was obvious, that in certain minor customs established by the Church, it was her intention to indicate her sense of the peculiar innocence and purity which belonged to that age. But to proceed. The young who were in the walks of secular life became subject to the prevailing influence of chivalry, and in this respect the duties of their condition were enforced with a systematic attention to the preservation of innocence and humility. Homer makes Minerva address Telemachus in a style the converse of that which is adopted by the modern guides of youth, though similar to that which was common in Christian ages: she says to him, "Few sons are like their fathers; the greatest number are worse, and but very few better." ‡ The young were willing to admit the justice of the ancient sentence, "In antiquis est sapientia, et in multo tempore prudentia." To respect age and every superior rank, and to be gracious and kind to interiors, were duties from the observance of which the natural benevolence of youth was not prevented by any false theory of sophists or conventional rules of society. As for public and political affairs, even Socrates, though such a friend to the young, says that they are never qualified to take a part in them; and he alleges as a reason, that they admire and

<sup>\*</sup> De Gest. Pontif. Anglic. lib. v.

<sup>†</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. i. chap. v.

will follow any artful intriguer who may pursue his private ends under a specious shew of virtue, whom good men will hate and fly from.\* Aristotle also denies that young men can have political wisdom: "they can be geometricians and mathematicians, but not wise statesmen; for it is experience alone and length of age which can give political wisdom." With respect to reverence for age and kindness towards inferiors, we have abundant testimony to the disposition of the young during ages of faith. Eliu, who does not presume to speak to Job before his elder friends, might be taken to represent them in the former respect; and an instance of the latter kind may be seen in what is related of St. Martin, for when a youth, being forced to go to the wars along with the other sons of old soldiers whom the emperor Constantius commanded to be enrolled, he was sent by his father with a servant to wait upon him; the young Martin, however, treated him not like a servant but like a companion, serving him as much as he was served by him, pulling off his boots, cleaning his clothes, and serving him at table. Indeed, by the laws of chivalry, youth was trained to such services, and in this respect it was retained in that condition alluded to by St. Paul when he says "Dico autem quanto tempore hæres parvulus est, nihil differt a servo cum sit dominus omnium." It was also a maxim of religion, expressly inculcated, that young people should be obliging, willing to serve, doing readily the duty which presents itself, and helping also a servant in his work as occasion may require. The remark of the cautious and selfish Cardan on this point is amusing: "Boys," he says, "are much better for your service than men, 'pueri sunt in omnibus, (præterquam gravibus) ministeriis, viris meliores; quia magis assidui, prompti, diligentes, obedientes, mundi, minoris sumtus; et verberari possunt." "\*\* But on the other hand, while youth was maintained in its proper degree of subordination, there was no concealment of the real benefits which an attention to its disposition might yield even to men of mature wisdom. There would have been wise men to agree with Plato without his implied censure where he says, "The old men, sitting with the young, are filled with cheerfulness and grace of manner, imitating the young that they may not seem disagreeable and imperious." The Sir Henry Sidney says, in advice to his son Robert, "In your travels seek the knowledge of the estate of every prince, court, and city that you pass through. Address yourself to the company to learn this of the elder sort, and yet neglect not the younger: by the one you shall gather learning, wisdom, and knowledge, by the other, acquaintance, languages, and exercise," an advantage so feelingly appreciated by the bard of chivalry in the simple lines,—

And much I miss those sportive boys, Companions of my river joys, Just at the age 'twixt boy and youth, When thought is speech and speech is truth.

St. Bernard begins his letter to a young man named Fulco, saying, "Inde lætari in adolescentia unde in senectute non pæniteat." ## Under

<sup>\*</sup> De Repub. lib. viii. † Ethic. lib. vi. cap. viii. † Ethic. lib. vi. cap. viii. † Ad Galat. iv.

<sup>§</sup> Christian Instructions for Youth, p. 10.

\*\* Prudentia Civilis, cap. xxxix.

†† De Repub. viii, 

‡‡ Epist, ii.

this direction there was nothing condemned or despised by the men of these ages in the simple pleasures of youth. Perhaps they too, at whose feet now sat disciples, were once the nimblest of the jocund band, used, long as it suited the unripened down that fledged their cheek, to be the foremost in every wild adventurous game, used to ply the hearty oar, to head the mimic chase, to sing, swimming, to the sound of the broken rushes, and each would now apply the poet's description to himself-

It was then that around me, though poor and unknown, High spells of mysterious enchantment were thrown; The streams were of silver, of diamond the dew, The land was an Eden, for fancy was new. .

Their wisdom would have approved of Heraclitus, when, after resigning the government of his city, which was torn with factions, and being found playing with some boys in a porch, he asked those who wondered at him, whether it was not better to play with such boys than govern such men? The writers of the middle ages indicate continually how deeply they can feel, from the purity and simplicity of their lives, the beauty of whatever belongs to the innocent joys of nature. Without any gloomy reflection on their own advanced progress in the human course, they love to describe the sportive raptures of the young. "Youth's smiling morn," they say, "enjoys a beautiful horizon; that magic distance is wondrous fair, so long as the soul has never been soiled by the world's base affection." The good abbot Desnay gave the money for Bayart's horses to his companion Bellabre, saying of the young page, "Car il a encore la barbe trop jeune pour manyer deniers."\* Here was assuredly a happy privilege, and one which the spirit of "the scholastic romantic ages" then secured for the young! Their's was but one sentiment, "Bref. c'est une diablerie quant avarice precede l'honneur."† The selfish prudence of Cardan saw clearly the distinctive quality of the young in this respect, and was for turning it to account. "To retain boys or youths to serve you well," he says, "it is necessary that they he excited either to wisdom or to music, or to conjunctions for the sake of play, or to huntings, for with such things you will command them, viros detinebis stipendiis." ‡

The dexterous ingenuity of youth was often employed by holy persons to facilitate the success of their charitable and saintly labours. An amusing instance of this kind is related by St. Theresa. While she was at Toledo, in great difficulties, and at a loss to find a house in which to establish the convent she intended to found; "One day," she says, "there came up to me a young man, named Andrada, who said that he had been sent to me by his father confessor, a Franciscan, named father Martin of the Cross, who was aware of all our difficulties. He came up to me in a church, where I was hearing mass, to offer me all the service in his power, which, however, could not exceed that of his personal labour. I thanked him; and my companions, as well as

<sup>\*</sup> La tres joyeuse, plaisante et recreative hystoire des faicts, gestes, triomphes et prouesses du bon chevalier, sans paeur et sans reprouche, le gentil Seigneur de Bayart. Chap. vii.

<sup>+</sup> Ibid. chap. xxvi.

myself, were somewhat amused to think that this holy man should have sent us such an assistance, because the young man did not appear to me to be exactly the person proper to treat with barefooted Carmelites. Some time after, when I received permission to make the foundation, but still had no assistance, and being greatly at a loss, I began to call to mind this young man, and I spoke of him to my companions; but they could not help laughing, and bid me have a care how I trusted him, for he would only disclose our secret. Nevertheless, as he had been sent to me by a great servant of God, I determined to send for him. After charging him to be very discreet, I asked him if he thought he could hire a house for us in Toledo? Without an instant's hesitation he engaged to do it, with great joy, and, in fact, the next morning he came to me in the church of the Jesuits, and told me he had hired a house close to ours, and that he had brought the keys in his pocket. We found, upon trial, that it suited our purpose perfectly, and there we established ourselves. Now how strange was all this! Here had been rich and important people, giving themselves constant trouble, for two or three months, to seek a house for us, without being able to find one in all Toledo, and this young man, who has nothing but his good-will, pro-

cures us one immediately!"\*

During these ages, the condition of youth in secular life, with respect to happiness, has struck the imagination even of modern writers; one of whom says,-" If there be any thing, indeed, in the poetry of old romance, in which we may indulge, as a true picture of chivalrous delight, it is in its representations of the pleasures of a young and noble squire, occupied incessantly in some pursuit that added to the graces of his person, or to his hilarity of feeling: he had the brightest visions that hope could possibly possess." And in the same page, he is obliged to record, that this happy youth was taught to avoid pride, anger, envy, idleness, gluttony, and luxury; to keep the commandments inviolably; to treasure in his heart the XII articles of faith; to exercise the VII principal virtues, in contradistinction to the VII mortal sins, and to perform the VII works of spiritual mercy, in saving people from error, as well as the VII works of corporal mercy, which embraced all works of charity done to the body. So far this writer. In fact, the habit once acquired of directing the intention to the glory of God, according to the spirit of these ages, every thing in the life of men was sanctified, and even the joys and triumphs of youth were enhanced, as well as rendered innocent; for the extinction of selfishness rendered joy and triumph pure and glorious to the heart. Religion to them was fidelity, obedience, chivalry; and all the noble and joyous sentiments of nature were cherished. In the lowest, as well as in the highest dignity, to be the servants of the servant of God was the great object of this spiritualized and refined ambition. The youth was happy and innocent, even amidst the pomp and exultation of his moments of triumph; for all his grace and glory were to impress the minds of others with a sense of the dignity and importance of his master, who was himself the minister of Divine Providence, to maintain the order and felicity of the holy state of a Christian people. In himself he was nothing; his heart was never for an instant directed to his own selfish interests, for his interests were all lapsed into those of his order, of his fellow Christians, of his God. How beautifully is this shewn in the expression which occurs in Perceforest, where there is a description of a young man being knighted: "Now, said the king, it only remains that I give you the accolade, which I am willing to do; but you must first promise me, that you will, above all things, honour God, who made heaven and earth. After that you must swear to follow the lessons and doctrines which have just been given you. Then answered the youth, his eyes being tearful with devout thoughts, 'this I have promised to do.'" Here is an admirable trait of nature. Men now say, "thoughtless youth;" whereas in fact, youth runs wild in superabundance of thought, and it was to give this culture and direction that the various parts of Catholic discipline were framed and exercised.

The description which Christine de Pisan gives of Louis duc de Bourbon, fourth brother of king Charles V., in his youth, is peculiarly interesting, from her continuing to shew how his character, in after life, was affected by his early manners. She says, "he was a vessel of all goodness, clemency, benignity, and sweetness. En sa juenece fu prince bel, joyeux, festoyant et de hounorable amour amoureux et sans pechié: joyeux gentil en ses manieres, benigne en parolles, large en dons, d'accueil si gracieux que tiroit à luy amer princes, princesses, chevaliers, nobles, et toutes gens qui le veoyent; but when this good duke came to maturer years, all this joyous and innocent youth turned into sense and moderation, good counsel, devotion, and constancy, and though his manners were always praiseworthy, yet now the degrees of his virtue increased still more. The virtue of charity shone forth in him; he used to succour poor gentlemen, and give great gifts to poor monks and poor clerks, and to poor scholars, and to all poor people of every condition he is piteous and a great almoner; he gives great alms in secret, has great faith towards God, and ever turns to him in his necessities."\* Yet it often happened with young persons in secular life, that the least circumstance was able to inflame them with a desire of passing immediately to a state of Christian perfection. Thus we read in a Chronicle: "There was a monk of Villars, named Daniel, whose father was the uncle of the lady Clemence de Rixensart. Upon leaving the schools, he wished to have recourse to the vanity of tournaments at Senges, and there he became a soldier; but being attacked by sickness, his resolution was changed, and he determined to militate for God in the monastery of Villars; for seeing the world to pass and its concupiscence, he remembered his Creator in the days of his youth, and redeemed the time by living innocently."

So far we have attended only to the condition of the young in the walks of secular life, where it cannot be denied, if in those times there were many things to assist and preserve innocence and poverty of spirit, there were also many peculiar sources of danger. "The youthful aspirant to chivalry," as a modern writer observes, in extolling the happiness of such a person, "did not want occasions of great excitement.

\* Livre des Fais, &c. tom. ii. chap. xiv.

<sup>†</sup> Hist. Monast. Villar. lib. ii. cap. xiii. Apud Marteni Thesaur. Ancedot. tom. iii.

He fought in presence of princes, shared in triumphs to which royalty lent its pomp and magnificence, heard his name shouted amid the proud blasts of clarions, and in the fiercest onset felt his ardent spirit rejoicing in deeds, the same of which his gallant followers would publish through every quarter of the land." But amidst all this pomp of mundane glory are we not sometimes tempted to recall to memory the humble saintly student, so far from the world's eye, in the cloistered shade? Are we not sometimes tempted, in presence of so many obstacles to virtue, so many dangers to innocence, to exclaim with St. Bernard, "Quid facitis, juvenes, qui flores juventutis vestræ offertis Diabolo, et fæces senectutis vestræ Deo? Securius esset cum Abel primitias Deo offerre;" and then to say with the Christian poet, in allusion to the image before our mind,-" O thrice happy the child whom the Lord loves, who hears his voice betimes, and whom God himself deigns to instruct: nourished far from the world, adorned from first youth with all the gifts of heaven, the contagious company of the wicked taints not his innocence. So grows the young lily, in a retired vale, on the banks of a limpid stream, sheltered from the wind of the north, the object of Nature's love !"\*

To believe that the piety of youth was something eminently celestial and gracious, seems to have been according to the universal sentiment of mankind. Will you hearken to the Hebrew rabbins? "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams;" say they, youth is the worthier age, for that visions are nearer apparitions of God than dreams. This is what Lord Bacon remarks.† cients too have left some engaging portraits, illustrative of their views in this respect. Thus Æschylus says of one, "When his eyes first saw the light of life, and in the growth of infancy, and in the advancing years of youth, and in the riper age that clothes with gradual down the manly cheek, did justice and love divine mark him for their own."; And Euripides beautifully introduces the innocence of the sacerdotal youth, when it is made the instrument of preserving Io from poison; for he represents him as about to lift the fatal cup to his lips: the boy was about to depart from life, and no one knew it; but as he held the goblet in his hands, one of the servants, who stood near, uttered a blasphemous word, but he, having been nourished in the temple in holy discipline,-

ο δ' ως εν ίερω μαντεσίν τ' εσθλοίς τραφείς, οἰωνον έθετο.

immediately moved it back, and called upon them to fill for him another fresh cup; and that which he had before in his hands, he poured out upon the ground. Thus was his life preserved; for that draught contained the deadly poison, which is soon discovered, by the torments of the doves which taste it. But that the gentleness and piety of their youth was rather a constitutional disposition in a few, than the result of any moral discipline or religious belief, capable of transforming and directing it, may be inferred from a passage in Plato, where Theodorus says, in alluding to the young, "It is very difficult to find the same

<sup>\*</sup> Racine, Athalie, ii. 9. ‡ Sept. cont. Theb.

<sup>†</sup> Of the Advancement of Learning. | Io, 1200.

person ingenious, quick to learn, and at the same time mild; and, in addition to all this, manly. Truly I do not think that there ever was such a person, nor do I behold any one so constituted by nature. For they who are sharp and sagacious, and endowed with memory, are prone to anger and subject to be carried away by passion, like ships without a cable; whereas the grave, when they apply to learning, are oblivious, and slow, and torpid:"\* and Ulysses, in his reply to Euryalus, makes a remark somewhat similar, observing, that the gods seldom give to the same person beauty of person, and gentleness and wisdom in conversation to correspond to it.† From a remarkable passage in Cicero, indeed, it would appear that the majority of men in those times entertained sentiments which would have made the sanctity of Christian youth appear to them in no amiable light. His words are these, speaking of Celius: "Truly, O judges, if he were a youth of such strength of mind and continence that he would reject all pleasures, and spend all the course of his life in labours of body and contention of mind, whom no repose or remission, no pursuits of his equals, no plays, no banquets, delighted; who would think that nothing was to be sought for in life but what was joined with praise and dignity; I should regard him as endowed and adorned with certain divine goods, and perhaps a few other men would consider him as one to whom the gods were propitious. The multitude would suppose that he was one with whom they were angry." However, the sentiments which seem generally to prevail with the moderns on the subject of youthful virtue, are rather lower than above the standard unfolded by Cicero in this celebrated Oration. Leaving them to argue in support of their respective views, I turn to contemplate the lives of the young under the influence of religion, in Catholic ages, and to produce examples which will shew with what peculiar justice the Christian poet might exclaim with Chaucer,

## Sweet is the holiness of youth.

But to introduce these, a few observations may be needful. In the first place, then, let it be remembered that the mind of the young must ever be devoted either to an idea or to sense, either to an object of faith, (and youth is peculiarly qualified for possessing faith,) or to that visible form of good which ministers to animal excitement. If the citadels of the souls of the young be left void of pure and noble images, they will be taken possession of by those that are contrary to them: if not guarded by the bright symbols of beauteous and eternal things, error and death, moral death, with all its process of intellectual degradation, will plant their pale flag there. The best guards, Socrates said, "are in the thoughts of men who are loved by God:" of di agroros ogouges te nat ounaxes en andeur Desogram eine But if the young are not guests at the sacred banquet of pure and angelic spirits, they will go to the Lotuseaters, and dwell with them in stupid sensuality. As with the intellectual direction, so is it with the manners and intercourse of youth-for these will ever be directed after one or other of two types-either by the spirit of sweetness and love, or by that of insolence and malignity. All systems of education

<sup>\*</sup> Plat. Theætetus. ‡ Pro M. Cœlio, 17.

<sup>†</sup> Od. viii. 167. || De Repub. lib. viii.

that are merely human, and under the guidance of rationalism, will ever nourish and fortify, when they do not even recognise and extol the latter; for being formed on merely natural principles, all that belongs to man's unkindness will have free scope to be developed and exercised within their dominion; and therefore cruel mocking, dissipation, disobedience, tyranny, and the will and ability to oppress weaker companions will entitle the youth who has sufficient tact, to know how far precisely these qualities may be exercised with the applause of animal minds, to the enviable character of possessing a manly spirit. He will discover too, that his father may have only one desire respecting him, like that of Jason, in the tragedy, whose sole prayer for his sons is, that he may see them grown to manhood, well nourished and vigorous, that they may be a defence to him against his enemies.\* In studies also, emulation will be carried to an excess which renders the youthful mind obnoxious to all the worst attendants on ambition. So that, under these modern systems, while education conduces to victory, their victory, as Socrates says, will often undo the work of education; for, through victory, many are rendered insolent and obnoxious to a thousand evils. And education, that which deserves the name of education, "is never Cadmeian; but many victories are and will be such to men."† In days of old chivalry, the place for a tournament was generally selected in a part which had the city on one side and a forest on the other. The vanquished knight is generally represented as quitting the scene of his humiliation, and hastening to the forest, to afford him the shelter which was the object in view when making this particular disposition of the lists; and during the same period it was the constant assurance of religion, that, in the various trials of life, from youth to age, it was often better to return as if by way of the forest, rather than hasten to the city with the exulting multitude of admirers. But, according to the rational, or merely natural view of education, such an opinion will be wholly inadmissible; and not only will success be pursued with an utter recklessness of its moral results; not only will the soul become less mild and less humble, but the exact converse will ensue of what Socrates represents as the great and only end of all discipline, saying, "We have two qualities in our souls, which we must preserve with equal solicitude; the one which prompts us to dare, and the other which constrains us to fear-to be bold for virtue and to be afraid in respect to vice." They will at best be but timid friends to virtue, and bold in the applause of every theory that wears the semblance of an impious spirit. But in the schools of Christians in ages of faith, neither victories, nor any other part of discipline, were Cadmeian; nor was there any disposition generated opposed to the utmost humility; but the buoyancy of youthful spirits was directed in such a manner, that it developed itself in all the innocent and engaging expressions of gentleness and friendship. There was, indeed, something most divine in the temper and manners which this discipline imparted to the young; for nature alone could never have possessed such acuteness, joined with so much simplicity, and joyous frankness, such warmth and energy, along with such purity and angelic innocence. The stranger, who

<sup>\*</sup> Eurip. Medca, 919. ... Vol. I.—14

approached their assemblies, received a greeting like that which Dante met with from those bright spirits which he beheld within a circle of paradise, from whom one came forth and said,

Are ready at thy pleasure, well disposed To do thee gentle service.\*

In every country, the youthful mind was moulded to this type, as long as education continued to be purely Catholic, and untainted with the influence of the modern spirit and examples; but wherever these were able to exercise any sway, there was introduced more or less of pride and reserve, and a desire of seeming to be peculiarly knowing, with a disposition to depreciate others and give pain, to ridicule and suspect; in other words, there was a return to the mere natural qualities of youth, when these were not even perverted still farther from primal goodness; there was a return to that temper alluded to by Socrates, where he says that "boys, when they first begin to taste the pleasure of words, use them as a kind of play, continually employing them in contradiction, and imitating the disputants, they dispute with one another, rejoicing like young puppies, always dragging and tearing whatever is near them by words; and he warns elder men from following this mode of puerile contradiction;"† instead of humility and penitence, there was pride, and the sharpness of a pert and nimble spirit—

Pro molli violà, pro purpureo narcisso. Carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.

In the second place it should be borne in mind, that in the ages of faith men felt the impossibility of educating souls for God and for the world also; and therefore the latter had, no doubt, grounds to make many objections against the system which they adopted. It had reason to complain of youth being kept in ignorance of its maxims, without any knowledge of some books, and other objects which it admired, and even, perhaps, without the ability or the spirit to secure many of its interests, which it might deem most important. Plato had so sublime a sense of a just education, that he acknowledges that the good, when young, will appear to be weak and simple, and that they will easily be deceived by the unjust, ατε οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς παραδείγματα ὁμοιοπαθή τοῖς πονηροῖς: for he too would not allow the young to acquire that knowledge of the world which was so carefully excluded from Catholic schools, but which is now thought so essential to children. "If he is to be a good and honourable man, fair and good, and able to form a sound judgment of what is just, he must, when young, be without experience and wholly without a mixture of evil manners; ‡ for he only is good who has a good soul, ο γάρ έχαν ψυχην άγαθην, άγαθος, which he cannot possess who has a personal acquaintance with evil." Are we disposed to question this proposition? Hear what Fuller acknowledges, a writer only remarkable for his candour in publishing of himself what other men would conceal of their own experience: "Almost twenty years since," he says, "I heard a profane jest, and still remember it," "I lost honour, say the Spaniards, by speaking ill and hearing worse." The old poet, Claude de Morenne,

wiii.

acknowledges in one of his pieces that he had read certain poems in his youth which had done an injury to his imagination and to his heart, · which nothing could repair.\* This is the dreadful effect of renouncing the ancient discipline. Such is the stain which reading of this discription impresses upon the mind, that the moral consequences seem among those "which never may be cancelled from the book wherein the past is written:" once blighted, the bloom of innocent fancy is faded for ever. It remains only for the sufferer to say, after the manner of Pilate, what I have read I have read, and to warn others from the rock against which he has made shipwreck of that imagination, of which every flight had been an ecstasy, and every expression a hymn of praise. But if there were restraints and privations in the discipline of Christian antiquity, though it is incorrect to style that privation, which was only a measure to prevent the loss of good, there was full liberty for the exercise and development of every gracious and noble faculty. "The gardener," says St. Anselm, "gives space and freedom to young plants, that they may grow and spread forth their sweet branches, and so should masters provide indulgence for the young, who, by oblation, are planted in the garden of the Church, that they may increase and bear fruit to God. They ought not to be cramped and restrained by terrors, threats, and stripes."† Would we hearken to an old monk who relates an instance amusing for its simplicity? There were in the Abbey of Ramsey four boys who had been formerly placed there by St. Oswald, before they were seven years old, and they had now grown up to puberty like branches of the olive, promising abundant fruit in due season. were Æthericus, Ædnothus, Oswald, and Æthelstan. They were all youths of good birth, of innocent manners, and of beautiful form. That they might not be overfatigued by the rigour of the order, and according to the proverb, "quod caret alterna requie durabile non est," they were allowed at certain times in the week to go, with leave of their masters, without the cloistral walls, for the sake of juvenile play. On one of these occasions they ran to the cords of the greater bells, which are in the western tower of the church, and one of these they rang with all the force of their weak arms, until, by the unequal motion, it was suddenly cracked, which became instantly perceptible by the sound. This being discovered, the masters and the other brethren were excited to anger, even to threaten the infliction of stripes upon the boys, who were weeping bitterly, till at length they remembered the sentence which they had so often heard read in chapter, as prescribed by St. Benedict, "Ut qui perdiderit quicquam aut fregerit, alios in delicti sui accusatione festinet prævenire," so hastening to the feet of the Abbot, with many tears, they related what they had done. That discreet man, compassionating their distress, consoled them, and calling the brethren, said, "Thèse innocents have committed a fault, not intentionally, but contrary to their intention; not willingly, but against their will. They ought to be spared, therefore, and that will not be neglecting the duty which we owe to our community, for when these boys come to years of maturity, being of noble houses, it will be easy for them to indemnify us for the loss." Then dismissing the monks, he secretly admonished the boys, who, entering

<sup>\*</sup> Gouget, Biblioth. Franc. tom. xiv. 54.

the church with bare feet, made their devotions and vows; and that their pure prayers were favourably heard, was sufficiently seen at a subsequent time, when being grown up and exalted to honours, not forgetting . their vows, they conferred signal benefits upon that church.\* The care of religious men to educate the young was not confined to supplying them with oral or written instruction. It was for them especially that religion loved, under the form of the fine arts, to impress on the material elements around, the stamp of ideal humanity, that as Fichte says, "at their very awakening into life, they might be environed by noble objects, such as by a certain sympathetic power, would educate the outward senses, whereby the education of the inner man might be greatly facilitated." It was the object of education not so much to impart a variety, of knowledge, as to cultivate that mind which would be able either to reap the benefit of knowledge subsequently obtained, where an extraordinary degree of knowledge was required, or to discharge the ordinary duties of life with honesty and perseverance to the end, where there was no occasion for acquiring such a distinction. Agreeable to this plan, the young were to be thoroughly imbued with a delicate and profound sense of every thing noble and gracious, which would be alike useful to all; that, to borrow a simile from Plato, as the young who inhabit a healthy spot are benefitted by every thing around them, so whatever was thrown before them from beautiful deeds, whether in the way of seeing or of hearing, like an air from pure places bearing health, might lead them to a similitude, and friendship, and harmony, with what is good and fair; † and, as Plutarch says, "What they heard and saw in youth without understanding it, in all its exact relations and detail, they learned to comprehend fully in maturer life, like the inhabitants of that city which Antiphanes used to describe, where all words that had been spoken in winter, froze in the air and were not heard till the summer came to thaw them, but then not a syllable was lost, for every one heard what had been said to him the winter before." 1 No doubt, to the world's eye, the prospects of Christian youth were poor-spirited and obscure: but the question from the Mount, the only question we have here to answer, is this, were they inconsistent with the beatitude of the poor? "Our life," says a Catholic poet, "is like the crystal flood, which leaves its native rock humble and unnamed. While it sleeps at the bottom of the basin which nature has made for its bed, all the flowers of the field perfume its path, and the azure of a beautiful sky descends wholly into it, but hardly escaped from the arms of its hills, hardly are its waters enabledto spread themselves over the plain, than its waves become corrupt and pale with the filth of the soil which its course disturbs; the shade which once sheltered it flies now from its banks, the naked rock confines its fugitive waters; disdaining to follow the gracious windings of its paternal valley, it proudly aspires to engulph itself under profound arches, where it may receive a name brilliant as its foam; with precipitous bounds it bears along with it barks, rumours, the filth of cities: each river which swells it is a new source of defilement, till it arrives at the term, when swollen with so many adulterous waves, it moves on great but troubled, parting

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. Ramesiensis, cap. lxvii. apud Gale. Hist. Brit. tom. iii. † De Repub. iii. 

† How to perceive one's progress in Virtue.

with a vain name as it rolls into the bosom of the sea its pollutions and its glory. Happy in the depth of the wood is the pure and humble spring, happy the lot which is concealed in a life of obscurity."\* It should be observed moreover, that the ancient discipline was not framed upon a calculation of the spiritual being subordinate to the material parts of nature, but in conformity with the opposite conclusion. In this respect again it was in accordance with that excellent reason which guided Plato, for he says in speaking of the necessity of gymnastics and music in the education of youth, that the latter is still more important even for the body. "For," he says, "it does not seem to me that when the body is good, the soul will by its means become good; but I hold the converse to be true, that the good soul will by its virtue enable the body

to become as good as possible." †

I must proceed now to produce examples, the beauty and force of which perhaps without these preliminary observations might not have been immediately understood; but all this humble matter is intended for the ear of those who are themselves children of the first beatitude. "When Clotaire, son of Clowis, held the sceptre of France, there lived," says an ancient writer, "a nobleman named Florentin, rich in possessions, wise in council, valiant in war while employed in it, but always desirous of maintaining peace. Above all, he lived as a true gentleman and greatly Catholic, and his wife yielded to no one in piety and all grace. They had a son, Evode, whom the holy mother bred up to all virtue and Catholic piety, as well as to the civil decorum of nobility. On being put to school he was well instructed in both human and sacred learning, and from this time charity took her seat in his innocent heart, benignity on his tongue and purity in his body. His parents seeing him all devoted to God, loved him the more, and placed him in the Church of Rouen to render the services which his devout heart loved, where he lived in great justice and piety towards God, and in sweetness and patience towards men. Every one that saw him judged him to be a little angel in human form, so pure was he in life, so serene and smiling of countenance, so sweet in words, so beautiful in person, so filled with all

The sanctity of the youth of Wala, who was afterwards abbot of Corby, is described by Paschasius: "During the day he used to moisten the earth with his sweat, and during the night with his tears. At night, both before and after the vigils of the brethren, he used to lie prostrate on the ground before the holy altar; and I have myself often seen his tears fall upon the pavement while he was at prayer." St. Jerome says, "that from the moment Hilarion first saw the blessed man, St. Anthony, he resolved to dwell with him in the desert, and the devil beheld himself vanquished by a boy." St. Bernard; in his youth, had celestial visions. On one Christmas eve, after he had been long meditating on the mystery of the incarnation, he beheld our Saviour in a dream, as if still in his human infancy, and the sight so charmed him, that he thenceforth could think of nothing but how to serve God in the best way he might. When St. Bernard, with his brethren and companions, had prepared to

<sup>\*</sup> De Lamartine, Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses, i. 12.

<sup>‡</sup> Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, p. 409.

<sup>†</sup> De Repub. iii. Vita ejus.

set out for a monastery of Cistercians, it happened that Guy, the elder brother, found Nivardus, the youngest of all the brothers, playing in the street with other boys, and said to him, "Nivardus, God be with thee: we go to religion and leave thee heir of all our goods." To these words the child answered, "What! do you take heaven for yourselves, and leave me earth? this is not an equal division." And accordingly, some days after, he also followed his brothers and entered into the monastery. This is one of the many instances to which I alluded in the beginning, as furnishing an insight into the character of an entire generation of men; for the occurrence of a scene like this assuredly indicates a very

remarkable state of society.

"In the days of Hugues Capet, king of But to return to history. France," says an ancient chronicle, "Aderal was born at Troyes, of noble parents, who were both devout; he was a child of a sweet disposition, so that he no sooner ceased to be an infant than he conducted himself like a little saint. He studied not under masters who teach only worldly civilities, but under pious priests and clerks of the church of St. Peter, . at Troyes. He remained with these good men, who, seeing in him so many indexes of a holy life, had great care of him, and loved him for his docility and promptitude to correspond with the grace of God. He was soon made an acolythe in the church of Troyes, in the discharge of which office he gave content and edification to every one. On the holy day of Easter, and during its octave in the church of Troves, it is the custom for the two acolythes, who carry the lighted tapers before the celebrating bishop, to be presented with these tapers after the office, to do with them what they like. The holy youth, on this occasion, receiving the gift of the tapers along with his companion, after the pious rites of the day, sold them, and with the money gave alms to the poor, and procured for himself a small reliquary to contain some bones of saints to wear on his person. Such was the piety of this innocent soul, offering its first fruits, and all that it possessed, to God." \* It was not alone the young men who were regularly received into houses of religion and churches, that were employed to serve at the Divine altars. The faithful were one family, and every little son was trained sufficiently to exercise, upon occasion, this angelic ministry, to which he might be invited even where he was himself a stranger, and to offer to God in the morning that silver voice, the pure and limpid echo of his youthful soul. His sweet and gracious image was in the mind of other children of the town, who, as the poet says, would pray that they might be good, though little like him whom they saw each morning in the temple. Benignity and grace they seemed to learn even from the movements that the holy ritual prescribed, as in beholding acolythes, who in choirs make their artless bow, and then give each other the kiss of peace. In the beautiful poem of Friedolin, by Schiller, the page is represented stopping on his way to enter a church, where he finds a priest going to the altar, and there being no acolythe arrived, he instantly offers himself, and serves the mass. This was the first employment of each day for numbers of young men living in towns in every rank of society, from the highest to the low-The amiable and learned Rollin, rector of the University of Paris,

<sup>\*</sup> Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, p. 247.

was the son of a cutler, and already exercising his father's trade as his apprentice, when a good Benedictine monk of the Blancsmauteaux, whose mass he was in habits of serving, observed his happy dispositions, and obtained a subscription which enabled him to commence his studies in the college of Duplessis. What St. Bonaventura has written on the duty and happiness of those young men who serve at mass, in which holy function they are associated in the occupation of angels, in which they represent the assembled faithful, in which they have the honour of waiting on the minister of Jesus Christ, and the inestimable advantage of having an especial part in his memento, will convey an idea of the sanctification and joy which were reserved for the innocent zeal of youth.\*

Here it may be well to make a short digression, for the purpose of observing how these customs and rules of discipline respecting the young, ordained in the society of Christians, recommend themselves to the natural reason and piety of men; the judgment and dictates of which, emanating from that implicit faith in Divine Providence which St. Thomas ascribes to many of the Gentiles,† ought not to be disdained or rejected merely because we must be at the trouble of disengaging them from the detestable errors and corruptions of Paganism, which had misapplied and perverted them. This is a distinction, the justice of which no one who has had any moderate degree of instruction will contest, and there-

fore I pass at once to establish the truth of our proposition.

The Athenian, in Plato, lays it down as a maxim, that no one has received a sufficient education, who is axiguror; and that whoever has been initiated, as it were, in the choir, in music, and gracious movements of the body, is sufficiently educated; which may be taken to shew the necessity of educating the external senses, or rather of the soul being imbued with that Divine harmony which will even impel the body, by prescribed movements, to exercise its external homage. Scipio Africanus, who vanquished Hannibal, and all the power of Carthage, and who was so devout that he never began any public or private affair of consequence, without first consulting heaven and imploring its assistance, had from his early youth, according to the report of St. Augustin, been educated in the temples. If, for a moment, we turn our eyes from the dark side of the ancient philosophy, and consider only the testimonies which it bore to truth, we may be permitted to contemplate with a certain pleasure the following passage in the tragedy of Io, where Euripides has represented, in a most gracious form, the ideal of youth devoted to the service of heaven. The innocent boy comes forth from the temple, and says, "Now shines upon the earth the bright chariot drawn by the four horses of the sun; the stars fly from this fire of heaven into the sacred night; and the insurmountable cliffs of Parnassus being lighted up, receive the lustre for mortals. The smoke of the dry myrrh now flies to the roof of Apollo; but as for me, I go to discharge the labours which I have undergone continually from a child, with branches of laurel to sweep the sacred pavement of Apollo's temple, and with my arrows to drive away the little birds which might injure it. Beautiful is the labour, O Apollo, to serve in thy house, in reverence of the prophetic seat : glorious the task to minister with my hands to gods, to the immortals and

<sup>\*</sup> S. Bonavent, de Reformat. Hominis exterior, cap. x.

not to mortal men. Never shall I be weary in performing such well reported labours; for Apollo is to me a father, and I will praise him, who nurtures me. O Paon, Paon, mayest thou be happy, happy son of Latona. But I cease this labour of the laurel branches, and now from golden vessels I scatter the pure wave which gushes from Castalian spring. O that I may never cease thus ministering to Apollo, or ceasing, may it be for a happy end. Ah! see, now the winged tribe are leaving the cliffs of Parnassus. Dare not to approach this cornice, or these golden roofs. I will overtake thee with my arrows, O thou herald of Jupiter, thou that excellest in thy talons the strength of birds. Here comes the swan, too. rowing towards the temple. Will you not, then, move elsewhere that purple foot of thine? The lyre of Apollo which accompanies thy song will not be able to save thee from my arrows. Turn thy wings, then. and seek the pools of Delos. If thou disobeyest me, thou wilt ensanguine thy melodious chants. See, see, what new bird is this which comes near? Is it about to deposit sticks and straw as a nest for its young ones under the sheltering cornice? The flight of my arrows shall keep you at a distance. Will you not be persuaded? Go and rear your children on the banks of the Alpheus, or in the Isthmian grove, that the temple and precincts of Apollo may not be injured. I fear to kill you, you who are the messenger of gods to men, but I labour in the service which I owe to Apollo, and I will not cease ministering to those that feed me." \* In this brilliant picture, we see; that even under the deplorable errors of Pagan superstition, human reason was able to recognise the beauty of devoting the youthful heart to what is Divine, and of employing little inoffensive hands to minister in the service of heaven. In the passage following, we may observe how it could inculcate the happiness resulting from such a condition. When Xuthus claims his son Io from the priests, and desires him to leave the temple of Apollo, in which he has spent his first youth as the servant of the god, after encouraging him with the prospect of the wealth and honours which await him in the magnificent Athens, observing what passes in the mind of the youth, he breaks off suddenly, and says, "Are you silent? Why do you turn your eyes upon the ground and seem absorbed in care, as . if sadness were to succeed your late joy?" And Io replies, by saying, that things when near do not appear in the same form as when seen from afar; that he foresees many difficulties, dangers, and certain evils, which will arise to him at Athens; and then he continues, "But you will answer, perhaps, and urge that riches can compensate for all this; but I do not love to hear those empty speakers who can hold their happiness in their hands, and have no labour. May there be to me only a moderate supply of what is necessary to preserve me from suffering the pains of want. But, O my father, as to the good things which I enjoy in this temple, hear me speak. In the first place, I have that dearest blessing, lessure from being importuned by men, and at the same time a moderate degree of society. No evil person ever drives me from the way involving me in the intolerable calamity of having to yield to the base: but I spend my days in prayer to the gods, or in ministering joyfully to those of mortals who rejoice. And some arrive and some depart, and it is sweet to

<sup>\*</sup> Io, 102. 155-180.

be new to those that are themselves new; and besides this, what should be the object of all men's prayers, the law of this place and nature both conspire to present me in innocence to the Deity. Considering these things, O my father, I esteem it better for me to be here than to remove thither. Suffer me, therefore, to enjoy my condition, for it is not more grateful to rejoice in great things than to possess those that are moderate with sweetness." \* His conclusion resembles that of Joas with Racine,

This temple is my country; I know no other.

But to return to the ages of faith, those really golden ages which combined every thing that the imagination of man could conceive of beauty with all that is pure, and holy, and Christian. The discipline and institutions for the young, with respect to studies and learning, will be a subject for our consideration in a future place. It only remains, for the present, to notice the circumstance often presented in ages of faith, so affecting to all who are not perfectly rooted in the love of eternal things, because in their view the misconceptions of sense necessarily represent it invested with a certain melancholy, -of the complete detachment of the youthful heart from creatures, not from vile disdain, but through the love and foretaste of higher good. The annals of the middle age can furnish many such instances, combined too with wild and romantic imagery, in which the youth, whom but for a short date the world possesses, has already emancipated himself from the attractions of this earthly life, and thereby become fully convinced of its nothingness, so that "he prevails on himself to engage in its concerns only on account of the connection between those concerns and the one permanent eternal principle which religion lays open to him." And in this placed resignation of the young, this mild angelic constancy which allows grief and pain, amidst the hard labours and sufferings of their lonely way, to wear only the garb of tenderness, this inherent love which has not time to put forth more than blossoms, there is a certain poetic tone of sadness and of joy, a certain plaintive sweetness of ideal humanity, which is gazed upon with an in-tense interest by such persons as are capable of discovering those more exquisite tones which, both in the natural and intellectual world, are always the most unobtrusive and subdued. This is one of the many tender mysteries to be found in the writings connected with ages of faith.

"How often," exclaims the unknown writer of the Manual ascribed to St. Augustine, "how often, when a youth, have I said without thinking that it was also the sentiment of a Christian soul: How this world is burdensome to me! What I behold makes me sorrowful; the conversation which I hear on all sides on such mere vanities as the good things of this life, inspire me with a profound disgust. O sweet felicity to behold the saints, to be with the saints, to be oneself a saint, to enjoy the presence of God, to possess God for all eternity!" "Behold a boy," says St. Jerome, "instructed in all the honest arts in the world, having riches and dignity, who despising all that he possessed, hath gone to inhabit, as a paradise, an island in the midst of a dangerous sea, whose rough cliffs and naked rocks and solitude are sufficient to inspire terror! There, alone, nay not alone, for Christ is his companion, he beholds the glory of God, which the Apostles themselves beheld not, excepting in the desert. He sees no towered cities; his limbs are clothed in hideous sackcloth: around the island rages continually an insane sea, which rechoes through the caverns of the hollow shore; no blade of grass grows there, no shrubs cast any shade; steep rocks enclose it as a prison. He, secure, intrepid and armed with the Apostle, hears God while he reads of things divine, speaks with God while he prays to him, and perhaps, like St. John, beholds somewhat while remaining on the island."

In the middle ages there is repeated allusion to saintly youths, pure and innocent in life and every virtuous lore, who wander in poverty, or tend a flock upon the wild mountains, till by accident they are discovered by some holy man, who finds them possessing souls that are like temples in which divine and ineffable mysteries are celebrated. you hearken to an old chronicler, who does as one that weeps and tells his tale? Arnulph was a child of God, a native of Lotharingia, and of a most innocent and holy life; as yet a youth, faithfully serving God in fear and justice, growing more and more to perfection, like the palm which increases daily, like the lily which sends forth a sweet odour, he grew up a plant destined for the celestial courts. But as by the Divine grace he disposed himself to shine as a light in the house of God, to give light to all that entered it, he applied himself to the studies which were necessary. Already he began to cast beams which were lighted by divine love, when hearing what the Apostle says, that as long as we are in the body we are travelling from God, that we walk by faith and not by sight, and that we have not here a remaining city, but that we seek one to come: he understood this life to be a journey, not his country; a prison of captivity, and not a hall of freedom; a state of banishment, and not the kingdom of supernatural habitation. So the good youth undertook a journey beyond the Moselle into Celtic Gaul, for the sake of praying and of frequenting the suffrages of the saints there. What business he discharged in that country, what commerce he had with them, what pious tears and holy sighs accompanied his prayers, it is not necessary to say, since it is sufficiently obvious that what he holily proposed, he efficaciously fulfilled: and now, with innocent hands and guileless tongue and pure heart, because he had not applied his soul to vanity, nor sworn to deceive his neighbour, he was on his way returning, and approaching a city called Agen. What were his holy thoughts, his innocent little hopes, his beautiful meditations, as he walked along at that moment, are known to God and to his angel; to himself they were broken off, for lo he is suddenly attacked by robbers, who dart from the wood, beaten, and torn with eruel stripes. At length, with difficulty, he erawled to the village called Grueria, and there the devout people took care of him, and the matrons contended with each other who should receive him into her house like a son; but he told them, with a sweet and placid look, that his last hour was come, and that he was about to be presented to the mercy of God. "Subvenite potius ut subveniat vobis Deus :- Procure a priest, that I may receive from his hands the Eucharist of our Lord's communion." The priest arrived, and administered to him. "A traveller," says the youth, "you see me, a stranger and traveller in this place, and therefore, on this road of my pilgrimage bury me." Then

raising his hands and eyes, he said, "O Lord Jesu Christ, who hast made and redeemed my soul, I deliver it up and commend it to thee, that it may be numbered among the elect souls of thy redemption." So he died, and the people buried him by the side of the royal road, that his grave might be seen by those that passed along, and during a long period his name was forgotten, and it was only pointed out as the grave of a certain faithful stranger: but in the year 971 the body was translated.\*

What shall I add to this example of youthful humility which so ingeniously sought to be in the grave a monitor, ual essociation rudicodas, of the vanity of all earthly good, of all human hopes, of every thing that is not God? That the tomb in which he was about to lay his innocent limbs might be an object to remind the future wanderer that all his journeys and pilgrimages, all his recollections of different places, of beauteous temples, and of the shrines of saints, all his sweet hopes of enjoying the day of return, and even his seemingly devout prospects of shining as a light in the Holy Church, would be to no purpose if they did not spring from higher sources than the mere curiosity of man, and the desire of the eyes and the secret pride of life; to remind him that in such provision there would be nothing substantial, nothing durable; that, as even the ancient poet sang, "Delight may increase with mortals for a short time, but then it falls to the ground, overthrown by unfortunate counsel. Men are of one day. What is any one? What is no one? Men are the dream of a shadow!"

> επάμεροι, τί δε τίς, τί δ' οὖτις; σκιὰς ὄναρ ἄνθεωποι.†

Let us pass on then, without further delay, though we could say with Homer, that "a desire arises of weeping;" let us pass on, lest we should seem willing to grow old in meditating on the state of youth. "Do you not perceive," says St. Jerome, "how you have been a child, a boy, a youth, a man of robust age, and how you are now already an old man? We die daily; we are changed daily. This moment which I occupy in writing is so much taken from my life: we write, and we write again in answer, letters pass the sea, and ships plough the deep, and with each tide of age our moments are diminished. We have gained nothing but what we can appropriate to ourselves by the love of Christ."‡ It is enough. We have seen how eminently the young in ages of faith were poor in spirit: nothing remains but to wish devoutly that we too may be children of that beatitude, and that as the Church sings in the anthem at Lauds on Palm Sunday, "Cum angelis et pueris fideles inveniamur, triumphatori mortis clamantes; Hosanna in excelsis."

<sup>\*</sup> Chronicon Mosomense apud Dacher. Spicileg, tom. vii. p. 628. † Pyth. Od. viii. ‡ Epist. xxxv.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Thus far we appear to have overlooked the close of the divine sentence from the Mount, which pronounced of the poor in spirit that theirs is the kingdom of heaven, that is, the fulfilment of all the hopes and aspirations of the heart of man; the accomplishment of the end for which he was created; and though by incident we have already seen in each detail how a sweet and blessed end was theirs, whether we regard them in their capacity of the poor, whose external condition corresponded with that spirit, or of the great and noble, who studied humility, of the learned who retained it, or of the young in whose nature it seemed inherent, it yet remains to direct our thoughts formally to the many and great sources of felicity which appertain to all, even in the present life, the sphere to which these enquiries are confined, in consequence of their moral dispossession and spiritual poverty; and this must be the subject of our last meditation in reference to the beatitude which is the first in order.

"Felicity," say the masters of divine wisdom, "is the ultimate end of man, and for which all other things are ordained in their due course."\*

On this point there is no dispute, but, as Dante says,

"All indistinctly apprehend a bliss On which the soul may rest; the hearts of all Yearn after it; and to that wished bourn All therefore strive to tend."†

But before eternal truth had spoken to the wearied spirits of men, who would have sought for it under the yoke of servitude, and dereliction, and poverty! Plato indeed had attempted to shew, by painful reasoning, that the most virtuous life was the sweetest life. True, indeed, he says admirable things on this head. "It is necessary then to praise the most excellent life, TOV RADALTTON BLOW, not only because in its form it surpasses all others in point of honour, but also because it excels in this, which all And again, in seek, τω χαίρειν πλείω, ελάττω δε λυπείσθαι παρά τον βίον άπαντα." the Platonic dialogue it is said, that "whoever lives a holy life must be happy either below or above η κάτω η ἄνω ελδαιμονείν σε δεί, βεβιωκότα εἰσεβῶς."§ But how many forms might be conceived of that excellent life which would have involved men in misery while they looked for happiness? In Plato, therefore, there is nothing save the statement of an abstract proposition, and the real secret is no where in his writings found. dar, too, says that "if any mortal should possess in his mind the way of truth, he must needs obtain happiness from the blessed gods."\*\* But how far his conception of happiness was capable of satisfying the immense desires of the human soul may be inferred from what he says in the same ode, "It is necessary to seek from the gods things suitable to mortal minds, knowing, with regard to the present, of what nature we are. O my soul, do not aspire after an immortal life, but apply to the labours for which you are qualified."

<sup>\*</sup> Diego de Stella on the Contempt of the World, Part iii. 508. † Purg. xvii. † De Legibus, ii. † Id. lib. v. § Axiochus. \*\* Pyth. Od. iii.

I know, indeed, that it would be as vain for the tongue to attempt to describe, as it would be impossible for the uninitiated heart to conceive that afflation of eternal bliss which is granted to the lowly spirits of those who bear the twelve precious fruits; but it may be allowable to contemplate, as from a distance, the indications of its possession in men during the ages of faith, and with submissive eyes to trace some of the visible and external sources through which it would seem that this water of life was made to flow into their souls. The indications of its existence present themselves in whatever way we bend our steps through the history of Christian ages. The instance which first suggests itself to the memory will render useless any particular research. Thus St. Francis Xavier, whose first cry was "Still more, O Lord, still more, amplius, Domine, amplius," when with a prophetic eye he contemplated the sufferings which awaited him, and wished them to be still greater, was heard to exclaim in after life, as when he walked in the gardens of the college of St. Paul at Goa, "It is enough, O Lord, it is enough, satis est, Domine, satis est;" alluding to the celestial consolations which were vouchsafed him in such abundance, that he felt as if he could not endure them long.\* St. Thomas says, that no words can express the happiness of such souls, even in this world.† It remains only to exclaim with the great poet-

———O born in happy hour!
Thou, to whom grace vouchsafes, or ere thy close
Of fleshly warfare, to behold the thrones
Of that eternal triumph!

When Angelran, abbot of the monastery of St. Richarius, was sick and confined to his bed with paralysis, he used at times to evince singular joy; and when people would ask him the cause why he appeared so elevated, he used to reply, that he derived this delight from the joys of the heavenly angels and from the perpetual felicity of the saints.

Dante attempts to express this upon meeting with the spirit of Cacciaguida in Paradise, to whom he says,

"Through so many streams with jey
My soul is fill'd; that gladness wells from it."

This felicity, where it was not raised into ecstacies, diffused a perpetual sunshine over the conversation and manners of men, for sweet love inspired by holy thoughts must always apparel her in smiles. "Can the good and evil be distinguished by any sign?" asks the disciple in a dialogue ascribed to St. Anselm: "They can," is the reply; "for the just, at peace in their conscience, and full of future hope, are cheerful in countenance, their eyes indicating a certain grace, modest in their walk, and sweet in their words, which spring from the abundance of their heart: but the evil, from a bad conscience and bitterness of heart, are cloudy in countenance and unstable in words and deeds; immoderate in laughter as in sadness; irregular in all their motions, and they pour out the venom of their hearts in bitter and impure speeches." Thus Dante speaks of those that "harbouring in the light supreme, brought from thence a virtue that, sparkling in their eyes, denoted joy." How well

<sup>\*</sup> Vie de S. Francois Xav. i. 281. † iii. Part ix. 79. Art. 1.

<sup>†</sup> Chronic, Centulensis, lib. iv. cap. ii. apud Dacher, Spicileg. tom. iv.

this agreed with the good that is inherent in nature may be inferred from that beautiful answer which is recorded by the ancients of a certain wise old man, who, on being asked what he found the chief result of having

become blind, replied, "Puero ut uno esset comitatior."\*

"Our young students," says the father-guardian of a Franciscan convent, at La Fleche, "must evince externally the odoriferous fruit of rejoicing and of celestial consolations; for there is nothing more agreeable in a soul, which professes piety and desires to lead a spiritual and angelic life, than to display, in all its actions, the smiling and joyous face of an angel. I never deem it a good sign when I see a novice who puts on the dismal air, and follows the fantasy of his young brain; he should obey those who have charge of his conduct, and learn to be gay and joyous in God, during the time of honest and holy recreation. St. Francis recommended his brethern to have always a cheerful air, and never to give way to sadness, which is a murderer of the soul and body. In our seraphic order, numberless examples may be produced. It is said of St. Bonaventura, that he was cheerful and full of consolations for himself as well as for others, and that his address was so engaging, and his countenance so joyous, that he inspired every one with confidence to approach him, and that no one ever departed from him dissatisfied. God had implanted such a degree of love in the heart, and such sweetness on the tongue of this favoured creature.";

This is what that good father says; but the same remark is suggested in almost every book which relates to ancient manners. Thus, the conversation of Madame de Chantal, the blessed foundress of the order of the Visitation, is described as being so cheerful and full of sweetness, that even people of the world were enchanted to find themselves in her company; t and the Church reads in her office on the feast of St. Romuald, abbot of Camaldoli, that amidst all the penance, and austerity, and tears of that holy man, he used to be always so full of joy in countenance, that he made the beholders cheerful. Indeed, the spiritual writers generally agree with the opinion expressed by St. Theresa, that, in a vast majority of instances, melancholy is only the result of pride.

In the middle ages, a poem, or other book of religious instruction, was always called the joyous book. Thus the author of the Calendrier

des Bergeres, which was printed in 1499, says,—

Hommes morts, qui desirez scavoir Comment on peut en ce monde bien vivre Et mal laisser; approchez, venez voir Pour visiter ce present joieulx livre A tous estats bonne doctrine il livre,

In attempting now to trace the particular sources which were employed to produce this happy state of mind, and commencing with its lowest indications, as in this cheerfulness, freedom, and even playfulness of manner, to which there is such frequent allusion, it may be shewn that here the immediate cause in operation was humility, and the total absence of all that stoical affectation of gravity, which loves to

† Le sacré Mont d'Olivet, par F. Elzeare l'Archer, 276.

<sup>\*</sup> Cicero, Tuscul. v. 39:

Marsollier, tom. ii. 35. [ Gouget, Bibliotheque François, tom. x. 200.

be distinguished from the vulgar, by its severe and unchanging tone. The gravest theologian would have agreed with Octavien de Saint-Gelais, where he says, in one of his poems,-

> Bien licite est à l'omme humain Après devote contemplation Soy occuper à prendre soir et main, Au monde aucune recréation.\*

Piety, in this sense, seemed to make old men young again, and to realize what is said in the Platonic dialogue of those whom Jupiter and Apollo love, that they never come to the threshold of old age. Humility is thus a source of joyful inspiration; it is humility which gives joy to youth, which makes it quick to learn and graceful to practise. Grown men are too proud to gather the sweet flowers of nature,-too proud to stoop for them. The proud are slaves to the tyranny of the world's opinion and the world's custom, and therefore can have no peace or joy within themselves; but, as Plato said, "The souls of those who imbibe the divine draught, like iron in the fire, are rendered soft, and as it were young again; so that they became plastic and docile as when they were young, under the hand of him that would now form them to goodness."

Is it not admirable to observe how, in this instance, the reason of Plato agreed with the Divine wisdom, which declared that men must become like children, in order to obtain beatitude? Were examples to be produced of the gaiety of men in these ages, so innocent and from the heart, there are formal pedants who would turn away in disdain; yet even the most refined taste need not prescribe silence on this head, for Virgil, in his heroic rhapsody, introduces the ludicrous misadventure of Menoetes and the laughter of the spectators, yet without loss of dignity and grace,‡ and real piety would assuredly take no offence. When Dante, who well understood its spirit, enters into conversation with Cacciaguida, upon subjects which had no connection with what is sacred, he only intimates the change by saying, that Beatrice, who represented heavenly wisdom, stood at a little distance,-

> And Beatrice, that a little space Was sever'd, smiled.

Our ancestors seem to have delighted in contrasts, in order to relieve, or, perhaps, rather to increase and deepen the solemnity of the august and awful objects with which they loved to be surrounded. exterior of churches exhibited strange grotesque monsters, and even the borders of their books of hours were decorated with figures expressive of so playful and delicate an imagination, that one would have thought "not even the inward shaping of the brain had colours fine enough to trace such folds." From the brief but piercing glance which they cast upon nature, it seemed to them as if there could almost be detected something corresponding to this principle in the works of the Divine Architect; and even in their contemplation of the most solemn mysteries of faith, affecting and tremendous as they felt them to be, still

<sup>\*</sup> Gouget, tom. x. 232.

<sup>‡</sup> Lib. v. 180.

<sup>+</sup> De Legibus, lib. ii. Paradise, xvi.

they evinced a certain smiling astonishment, in looking into the skill that fashioned the events of this lower world, with such effectual working, and in beholding the triumph of the eternal counsels; there was with them, as with the spirits which Dante saw in Paradise, "mirth," or as it is expressed in the XXth Canto, "gamesome mirth," not for the fault, which on these occasions did not come to mind, "but for the virtue, whose overruling sway and providence had wrought thus quaintly."\* Moreover they delighted in poems and paintings, and eccentric fabling, which exhibited the human and sportive side of the gravest subject. Such was the Fabliau, entitled La Bataille de Charnage et de Carême, in which these ideal personages are represented as kings summoning their vassals and engaging in dreadful combat. Carême, armed cap-à-pie, advances, riding on a mullet, carrying a cheese for his shield, his cuirass is a ray, his spurs are a fish bone, and his sword a broad sole; his munitions of war are peas, chesnuts, butter, cheese, milk, and dry fruits. Charnage has his helmet of a vast pâté of wild boar, with a peacock for his crest, a bird's bill serves him for spurs. and he rides on a stag, whose horns are loaded with larks. Carême is defeated, and only escapes on terms, that he is never to appear excepting during the forty days of Lent, and two days every week, and thus Lent becomes vassal to Charnage. The scholastic mock procession of whipping out Lent may be remembered as another instance. Here the triumph consisted in one boy being able to tread upon the herring, which was dragged by the next who ran before him, who used, in turn, his efforts to save it.

Being void of all hypocrisy and conscious of innocence, the good men of these simple ages could enjoy a little playful raillery directed against themselves. Of this an instance may be witnessed in the Fabliau of the Battle of the Wines, in which one look from the chaplain was enough to disconcert those of Argence, Rennes, and Chambeli. Indeed, it is obvious that the ludicrous pastimes of the Abbé de Malgouverne and the Abbot of Fools could be to none more amusing than to those who had been most thoroughly imbued with the love of order. From the same cause arose that distinctive feature of their conversation and writings; in one respect, full of meek reverence, and in another, fearless, and frank, and jocund, producing an effect which resembled more the Socratic irony than any thing which we can find amidst the universal chill of pedantry which prevails among the moderns; and an attentive analysis of its nature would of itself point out the source from whence it sprung. Horace speaks of irony as a declining to use one's strength, and an extenuation; † it is an unwillingness to push the victory, and to shew the immensity of one's possessions. Hence Aristotle says, that ironical persons are of more gracious manners than other men. Irony with him is an \*haude, as opposed to the hyperbole and the performs. It is a manner of understating what we believe, either from a profound sense of the inadequacy of language to express it, or from having so perfect a conviction of its truth, that we rest satisfied with our own interior conviction. Hence we see how naturally this style became characteristic of those who had the greatest faith, and who, in

<sup>\*</sup> Canto ix.

the spirit of humility, cherished the noblest sentiments; and that, on the other hand, the hyperbole, the style that is continually prolonged in tedious announcement of the immensity of one's conceptions, would

have been significant of the very opposite character.

In allusion to the former, St Theresa says, "The graces and light which the soul enjoys pass without noise, and in such great tranquillity, that it often reminds me of the construction of the temple which was built by Solomon without one blow of a hammer being heard."\* 'This is not the case with the progress of those minds which are continually proclaiming their internal operations. Within those precincts, the noise of alteration and repair never ceases, but we should wait in vain with the hopes of seeing the temple. An instance illustrative of the two different styles of expression, may be shewn from one of those romantic descriptions of ancient manners, in which Sir Walter Scott represents the pedantic puritan as shocked at the playful language of her prisoner, queen Mary, in speaking to her page and to her women. I allude to that passage where the poor queen, oppressed with the gloomy silence of the Lady of Lochleven, turning round to them, observes, "that if the latter should have adjusted her dress amiss, or if Roland Græme should have missed a wild duck on the wing, and broke a quarrel-pane of glass in the turret window, as chanced to him a week before, now was the time to think on their sins and to repent of them:" upon which the Lady of Lochleven, after assuring her that she speaks with all reverence, says with great solemnity, "Madam, methinks your followers might find fitter subject for repentance than the trifles you mention, and so mention, once more, I crave your pardon, as if you jested with sin and repentance both." The language of Mary in this passage affords an example of the precise irony of which we speak, instances of which might even be produced from some of the most sublime writings of saints. The delightful account which St. Theresa gives of her various foundations in Spain, is not without them. Sir Thomas More continued his irony to the scaffold, and we are presented with the same character in the accounts which have reached us of the death of some of the first blessed martyrs.

Frederick Schlegel makes some beautiful observations on this subject: "We also find," he says, "in the classical works of antiquity, at a time when that depth of a loving sentiment was not so generally revealed, this same phenomenon amidst the highest spiritual clearness and serenity, in the most charming attite of exquisite language. I mean that characteristic irony which belonged to the discourses and instructions of Socrates, as exhibited in the Platonic writings. For what else is that scientific irony of thought, and of the highest knowledge in the Socratic or Platonic sense, but the secret contradiction of conscience and thought brought to a harmony, and become clear to the soul in its immost scriving after the highest object? I must here, however, observe that this word, in the modern usage, has sunk to a degree lower than its original meaning; insomuch, that it now only signifies common mockery," and certainly does not fulfil Aristotle's idea, when he says that it makes manners more gracious; "but in that original Socratic sense," continues Schlegel, "as it appears developed in the Platonic

<sup>\*</sup> The Castle of the Soul, VIIth Dwelling.

works, and in the whole of their inward structure, irony signifies nothing else but this astonishment of the thinking spirit at itself, which it expresses by a gentle laughter: but besides this deeply involved sense, this laughter of the spirit has also another still higher signification, that of the most exalted earnestness, concealed under the smiling surface ;"\* an instance of which may be remembered in Livy, where he relates the reply of Hannibal to those who expressed their astonishment at his laughter, on beholding their despair for the calamity of their common

country.

It may be remarked here, that Lactantius seems not to have understood the loving irony of Socrates, reproaching him for it harshly, as if he had been a mere buffoon. † Better informed or more judicious was the scholastic theologian of the middle ages, who says of Socrates, alluding to his irony, "that in this respect he was a dissembler, non solum absque vitio, sed etiam cum laude."; Indeed, this theologian has shewn that there are various instances of its usage in the holy Scriptures. "True irony," says Frederick Schlegel, "is the irony of love. It arises out of the sentiment of a finite state, and of its own real limits, out of the visible contradiction between this sentiment and that feeling of eternity which is essentially included in true love." great," he says, "is the difference between the two kinds of irony in the conversational works of philosophy, between its mode and form in the Socratic school and in the writings of the moderns, where endless doubt in the highest extravagance of the sceptical sagacity, is held fast as the ultimate object, so that this cruel and bitter irony rests upon this general system of denial and negation, presenting such a contrast to that good-natured and loving irony of the Platonicians, inwardly associated with the highest inspiration for the divinity of truth, and become one with it, or at least inseparable from it, while it proceeds from the feeling of its own incapacity to comprehend and express in words the fulness of that divinity, as far as the soul is conscious of it."

These observations may be applied with the strictest truth to distinguish the joyous simplicity which characterised the lighter compositions of Christians, in ages of faith, from the heartless pleasantry of our more

recent literature.

While we are tracing the development of the lowly principle in the diffusion of these minor graces, it may be well to remark the absence of that restless anxiety to be thought the constant and intimate associate of the great, which keeps so many proud minds in perpetual agitation. This wretched and deplorable weakness was counteracted by humility. There is a beautiful instance of the contrary spirit in one of the books of St. Theresa, where, endeavouring to frame a comparison from things of earth to illustrate her heavenly theme, she says, "Imagine that you enter the cabinet of a great king, filled with a number of rare and precious objects, and containing a number of mirrors, that can be all seen at one view, as it happened once to me, when, on my travels, obedience obliged me to visit the Duchess of Alba, and to remain with her for two days.

<sup>\*</sup> Philosophie der Sprache. † Lib. iii. de Falsa Sapientia, cap. xix. Melchior Canus de Locis Theologicis, lib. ii. cap. iv.

Ibid. lib. ii. cap. ii. § Philosophie der Sprache, 63.

I was surprised on beholding such a vast number of curiosities, and I am now very glad that I saw them, as it will serve me for the present subject." \* Nothing is trifling which belongs to the possession of peace and simplicity, and few persons can have been so wanting in observation as not to be capable of feeling the charm of such a passage as this. But if humility could thus give to the conversation and external manners of men a cheerful smiling grace, which harmonised with a bright and innocent spirit, it was still more conducive to happiness, by delivering them from that ambition, more or less concealed, of being regarded as the most worthy and learned and skilful, which is so often the torment of ingenious but proud minds. What peace must have accompanied the genius of one who could leave such a sentence as this in the works which had secured immortal renown. St. Theresa writes as follows in the beginning of her Treatise on Prayer. "I do not see what I can add to what I have already written, and I fear lest what I shall now say, in obedience to the commands imposed upon me, will be only a tedious repetition-for I am like the birds that are taught to speak, and which, through want of sense, repeat always the same words. I cannot, without confusion and tears, think that I write for persons who are capable of giving me instruction; and herein I see clearly that it is the power of obedience which constrains me to write. God grant that you may derive utility from it: and I conjure you to beg of him to pardon the miserable creature who thus dares to undertake it."† A mind like this was not in danger of being disturbed by finding the productions of others preferred before its own. A great spiritual writer makes the following remarks, which will shew not only what tranquillity belonged to the humble scholar, but also what facilities for advancement in every noble pursuit were imparted by poverty of spirit. "How many persons," he observes, "are deceived here! They will risk nothing for fear of losing the reputation they may have gained of ability and wisdom. Hence they renounce a thousand holy enterprises. They would rather do nothing all their life, than do moderately what they do: they abandon their labours, lest they should labour without success! Whereas, they who are really humble, forgetting themselves, apply with diligence to many objects to which they may often feel their talents unequal-for they argue thus with their own minds, 'I shall at least gain humiliation, if I gain nothing else:' and in the end, God permits the very contrary; for while others languish in a criminal idleness, and after immense preparation remain in obscurity, these men, who seek humiliation, are crowned with success which they never contemplated." Quinctilian counts it among the virtues of a grammarian, "aliqua nescire;" | and our profound and feeling ancestors, in extending the confession to every science and branch of knowledge, as well as of moral discipline, with particular reference to themselves individually, while they often verified the truth of what was said by the holy recluse, "Plus profecit in relinquendo omnia, quam in studendo subtilia," were also delivered from many perturbations and miseries, which become the torment of those who seek to be noted in the annals of fame. Even the heathen Epictetus had prescribed something

<sup>\*</sup> The Castle of the Soul, VIth Dwelling. † The Castle of the Soul, chap. i. † Le P. Judde Œuvres Spirituelles, tom. iv. p. 172. | Lib. i. 9.

that resembled this exercise of humility; for his advice was thus expressed-" If any one should say to you, this man accuses you of such and such things, do not try to refute what is said, but answer, he is ignorant of my other vices, or he would not have confined his accusation of me to that point." \* This was cutting off vexation by the roots. "The humble," says the holy recluse, "are in peace, because they stand in God, and not in the world and its opinion." That the profession, or even the actual possession of a more exact knowledge, even of a multitude of those accessary reasons which may be drawn from the depths of philosophy in support of faith, would have contributed but little to their happiness, may be inferred from the indignant question of the poet in reference to the modern philosophers, who are conscious of no deficiency in science:-

> -Shall men for whom our age . Unbaffled powers of vision hath prepared, To explore the world without and world within, Be joyless as the blind? †

But who can describe that profound and calm felicity of a humble, passive spirit, which was able to draw refreshment and sublime inspiration from the very objects that pride would have converted into gall and bitterness! This was secured to men, in ages of faith, by the lessons of religion-for these proceeded at once effectually to extirpate all the roots of an unhappy life to their most minute fibres, by imparting that general temper and disposition which was exercised in receiving the gifts of God, whether conveyed in the way of instruction or of the Divine mysteries, without cavil, criticism, or prejudice; and herein lay the great secret of attaining to that happiness which was first forfeited to the human race by the presumption that dared to question the will of its Creator. All graces and all beatitude were attached to this repose and humiliation of mind. Thus St. Bonaventura said-"Speak willingly of God, and willingly hear those who speak of him; but avoid all contestation on the subject, and hear peaceably whatever good thing is said, without opposing any thing of your own, and be not like those who are never content to hear without contradicting and disputing, from a fear lest they should be thought less knowing than those with whom they are." I The same humility preserved men from being cast down by the sense of their own misery in the occasional experience of blasphemous fancies and thoughts, which they were told to chase away as flies, without even grieving for them: and in this manner there was peace to men of good will. This was what Albertus Magnus recommended. To the poor in spirit belonged a blessedness which flowed from a source that was pure and unfailing, because it did not con-ist in any proud possession of their own, but in the consciousness of their constant dependance upon God, and in keeping themselves "within the divone will, by which their wills with his were one." St. Augustin asks, "What is it to be happy?" he replies, have spoken much respecting it in many works; but what need have we to apply to many works and to many authors, when the holy Scriptures tell us in two words, and with truth, that happy are the

<sup>\*</sup> Manuale, cap. xxx.

<sup>‡</sup> De Reformat. Hominis Exter. cap. xxx.

people who have the Lord for their God. This fear, which made men submit to his sovereign authority, corresponds to the first beatitude; for, as St. Augustin says, "Timor Dei congruit humilibus." God, as their King, made their law his will; "and in his will was their tranquillity." He was their fear and their love. "The earth," says the Pere Judde, "is a paradise to whoever seeks only to please God; but, on the contrary, it is an anticipated hell to the man who rejects his invitations." Of St. John, the precursor of our Lord, his holy mother said that he rejoiced in gladness. "This," says Father Diego de Stella, "is the difference that exists between good and evil men's joys: these do joy in their vanities and the other do rejoice in a good conscience before God. This is the rejoicing of St. John in joy." Albert the Great makes divine reflections on this head. "Nothing," he says, "can be happier than to place all things in Him, in whom there is no deficiency. Therefore, with all study, diligence, and labour, simplify your heart, that you may be converted from phantasms, immovable and tranquil, and that you may stand always within yourself in the Lord, as if your soul were in that now of eternity, that is, of divinity. If you continually and truly revolve these things within your mind, they will confer more upon you towards a happy life than all riches, delights, honours, nay, and besides, than all the wisdom and knowledge of this deceitful life and corruptible world, even though in these things you were to excel all the men that ever existed." St. Augustin, speaking of men converted to God, says that they lose the things which they loved before; "et donec fiat in illis amor æternorum non nulla mæstitia sauciantur."\ But where that love enters, the loss is remembered with additional joy and thankfulness; for in order to approach their primal source, it was necessary that they should part with the weights with which other men do vainly load their feet, toiling in hopes of happiness, which even the wise ancients knew could never be derived from such things; as Cicero, when he says of Antony, "he was happy, if there can be any happiness in such a mind." They had thought to find peace and gladness in the love of creatures; and in them even Cicero could exclaim, "O how many and how bitter are the roots of sorrow." And now from these they are delivered by embracing poverty of spirit, which expects and finds light out of darkness, and, amidst privation, food on which they live, and never know satiety. That joy which might spring from natural sources, was exalted and secured to them by being sanctified; for they learned to offer the expansion of their hearts to God as well as to their earthly friend, and they looked up to him in their mirth and playful hours, as well as in times of serious meditation; for even in the lowest things they saw, as Dante says.

The printed steps
Of that eternal worth, which is the end
Whither the line is drawn.‡‡

In this respect the Church had taught them very differently from what is held by some writers of systems in our age; for even an acquaintance

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. ad Prob.

<sup>‡</sup> On the Contempt of the World, i. 116.

<sup>§</sup> Lib. i. de Serm. Dom. in Monte.

<sup>††</sup> Tuscul. lib. iii. 83.

<sup>+</sup> Retraite Spirituelle, i.

De adhærendo Deo, cap. v.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Phil. ii. ## Parad. i.

with her ritual had imparted that benignity which Cardinal Bona describes as being "a certain sweetness of mind, excluding all anger, envy, and malice, dressing the whole soul to benevolence, tolerance, and internal joy." The office for lauds breathes joy and humanity, expansion of heart, and the simplicity of innocence. At the view of its gracious forms one is tempted to ask "quæ est ista quæ progreditur quasi Aurora consurgens?"† To the humble, again, belonged the happiness resulting from that rule of faith which they received with such gratitude from the Church of God; and "it is a pleasure incomparable," as a great English philosopher says, "for the mind of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of truth." All other blissful gifts fall short in comparison of this, which is no sooner received than the soul finds rest and joy in the tabernacle of the living God, and like the dove which Noah let fly from the ark after the deluge to see if it had subsided, she brings back a branch of olive to signify that she has found some firm ground amidst the waves and tempests of the world.

Theirs was also in an eminent degree that delight of communion which is not weakened by the number of the happy to which Dante al-

ludes in the lines.

O man! why place thy heart where there doth need Exclusion of participants in good ! #

St. Bernard applies to the proud the prophecy, "Erraverunt in solitudine in inaquosa; -for the proud," says he, "wander in solitude because they wish to be alone and singular in all things, to be either more noble or more prudent, or more learned, or better than all others. Such was the Pharisce, Deus, gratias ago tibi, quia non sum sicut cæteri hominum." St. Bernard adds, "gratias agit, non quia bonus, sed quia solus." O, how unlike the mind of those who are children of the first beatitude. "To cast it to the dogs! What a humiliating comparison!" Yet the woman of Cana was touched by it. "True lord!" she replied; she was a Pagan, and she humbled herself; she was a Pagan, and through poverty of spirit, resigning all the prejudices of her nation and family,

she procured for herself the riches of Divine peace. St. Theresa, in relating the foundation of the monastery of Carmelites, at Alba of Tormez, mentions that the father and mother of the foundress, Theresa of Lays, being of a very ancient nobility but not rich, had taken up their residence in the village of Tordilla, which is two leagues distant from Alba, upon which she makes this observation, "I cannot, without compassion, remark how great is that vanity which rather than stoop to the least thing from what it names honour, can induce persons to retire thus to places where they are deprived of the instructions which may contribute to their salvation." Such a life was then uncommon; for humility caused men to avail themselves of the numerous and gracious provisions which the Church had made for the edification and happiness of her children: and of this we may still witness proofs in the situation of the ancient houses of the nobility, which are seldom far distant from the places of greatest devotional attraction. It is not only, however, in order to partake of the great and supernatural con-

<sup>\*</sup> De Divina Psalmodia, 301.

solations derived from the ineffable mysteries of the Catholic Church that such a spirit is absolutely indispensable; but it may be said in general, that all the natural rewards of virtue are the fruit of a disposition which approaches to that Christian humbleness or poverty of spirit which submits to the discipline of virtue with a cheerful and child-like obedience. This seems to have been present to the mind of Socrates when he said, "It is necessary to understand that in each of us there are two ruling and leading ideas, one or other of which we follow, the one a desire of pleasure, the other an implanted sentiment, desiring whatever is best. There are times when these two agree in harmony, and times when they are in opposition to each other, and at mutual war; one time this conquers, and at another that: when the sentiment which desires whatever is best gains the ascendancy, then temperance rules; but when we are ruled by the desire which irrationally draws us on to pleasure, then follows the reign of insult, and insult has many names, for it has many members and many forms."\* Then, as Drexelius says, "even cupidities themselves are clamorous against each other, and opposed in combat; and there are continually in the mind, as if legions and armies of foul and bitter thoughts,"† This answers to the condition of the proud, whereas the state of harmony corresponds with what St. Bonaventura describes, saying, "all that the soul of man can desire must have relation to these three things, either to what we believe is agreeable, or to what we think honourable, or to what we suppose is useful, and all these characters of good are found united only in spiritual delights," t which belong only to the humble. To the same effect speaks a modern philosopher, who in his last work, written but a short time before his death, seems to have expressed the sentiments of a Catholic Christian, "The divine origin of our religion," he says, "is marked no less by its history than its harmony with the principles of our nature. Obedience to its precepts not only prepares for a better state of existence in another world, but is likewise calculated to make us happy here. We are constantly taught to renounce sensual pleasure and selfish gratification, to forget our body and sensible organs, to associate our pleasures with mind, and to fix our affections upon the great ideal generalization of intelligence in the one Supreme Being." In this passage the philosopher does but express in modern phrase the sum of what was taught by the ascetical writers of the middle age, respecting the prominent part which humility, obedience, and self-renouncement should play in the operations of religion. But the effects of such a disposition of the soul become still more apparent as we ascend the scale of felicity, and endeavour to trace the causes and operation of those extraordinary raptures which refreshed and animated the holy men of these faithful ages. "God," said they, "ordains that our hopes should arise from our very poverty and weakness; as the Church sings on the eve of St. John, Ex utero senectutis et sterili Johannes natus est præcursor Domini." The prophecy which said "thy light shall arise in darkness," was fulfilled in their souls; and as brother Elzeare l'Archer observed, in allusion to its lustre, "the stars never ap-

<sup>†</sup> De Conformitate, &c. lib. iii. 2.

<sup>\*</sup> Plato, Phædrus. ‡ De Sept. Grad. Vit. Spiritual. cap. lxxv.

Sir Humphrey Davy, the Last Days of a Philosopher, 218. § Isaiah, lviii.

pear brighter than in the middle of the darkest night." Assuredly what during these intervals they saw, as Dante says,

Was not for words to speak, nor memory's self To stand against such outrage on her skill.

But, on the other hand, they felt the necessity of ordaining that these raptures of devotion should be of short duration, "because," said St. Macaire, the Egyptian, "if man were to remain continually in them, he could no longer discharge the ministry of the Word nor accomplish his other duties, nor hear the Word of God, nor even attend when it would be indispensable to his own conservation. It would be necessary for him to remain seated in some retired spot where he would have no other occupation but to taste the sweetness of these transports. Therefore God has not wished that this high degree of perfection should be more frequent, in order that man might accomplish his duties and his destinies on the earth."\* Not merely was poverty of spirit conversant with these happy intervals, but it taught men to appreciate the advantages of being left without them, and even the danger of desiring to enjoy them. "O humility, humility," cries St. Theresa, "I can never believe that they possess thee who seek consolations and raptures in prayer." † Here it is impossible not to be struck with the wide distinction between the minds of men in the ages of faith and that of those modern professors of piety who seem to consider as an undisputed point that it consists in the ardent desire of spiritual enjoyment and in the horror of all interior pain and of all poverty of spirit, not in the renouncement of private possessions, but in what the blessed John of the Cross calls "spiritual gluttony," t being desirous rather of their interior pleasures than of purity of heart and true devotion; or, as the holy recluse of the thirteenth century says, "following Jesus to the breaking of the bread but not to drinking the cup of his passion." "Whereas true piety," says John of the Cross, "seeks what is insipid, suffering deprivation of all things for the love of God, dryness and affliction. For to seek only consolations and interior transports is to seek oneself and not Jesus Christ. It is the will of God that the faithful soul shall experience intervals of dereliction, that it should suffer these interior desolations which, so far from being contrary, are favourable to perfection, when endured with the Catholic spirit of sacrifice. Our Saviour was deprived of all interior consolations when he spoke those affecting words. I wish, therefore, to persuade those who apply to the interior life, that the ways which conduct us to God, do not consist in our feeling great transports, but in renouncing ourselves, and being ready to take from God's hands both dereliction and joy."

St. Bonaventura, speaking of the two descriptions of men, those whom grace comes to meet, inflaming their will with fervour, and crowning them with constant peace and joy, and those who are left without sensible consolations, though ever ready to say with the prophet, "Lord, my soul desires nothing but to be inflamed with the love of thy law," observing, that the former are more happy than the latter,

<sup>\*</sup> Hom, viii, † The Castle of the Soul, chap, i. ‡ The Ascent of Mount Carmel, lib, ii, c, vii.

B. John of the Cross, Ascent of Mount Carmel, ii. 7.

adds, "Who can decide which has the most merit? Both may arrive at the highest point of perfection; only let the latter beware how they murmur in passing the desert of this life."\* At the transfiguration, Peter, James, and John, were admitted to behold Christ, but Andrew was excluded. So again at the reviving of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, these three were let in, and Andrew shut out. Lastly, in the agony, the aforesaid three were called to be witnesses thereof, and still Andrew left behind. Yet he was St. Peter's brother, and an apostle. Fuller, who makes the remark, confesses, in his quaint, profane style, that he seems more offended at this than Andrew himself was, whom he finds to express no discontent. In the trials of the spiritual life, such ordinations have a specific end. Thus we read of the internal agitations of St. Theresa, in that cruel moment when she was constrained by her director, fearing the scandal and calumnies of the world, to refrain from those pious exercises which had become her only joy, after generously sacrificing to God all that had been dear to her, at the moment when Jesus Christ, to reward such efforts, allowed her to experience the most lively transports in the operations of grace, she was obliged to renounce them, and thus was left between heaven and earth, without an object, and without support, the most sensible, and the most tender heart that ever existed.† St. Bonaventura, however, says, "The state of apparent dereliction, in which the soul is left without spiritual refreshment, is highly useful, in order that our faith may rest more upon the authority of the holy Scriptures than upon our own experience; and thus our faith has more merit, and hope becomes more illustrious."; "When the soul experiences these extraordinary operations," says John of the Cross, "it often conceives a secret self-esteem, and imagines that it has already some merit before God. Such is the fruit of these sensible delights, which are supposed to be spiritual." "Quid præclarius est, quam vera spiritualis paupertas? atqui cum ea nobis proponitur, nolumus eam!" "We must have interior consolations." Coming, like Hercules, to the temple, and growing impatient and furious because we do not receive an instant answer from heaven; \*\* because we are not immediately exalted to that state of animal enthusiasm which we mistake for piety. Thus the moderns turn away from the assemblies of the faithful as if never satisfied, according to the confession of a celebrated German philosopher, who speaks of his having entered a Catholic church. The reason is obvious. It is because the passions, the movement of which they mistake for zeal, are not excited; it is because there is nothing to nourish the secret pride, which is the atmosphere essential to the continued existence of that species of piety so falsely deemed spiritual, merely because it has no influence upon the conduct of life; it is because, on the contrary, there is every thing to humble them, and to remind them of their own nothingness, and to mortify vanities and impatience. The blessed John of the Cross makes sublime reflections on this head in his book on the obscure Night of the Soul. "God often refuses," he says, "this taste of sweetness, in order that the soul may

<sup>\*</sup> De Reformat. Hom. exter.

<sup>\*</sup> De Sept. Grad. Vit. Spiritual. cap. v.

<sup>§</sup> Theologia Germanica, cap. x. Vol. I.—17

<sup>†</sup> Villefore, Vie de S. T. tom. i. p. 80. The Ascent of Mount Carmel, ii. xi.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Pausanias, cap. xiii.

regard him more purely with the eyes of faith. Men wish to feel God, and to taste him in the participation of the holy mysteries, and in other spiritual exercises, as if he were capable of being taken and touched in a material and sensible manner. All that is certainly very imperfect, and opposed to the nature and perfections of God, who demands from us a very simple and pure faith. They follow the same method in prayer-thinking that, to be good, it ought to inundate the heart with a flood of sensible consolations. Accordingly, they fatigue their imagination and weary their head, to obtain these interior delights; and because they do not succeed, they are in trouble, and they think that they have lost their time. Thus they lose true devotion, which consists in perseverance in prayer, in humility, in distrust of self, and in the sole desire of pleasing God. Such souls have great need of passing through the obscure night of the soul, in which it is stripped of every possession." At present, as Louis de Blois says, "even when they appear to serve God, it is only their internal consolations that they seek: they serve themselves; and thus in every thing, and at all times, they prefer their own will to that of God. They make holiness consist in the sweetness of their consolations, rather than in the mortification of the senses and the destruction of vice. Whereas, these sensible tastes are often nothing more than the simple movements of nature, and far from being really a true spiritual affection: they produce a secret pride, a self-satisfaction, and a fatal security, a disposition also to judge others, and to believe themselves holy: they are pursued exactly as any other terrestrial pleasure, and they pass with them. Thus vanish away in their own thoughts those who seek sensible graces rather than the Author of grace."\* another book he speaks as follows. "Some imagine themselves lost when they are deprived of sensible consolations, and when they are restored to them, they fancy themselves to be saints: but herein they deceive themselves-for dryness of heart is often better for man than sweet refreshment. Sweetness is sometimes granted to those who, living ill, are far separated from God; and therefore it is no infallible index of sanctity. It is even an imperfection to pray for it-for the gifts of God are not God himself-and therefore we must not rest in them. We should be willing to be led through the shadow of death, and the darkness even of hell, not alarmed at being deprived of the sweets of sensible devotion, but only anxious to be always united to God with an intellectual love, and a right will, and finding in his good pleasure our supreme consolation."† All this is expressed by Dante in a most sublime figure, where he represents Beatrice at first smiling upon him, and casting forth beams from her celestial eyes; but when he ascends with her to the seventh heaven, where are the souls of those who had passed their life in holy retirement and contemplation, his near approach to the perfection of that splendour is indicated by relating that Beatrice then wore no smile, and that all was silent: and when he humbly asked the reason,-

> Mortal art thou in hearing as in sight, Was the reply. And what forbade the smile Of Beatrice, interrupts our song.;

\* Guide Spirituelle, chap. ii.

<sup>†</sup> Louis de Blois, Institution Spirituelle, chap. vii.

Either would have overcome him; but still the ascent to that perfect

state was accompanied with a diminution of sensible delight.

This may seem to have been a long digression; but it was very important to mark the doctrine on this point of the ages of faith, because, as we shall have occasion hereafter to observe, it will account for a number of characteristic traits in ancient institutions and rules of life, which have been lost and reversed in later times, and which are even an offence to the followers of the new religions: if, indeed, any thing be new which relates to the errors of men.

It remains, in the last place, to speak of the consolations belonging to the poor in spirit, which more immediately had regard to the sorrows and calamities of life. "Pauper et humilis spiritu, in multitudine pacis conversantur," says the holy recluse. It is a trite sentence in the schools, "Nulla regula sine exceptione;" but the rule of submitting humbly to the divine will, which opened a source of unfailing tranquillity, was known to be without any exception. St. Bernard comments upon this truth, and says, "Hear the man whom God found to be after his own heart. "Paratum cor meum, Deus," he says, "paratum cor meum:" prepared for adversity, prepared for prosperity, prepared for being humbled, prepared for being exalted, prepared for all things that thou prescribest. Dost thou wish to make me a herd of sheep? Dost thou wish to constitute me a king over the people? Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum. Lo, I am ready-let him do with me according to his good pleasure. Admirable was this abdication of his own will. For what, if God should say, 'I do not wish that you should be a king, I do not wish that you should live.' 'I am ready,' replies David: if God should say, 'I wish you to be a second time an exile, a second time a fugitive, and to have a most wicked son, who will seek both the crown and the life of his father.' 'Yet still, I am ready,' cries David. If God command, saying, 'I wish you to be again in the dens of wild beasts, again to live by begging alms, and daily to incur danger of death,'- 'Nevertheless, I am ready,' says David. If God should say, 'I wish, instead of consolation, that you should be cut off from all that were subject and dear to you, to be sought after in order to be stoned, to be devoted to all dire calamities,'- 'Yet I do not decline this,' says David. Dominus faciat quod bonum est coram se." So ready was he to sacrifice freedom, children, riches, kingdom, and even life, rather than not please God, rather than not say, "Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum."\*

Hieremias Drexelius, the Jesuit, wrote a divine book, never to be sufficiently praised, entitled, "De Conformitate Humanæ Voluntatis cum Divina," which will explain the consolations in affliction, which belonged to the poor in spirit, in the present world of trial. The philosopher whose work, as being written with the sentiments of a Catholic, has been already quoted, had evidently made this discovery for himself, and probably was indebted for it to his residence in that capital of the Christian world, whose stores of learning and sacred wisdom are seldom lost upon men of noble capacity. "Religion," he says, "has always the same beneficial influence on the mind. In youth, in

<sup>\*</sup> Serm. iii. de Resur. Dom.

health, and prosperity, it awakens feelings of gratitude and sublime love. and purifies at the same time that it exalts; but it is in misfortune, in sickness, in age, that its effects are most truly and beneficially felt. when submission in faith, and humble trust in the Divine will, from duties become pleasures, undecaying sources of consolation; then it creates powers which were believed to be extinct, and gives a freshness to the mind, which was supposed to have passed away for ever, but which is now renovated as an immortal hope." To which sudden and mysterious change, if it were allowable to compare things divine with human, we might say that some weak resemblance can be traced in the mere natural feelings which many persons must have experienced, when, in days of heaviness and desertion, in the dark and cheerless sky of winter, the eye, at eve or morning, discovered some fair and lovely tint painted in an adverse cloud, -some sweet or glorious lustre appearing faintly beyond it, and instantly the mind remembered some trait or feeling of happy days gone by, some aspiration of youth, some rapture of friendship, -some sweet fancy of innocence and memory was changed into hope, and the heart seemed relieved from some long oppressive load, which had sunk it down, and the face was once more lighted up with a smile of joy. But it is time to close this first retrospect, whose humble theme relates to the ways and thoughts of the spiritually poor It only remains to observe in conclusion, that to this poverty of spirit were obliged to come in search of content and peace, not merely the saintly men, whose desires from the first aimed at perfection, but even those mighty heroes, who had wrought so many a deed to merit earthly glory, and, as Homer says, inextinguishable fame. To them, at length, seemed especially to sound the words-"Aufer cydarem, tolle coronam, sede in pulvere." And it was not for those who had already felt the bitterness of pride to remain deaf to the voice which breaks the cedars. Behold, then, the knightly limbs prostrate, the swords, the crowns, and banners laid at the steps of the altar. more haughty state, no more esteem of themselves, no more desire of honour. What! and did these deign at last to approach the mountain? Did they discover too, that their happiness was there? Yes, and with the deeper sense of conviction, as they had so long tasted by experience the reverse; for, "all our peace in this miserable life is derived rather from suffering humbly, than from not experiencing contrary things," and this remark of the holy recluse is peculiarly true of men who possess the most delicate and susceptible minds. It is only in poverty of spirit that they can find support against the scorns and ills of life, and rest for their wishes. Without that rest to visit in time their afflicted hearts, shattered by the world's tempests, they must succumb amidst unutterable and incurable woe, a sorrow that is irresistible, and even, as Homer truly says, deathless. Well does the poet represent them, in describing Tasso :-

from my very birth
My soul was drunk with love, which did pervade.
And mingle with whate'er I saw on earth;
Of objects all inanimate I made
Idols, and out of wild and lonely flowers,

<sup>\*</sup> Ezek. xxi. 26. and Isa. xlvii. 1.

And rocks, whereby they grew, a paradise,
Where I did lay me down, within the shade
Of waving trees, and dreamed uncounted hours;
Though I was chid for wandering; and the wise
Shook their white aged heads o'er me, and said,
Of such materials wretched men were made,
And such a truant boy would end in woe,
And that the only lesson was a blow.\*

They judged rightly; for they took not into account the resources of faith, and they saw that, in a world of incurable disorder, so intense a love of what is beautiful and perfect, must needs of natural necessity bring with it disappointment and the keen bitter sense of discord, and the cruel pangs of having to witness, and perhaps endure the triumph of injustice and wrong. Had they, indeed, looked upwards and conceived the charm of that substance of things not seen; had they remembered the offers of eternal truth, to give rest to the wearied spirits that would follow him who was meek and lowly of heart, that end of woe would not have seemed inevitably awaiting the object of their solicitude. For O! what a balm has the Catholic religion provided for these eagle spirits, when confined in the net of earthly calamity! Its effects may be witnessed by referring to the words which the same poet ascribes to Tasso, where he represents him afterwards in the dungeon, saying,—

I once was quick in feeling,—that is o'er; My scars are callous, or I should have dashed My brain against these bars, as the sun flashed

In mockery through them,

He once was quick in feeling. How much is expressed in these few words! Could we behold a heart thus delicate and susceptible, Ah me! what wounds would it display, recent and old, as if inflicted by those flames which had already begun to prey upon it; tormented, as if by demons, whose instruments are every brief and vile contingency! But he adds, "that is over." In fact, all is changed, all is reversed: he is no longer what he was. No one can now tear the impatient answer from his tongue, no indication of neglect, no cruel injustice, no merciless wrong, can any more trouble that heart; for it has found rest and peace unutterable, peace everlasting. That rest has been found by entering upon the way of the holy cross; he has been taught how to endure, how to sanctify sorrow. Objects have been made familiar to him, before which he loves to kneel and weep in lowly reverence. The passion of his Saviour, the crown of thorns, the drink of vinegar and gall,—these have taught him what he could never have gained from all the consolations of philosophy,—these

Have from the sea of ill-love saved his bark, And on the coast secured it of the right;

teaching him to estimate the value of being condemned to suffer bitterness, and yielding him in return, for that proud and lofty spirit which he renounced, the power of preserving his peace while beholding man's unkindness; the power of reducing to a sweet calm that once restless and troubled sea of the heart, swollen and agitated with a thousand pas-

sions; nay, even the faculty of converting pain and misfortune, and the dire events of a calamitous life, into images of quiet beauty, on which the memory and imagination may dwell, almost with a poetic fondness; for now he can say with Lovelace, that

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage,
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage:

or apply to himself what Richard Plantagenet says of Mortimer:-

In prison hast thou spent a pilgrimage, And like a hermit overpass'd thy days.\*

Who would exchange this privilege, which requires nothing from those who desire to possess it, but a humble and patient spirit, for the anguish and disappointments that inevitably await the proud, who disdain to suffer, still impenitent though scourged? Who would barter it for those intellectual acquirements which only aggravate the distress of their self-tormented possessors, whom we behold so often like the spirits in Dante, which "hung on the wild thorn of the wretched shade?" Who would not wish to have known, from the first moment of life, this great divine secret, proclaimed, indeed, from the Mount, and yet to many still a hidden mystery? Then youth would have been gentle as the breath of spring, and age as gifted as the sweet luxuriant season when the powers of nature exhale a living balm for every sense; then, as each once proud follower of earthly glory might exclaim with Dante,

Devoutly joy, ineffable as these, Had from the first, and long time since been mine.

Such then was the character of ages of faith in the middle time of history, with regard to the disposition proposed in the first of these divine sentences from the Mount, which teach the means of attaining to celestial beatitude. The examples which have been given are drawn from histories and other works which date from that period, and the reflections and comments, which express the belief and sentiment, are, for the most part, either those of authors, whose writings were received as law from a more remote antiquity, or those of men who lived during the time, and who are known to have exerted a most extensive influence in directing the thoughts and conduct, not only of men individually, but even of entire nations: or, in fine, they have been drawn from the verses of that great Christian poet of the middle ages, whose mind was so thoroughly imbued with the theology of the school, and with the sentiments that prevailed among all ranks of the people, and who is always so precise and accurate in his expressions of them, that wherever the peculiar prejudices of an unhappy political party do not break out, his sublime and wondrous creation may be received in one sense as a view

<sup>\*</sup> Hen. vi. i. ii. 5.

of the intellectual condition of mankind during the period in which he lived; and here the genius of Cary had facilitated the task by supplying me with the thoughts already clothed in the English tongue as nearly as possible as they had been first conceived in the mind of the great master of mysterious song, who is assuredly not more admirable as a poet than as a kind of divine instructor to repeat the eternal truths of revelation to the forgetful and thoughtless race of men. These passages might have been multiplied to almost any limits, but to serve the purpose of a general outline, intended rather to suggest than to develope the meditation of others, there has been enough already offered, in giving the more important among the forms into which the leading principle was found to pass. In the ensuing books the reader will often have occasion to recur to what has been proposed in this place, in order to attain to a more clear conception of the subject on which he will then be occupied, and in like manner the subjects to be hereafter considered, will continue still farther to illustrate and confirm the view which has been taken of the spirit and manners of Christian antiquity: so that I would recommend the postponement of objections until all has been seen: for the grace of the eight divisions has something common in genere, but specifically different for each beatitude; and, in fact, they are all so closely interwoven, that each must necessarily involve something which might have found admission, perhaps, with equal justice, under a different head; but it will be sufficient for all purpose of arrangement, if we keep the great leading features of each distinct within its proper and immediate limits. Therefore, without employing myself on every occasion to meet objections, and anticipate their solution, I shall continue to sit a silent spectator of the representation before us, and wait until the personages shall speak for themselves. The first development of the one original principle which has been proposed in an eight-fold division, has necessarily been less conversant with facts and the positive side of things, since its consequences, as its essence, were primarily and professedly spiritual, or at least foreign from our present conception of the material works of the mighty Creator of the universal frame, and wholly without the sphere of those tangible objects, which have been hitherto submitted to the perceptions of men; but in what is to come there will be occasion to approach much nearer to the present external and material world, for the development can only be attained by an exhibition of the impress made upon this earth, in the forms, manners, and institutions of society. .

For the present, I must pause with an internal conviction that those whom I undertook to lead through this retrospect of past times, will have reason to repent their having consented to follow me; they must feel wearied and disappointed; but as the rude peasant who guides the pilgrim ventures at times to promise shortly a less steep and slippery path, so I presume to suggest here, that the ensuing books hold out a prospect less discouraging to one who has already had such experience of the weakness and incapacity of the stranger, who with no other recommendation but a good and cheerful will, has offered to lead him through these high mysterious regions; for besides that, there will be so many material objects on every side to lay hold on, and grapple with, which will therefore render less necessary the qualifications of a spirit-

ual order to which we can lay no claim, the view must be felt to possess more, perhaps, of a human interest, and almost one which is present and personal to us all in these times, when we behold the work of general destruction so fast proceeding under pretence of that new religious and revolutionary principle of reducing all things to what is supposed to be spirituality, though, in fact, it is synonymous with annihilation; the principle which rests on the idea that there is nothing pure and divine but what is armuar trator, to use the expression of Aristotle: \* that, be it remembered, which was the great instrument in the hands of the ignorant innovators of the sixteenth century, and which seems to be prepared in the wise dispensation of the Supreme Ruler, as the grand solvent to be employed by their worthy, but far more acute successors, in removing every thing which had been created by religion in ages of faith for the use and enjoyment of men, churches and states, cathedrals and abbeys, colleges, and institutions of mercy for the poor, thrones, degrees, and privileges, wisely and admirably contrived for the common benefit, sublime and joyous ceremonies, to be interwoven with the whole order of social life, and the application of earthly and visible objects to promote spiritual and eternal good. However, although in what is now past, there may have been but little that was tangible to excite the attention of those who love curious research, still it may be conceived that there was a certain degree of interest even amidst a mere didactic exposition of doctrines and sentiments, which is not wholly without the province of those who contemplate the history of the ages of the race of men; for the facts and events which mark the different stages of the human course are intimately connected with the spirit, and, as it were, the system of philosophy of each period, and it is impossible to estimate these without taking a review of the doctrines publicly and generally taught, which can only be known by simply and patiently listening to what we find was delivered. In conclusion, we may be allowed to anticipate a reflection which will subsequently be often suggested, and to observe even from the little progress we have already made, how groundless is the surprise expressed by those, loving the ages of Christian antiquity, when they find them now by proud unbelieving men in such wondrous sort despised. The law of the moral world, we know, cannot be arrested, but fulfils itself without regard to any one's wishes. Human honour is yielded only to those who court it by corresponding thoughts and actions, and the world will love its own, and that exclusively. How, then, is it possible that it should admire and reward, with the vain honours of its applause, these simple and strangely superhuman ages when nothing was written or done for glory, but all in hopes of an invisible good, and of a future eternal recompense? To the eye of a proud earthy philosophy, there was nothing worthy of being described in elaborate histories, nothing to point the sentence of a splendid rhetoric, nothing to make men feel higher in their own esteem, or to support any of the inventions by which so many at present hope to extinguish for ever the torch of faith, and almost to dethrone the Almighty, as far as respects his government, of that earth which he gave to the children of men. For if there was grandeur in

<sup>\*</sup> De Anima A.

these ages too evident to be contested, and greatness more than human to which the most sublime geniuses that ever moved in the intellectual system of man have paid homage, it was accompanied with such manifestations of the lowly idea, often to the eye of sense so trivial and ignoble in the form of its development, such symbols of humbleness and poverty of spirit, that independent of all ulterior designs of opposition, the sentiments of mere animal men are necessarily shocked rather than elevated at the remembrance; and the real glory—the glory worthy of an immortal being; created only to love and to adore-is overlooked in the humiliation of the cross. They who now profess such a regard for the appearance of material consistency under every circumstance, are highly offended at the contrasts presented in the institutions, manners, and character of the middle ages; but it should be remembered, that to them also the question of St. Fulgentius, which the Church reads in her office, would be a scandal if some of them were not themselves the type of inconsistency. "Quis est iste Rex Judæorum?" asks that holy bishop. "Pauper et dives, humilis et sublimis, qui portatur ut parvulus, adoratur ut Deus." So was it with these ages, in conformity to their divine model; they were at the same time poor and rich, humble and sublime; below the standard of human glory, and marvellous in the manifestations of the power and majesty of God. As St. Leo says of the great mystery from which their whole spirit and form emanated, "they were in such a manner tempered, that all humility was comprised in their majesty, and all majesty in their humility." But in the prevalence of the judgment which now condemns them, there is assuredly nothing that ought to seem strange to those who have attained to a real knowledge of their character. So far from it, if the case were otherwise, if it were taught that these were annals, the study of which would furnish ambitious men with the science of the world, and the multiplied arts of glory, they might reasonably fear that their whole view of the history of these ages had been mistaken; for it is not within the mortal power to ordain against the law of highest God, that the heavenly crown should be reserved for those to whom the world has adjudged its own, and who by loftiness of spirit have secured a present recompense of gratitude and fame. Ages of falth are stigmatised as a period of darkness and barbarism; no sign of hate is unemployed by those who mention them; they are spoken of as presenting nothing but an universal blank, cheerless, disgraceful; but it is either by men illiterate, who let out their ears for hire to declaiming sophists who adopt the strain of ridicule, chiefly because it is the easiest process to win the character of being acute and judicious, or fanatical who merely repeat one after another, though, indeed, with all the sincerity of their hearts, what they have been told by founders and propagators of sects who sought to justify their schism, by publishing abuse and scandal, or else it is by men of higher capacities, but who still to lowliness have been willing strangers, persons evidently under the domination of the world, and of the philosophy which soars not above its brief contingencies; or else, what ought not to be forgotten, or spoken of in palliative terms, it is by men bound together in secret league against whatever is holy, whatever is divine, speaking in the language of that city which has so thriven in the warfare which the tongue dreads to designate, that we might almost

apply to it the fearful words of the great poet, and say, that its name spreads over hell; men of undisguised impiety, guilty souls, that, if they change not, in the fire, must vanish. These are the teachers, who, from different motives, all agree in affirming that ages of faith were ages of folly, that piety was superstition, that contemplation was idleness, that humility was the extreme of degradation, that the world was in darkness, until the rise of modern philosophy, or as one who has written on the life of Philip Augustus says, "that heresy must be considered as the first cause of the march of the human mind."\* And are humble Christians to be deceived by such clamours as these? Are the bold assertions of such men to prevent the memory of the just from being in eternal remembrance? When this cry of darkness is not too artless to merit reflection, ought it not rather, on any point, to lead the faithful to suspect the existence of spiritual light? And where it may so easily be confronted, as in this instance, with the unquestionable evidence of ancient writers, whom we can behold teaching and acting without any regard to what judgment posterity would form of them, ought it not to be received as the unsuspicious testimony of enemies to the consoling truth of the existence, during that long period, of a race of men eminently Christian, eminently deserving of the scorn and hatred of the enemies of the cross and grace of Christ; who, as true pilgrims and strangers on the earth, took no thought for leaving on it trophies of glory behind them, but only passed humbly on, as if in a solemn and continued procession, supporting and encouraging each other to persevere in following the royal road of the holy cross through a world which was not their home, through a world which they looked upon as a vale of tears, through a world which always stood aloof when it did not persecute, only scowling upon them in disdain and hatred, in the hopes of being able to reach in safety the portals of the celestial city, those gates through which had passed the King of Glory, and which were again to open, only to admit the humble and the poor? It will be time enough to prepare for joining in the accusations against them, when we shall find these supported by persons who unite in themselves the learning requisite to conduct an historical enquiry with the spirit and the sentiment, which are no less requisite to enable them to estimate rightly the result, and to know what they have really found-for it is not assuredly men who have relapsed to a heathen philosophy, who can respect or even comprehend, amidst the various institutions and manners of past ages, the humility of those who followed Christ. Meanwhile we are fully warranted in concluding from the whole, that these ages were, in an eminent degree, endowed with that poverty of spirit, which is so completely opposed to every form of the development of human pride. That they were ages of glory, in the heathen or revolutionary sense of the term, though they were ages of most singular heroism, may, indeed, be denied; that they were ages of any predominance of political dignity, in particular nations, according to the theories which have grown out of the extremely complicated relations of modern civilization, though the grandeur of their state is often admirable from its simplicity, may admit of question; that their philosophy did not admit of being clothed in that pompous

<sup>\*</sup> Tom. ii. p. 278.

and seductive language, with which sophists persuade society that it has advanced in general intelligence—though, as we shall have occasion to see hereafter, it was not on that account to be noted as deficient; finally, that their moral instructions were not recommended with eloquence, though they were endued with a power greater than all éloquence; that their system of education was not calculated to make great men, in the worldly sense of the term, though it was eminently calculated to make the young gentle and engaging, and to bring back a primal age beautiful as gold; all this may indeed be argued with more or less plausibility. That they were ages of humility, or of what the divine sentence terms poverty of spirit, in public and in private life, in the institutions of states, in philosophy, and in education, no one can deny who has regard to the facts of history and to the whole tone and tendency of the contemporaneous writings; it was, in reality, the spirit of the times, the spirit which governed the lives of individuals, and which from thence extended its influence even over the affairs of nations; it was a spirit which on several occasions broke forth amidst the pomp and circumstance of royal courts; it was seen in many instances on the thrones of the world, and repeatedly in the triumph no less apparently calculated to involve it in danger, of unrivalled genius, and of an acknowledged intellectual sovereignty.

## THE SECOND BOOK

## CHAPTER I.

RISING to that second period of the heavenly strain, which said the "meek are blessed," a view at once so lovely and extensive in range of gracious objects presents itself, when we turn to mark how far this can be illustrated and verified in the annals of Christian history, that we seem then only beginning to enjoy the sweet consequence of meditating on the spirit and ways of faithful times. Still as we continue to ascend this delicious mountain, at every stage we shall find the air which gently smites our temples embalmed with some new fragrance, and at our feet we shall mark some new odoriferous and exquisitely painted flower which adorns the path of innocence; we shall be saluted with some new ravishing prospect which for a moment will make us forget the past, though it seem only to feed and strengthen that infinite desire which prompts us to press forward to enjoy other, and perhaps higher splendours, the splendours of the saints, which are reserved to bless even those eyes that are unworthy to behold the height of heaven. The first. direction which our thoughts naturally take is towards the mild courtesy which characterised the manners of the middle ages so eminently, that even the least instructed are accustomed to consider them as synonymous with gracious manners, to which meekness gave the captivating charm. All works which represent the days of chivalry have occasion to be often conversant with this theme; but it was from the schools of holy men that the spirit of grace and harmony descended to shed a soft lustre on the ways of secular life; for as St. Augustin says, it is piety which leads to the second beatitude, "Beati mites." A great poet of antiquity well distinguished between urbanity and the virtue which alone makes it precious; "I would labour in dressing the garden of the Graces, for they give delight, but men are good and wise by means of the divine assistance."

Кај гофеј илта бајист атбезс 'Едетотт'. †

"Urbanity when separated from religious charity, is rather the law of war than a treaty of peace between men." "This is what Manzoni says.† Without that charity a man may appear courteous at times, but as St. Bernard said of Peter Abailard, he will be unlike himself—externally a John, and within a Herod. Even his apparent kindness will be sometimes exercised with a view to wound more deeply. Don Alonzo the wise, king of Naples, hearing one day a certain man praising his enemy, "Remark," said he, "the artifice of the man, and you will see that

<sup>\*</sup> De Serm. Fom. in Monte.

<sup>+ \$</sup> Osservazioni sulla Morale Cattolica, 56.

<sup>†</sup> Pindar, Olymp, ix. Epist. exciii.

his praises are only for the purpose of doing him more injury." such was the fact, for he pretended to approve of his designs during six months, in order that afterwards people might be more disposed to give credit to the calumnies which he was preparing against him. Urbanity in the world seems only a kind of symbol to satisfy those who would have nothing to say in first accosting each other but words like those with which Louis XI. approached the duke of Burgundy, "Mon frère m'assurez vous? mon frère m'assurez vous?" The love of God and the direction of the intention to his glory is the only source of real and sincere and lasting courtesy. Divine love beholds Jesus in the person of the lowliest brother, and, therefore, prompts a thousand kind, generous, and amiable actions, to serve, benefit, and please others, such as men, unvisited from on high, would have been discouraged from performing by many obvious earthly reflections and interests, which are never directed by any higher motive than that of personal and selfish benefit, even when they seek to gain respect and love. It is very curious to observe, how the religion of Catholic Christians tended to form the character, not only of a courteous and humble gentleman, but also to dictate actions of that kind of generosity which seems so amiable in young persons of noble, open, and warm hearts. For it taught men to be generous and liberal, not indeed through vanity and the desire of passing for a person of a higher order, but for Christ's sake, reminding them that it was better to give than to receive; and that it was often as great charity to be liberal to humble persons as to give alms to the poor. great apostle of the nations furnishes a beautiful example in point when writing to Philemon concerning his poor servant Onesimus, he says, "If he hath wronged thee or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account. I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay it." Moreover the eye of faith has regard to the ineffable mysteries of the Christian altar, of which every one may be a partaker; and the thought of this seems to entitle the very persons of men to somewhat of veneration. The meek courtesy and loving address of holy men is so invariable an attendant upon sanctity, that the Church at the second vespers of a Confessor Pontiff sings the Psalm which begins with "Memento Domine David et omnis mansuetudinis ejus," words which had also formed part of the introit for the day. The kindness and expressions of affection with which a stranger is received by those who live a heavenly life, might be described in the words of Dante, where he says of one spirit which approached him in such guise:

So bright, that in my thought I said: The love Which this betokens me, admits no doubt.\*

Such was the greeting that St. Paul gave to St. Anthony when he received him into his cell in the desert, when there followed even a gentle strife, each contending who should give the other greater honour. Such too is the greeting which one is always sure to receive from a man of the interior life on entering his humble dwelling. In the chapels of Vallombrosa, the affability of its holy cremites is attested on their tombs. May it be allowed me to mention an instance of the courtesy of religious men which occurred to me on a journey through the forests of

Lucerne. Perhaps so lowly an instance will best accord with the present argument. It is one of those many humble themes which rest in the memory as if to mock the ambition of elevated musings. One evening then, arriving at the little ancient town of Sursee, I took a walk outside the wall, and finding a convent of Capuchins on the way side, I went into the church. Two old friars with long white beards were at their devotions. When it struck eight it seemed a signal to them to withdraw, but as they rose up and saw me kneeling near the door, one of them returned and resumed his position. After a while he again rose and whispered to a servant who knelt by his side. It was not till I rose to leave the church that the brother advanced with the keys to lock the doors; for so great was their delicacy that they would rather abate a little of their rule than appear to act discourteously to an obscure and youthful stranger. Such were those barefooted meek ones, who sought God's friendship in the cord.\* Meekness must follow the humility which we have seen was the spirit of religious men; for the doctrine taught was this "non nocet, si omnibus te supponas: nocet autem plurimum, si vel uni te præponas;† and it was even observed by writers of these ages, that the positive precepts of religion inspire politeness. Thus, speaking of our Lord's rule for those invited to a feast, John of Salisbury says, "Although this might seem rather the edict of religion than of civility, yet, 'ego religionis formam à civilitate non divido, cum nihil civilius sit quam cultui virtutis insistere." t St. Boniface, in his Mirror of Novices, gives them instruction in politeness at table, which comprises every thing that would now be desired to qualify men for the most refined society. It is curious to find him noticing a thousand vulgarities which have been infused into the manners of France by the sophists, and which shock every well bred stranger, rendering the connection between a religious education and real good manners very striking. Men of this world are so full of all unkindness, so steeled in proud selfishness and mistrust, that they cannot believe the gentle courtesy of monks and holy persons of the interior life to be sincere. They cannot believe that these men of God should, as they profess to do, really feel joy in serving a stranger, concern at not being able instantly to relieve each of his slightest wants, that they should really think themselves honoured by receiving him into their poor cell, and afflicted at the thought of his going away: all this seems to them as something hollow, affected, ridiculous, hateful, "abominatio est superbis, humilitas," says St. Bonaventura. Alas, for them who know not what it is to love men in and for Jesus! "And why do you suppose," asks the Father guardian of Franciscans at La Flèche, in his Paradise of the Seraphic Religion of St. Francis,-" Why do you suppose are our friars so gracious and gentle to every one who approaches them? Do you imagine that it is in order that they may conciliate their friendship, and take advantage of their good opinion, like those money-catchers whose kindness lasts so long as the good fortune of those whose purses they envy? No; but it is the property of these sublime souls to live always contented, and this interior joy of their conscience cannot but break forth outwardly, since

<sup>\*</sup> Dante, Parad. xii.

<sup>, \*</sup> De Nugis Curialium, lib. viii. c, ix.

it is out of the abundance of the heart that the mouth speaketh."\* The beautiful passage in the Morals of St. Gregory, which condemns the false civility of the world, and commends the gracious simplicity of the just, comes in part of the office which every man separate to the Church recites in due course. "The wisdom of the world," it says, "teaches to conceal the heart by machinations, to veil one's sense with words, to shew as true what is false, and to prove false what is true, to love under a palliated name the wickedness of duplicity, for perversity of mind is . called urbanity. Whereas, on the contrary, the wisdom of the just is to feign nothing, to be open in words, to love what is true, and to avoid all falsehood; but this simplicity of the just is derided by the wise of this world, who despise innocence and truth;"t and thus that sweet benignity, soft as young down, which encompasses the saintly, and even heroic character, loses that title of respect "Which the proud soul ne'er pays but to the proud." As when one traverses the Campagna of Rome, and on some sudden fear hastens to a house which seems to offer shelter, but finds it desert, empty, shut up, or open only through decay, one feels then that the desolation is more horrible and fearful to the imagination than the wildness of the waste where there is no such mockery of walls, so does the heart sink within one at the sound and shew of that hollow courtesy which smiles at a distance, but which on approach suffers all to be barred and silent. But such were not religious manners in ages of faith, and warmth of affection was not excluded, but expressed by gracious manners. The description which Pliny gives of Fuscus Salinator applies to them. "Puer simplicitate, comitate juvenis, senex gravitate." The Catholic religion, by enabling men to live without being slaves to the world, facilitated the acquisition of this youthful grace. The chorus says to Trugeus in the old play, that if he could finish his labours he would be seen to lay aside all his former harsh manners, and he would appear gentle.

> . Καὶ πολύ νεώτεςον, ἀπαλλαγέντα πεαγμάτων.

"Man," as Leo the Great says, "created in the image of God was to be an imitator of his Author, and this is the natural dignity of our race, if there should shine in us, as if in a certain mirror, the form of divine benignity." The social state in the middle ages had a degree of refinement from the influence of religion which, at the time, delighted and surprised reflecting men. Thus Petrarch describes his arrival at Cologne on the vigil of St. John the Baptist, and says, "I was astonished to observe in that barbarous land such civility, such a beauty of building, such gravity in the men, and such elegance in the matrons." # The greatest attention was even paid among the lower classes to the observances of civility, as the regulations of their own society shew; for in the fourteenth century in France, if a mason uttered an uncivil word, he paid a fine of ten farthings to the person he had offended. But the engaging manners of the poor proceeded from a very different principle, from the fear of punishment, as may still, indeed, be seen in those happy Catholic cantons of Switzerland and the Tyrol, of Styria and

<sup>\*</sup> Le Sacré Mont d' Olivet, par. F. Elzeare l'Archer. Paris, 1614. † Lib. x. cap. xvi. in Job xii. ‡ Epist. vi. 26.

Carinthia, where the children come forth to kiss their little hands to the stranger, the youths receive him as a brother, and lead him to the deepest pool, or to the wildest path that promises the sport most dear to them; the old men, like Homeric fa hers mild, pass him by with smiles and looks of affection; the matrons invoke the adorable name of the Saviour to bless him, and where the form of greeting with all is to say, "Praised be Jesus Christ," that the sweet pledge of everlasting union may be returned in the answer, "for ever." Ah! it is here that God, through the meckness of his children, gives joy to the heart of youth. What traveller in Italy has not been struck with the meckness and benignity of the holy men who receive strangers to monastic hospitality! Dante, in Paradise, remembers

Of friar Thomas and his goodly lore.\*

For one, at least, I can never omit an occasion to praise those venerable priests in the peaceful cloisters of Camaldoli, who with the noble air and imposing majesty of princes, waited like humble domestics upon me unworthy, disdaining no kind of servile office; men who knew how to unite the utmost dignity with the utmost grace, so that whom I venerated as angels I began to love as brothers; men of such rare benignity, so disinterested, so unearthly, that to one who before had friends they could give a new idea of friendship; men in short, who had learned to believe with Pope St. Leo the Great, that "the love of our neighbour is the love of God."† To observe their habit one would have supposed them arcient sages from the groves of Plato, but the sweet-. ness and heavenly calm of their countenances, proclaimed that they were of the school of Christ. Ah! since it cannot be given me to recompense them, may I be allowed to leave this frail memorial of their goodness, and to satisfy the demand of my heart by testifying what an impression it wrought there. To recompense them is the privilege only of the Author of benignity, of the Source and Inspirer of love. I took. leave of them with sighs, but it was only for myself, with wishes as fruitless that I could have added to their happiness; but the brief contingencies of the mortal course could not affect those who moved already in another sphere of being-they were already possessors of that peace' which is to last for ever-"justi autem in perpetuum vivent et apud Dominum est merces corum." The Church, in the most imposing of her ceremonies, and in the person of her supreme pontiff, takes occasion to express this divine charity. The holy father on creating a new cardinal, before the solemn and august assembly of the sacred college, throws aside, as it were his dignity, receives him in open arms, and twice bestows the kiss of peace. Each venerable brother then salutes him with the same marks of tenderness. Thus even in the most stately and formal parts of her ritual, there is some development of the loving principle, some sweet manifestation of charity, of a friendship that is to be eternal. For the general instruction of her children, the precepts and manners of the Church were express and uniform. The sweet evening hymn, in the little office that was so dear to men in the middle ages,

<sup>\*</sup> Cant. xii

that all the efforts of art were unceasingly employed in multiplying beauteous copies, in addressing her, who, above all, was meek, made equal account of meekness and of purity:

Mites fac et castos.

"O my soul," cries Bellarmin, "if thou art a garden of the celestial Husbandman, take heed lest thorns should be found in thee; but let there be the tree of charity, and the lily of chastity, and the violet of humility." Behold the model in all ages held up to the faithful. Men will speak vain things, and use violence, and study deceits all the day long, and speak great things against them, and challenge them to argument—but they are to remember him who "as a deaf man, heard not; and was as a dumb man, not opening his mouth; who became as one that heareth not, and that hath no reproofs in his mouth."\* St. Anselm, in his sublime Meditations, prays to God that he would take away obstinacy from his sentiments, and rudeness from his manners.†

"Behold what is meek courtesy," says St. Ambrose. "The superior comes to visit the inferior, that the inferior may be assisted: Mary to Elizabeth-Christ to John." Behold another divine example. St. Jerome remarks, that the other Evangelists, through respect for St. Matthew, are unwilling to call him by the vulgar name of his profession, but used a word of double sense, Levi; whereas, St. Matthew names himself at once the Publican; shewing his readers that no one should despair of salvation, if he be converted to better things. | St. Jerome gives a beautiful instance of Christian courtesy towards the great. "No one," he says, "ever surpassed Paula in goodness towards all the world; no one could be more gentle and kind to humble inferiors. She never sought the society of the great; but whenever she found herself with them, she was never observed to blame with a severity that might have seemed out of place those who sought the glory and perishable honour of this life. In every thing she knew how to preserve a just moderation." The same courtesy, from the same principle of charity, was inculcated by St. Francis. "If a friar," says one of that meek order, "should find himself at the table of some prince, or great lord, and should perceive the sweet odour with which the cloth and napkins are perfumed, he ought not to show his contempt for such luxury, but he should make it the subject of internal contemplation. We teach our scholars, on such occasions, to take all from the hand of God, and to judge all in good part, according to the command of our glorious father, St. Francis; who, in his rule, warns us, that, although we be poor and austere in our lives, we must not judge evil of men in the world, who live delicately, and feast well; for who knows, if, under these purple habits, there may not be concealed hair shirts and sackcloth. Was not that the custom of the king St. Louis, and of many other princes?"\*\* "A man should endeavour to gain the minds of others, and to render himself agreeable and amiable in all the occasions when it is his duty to instruct, to exhort, and to correct. No necessity will ever justify rudeness or bitterness." This is what St. Basil says in his Epistle to St.

<sup>\*</sup> Psalm, xxxvii. † Medit. cap. i. § 2. § St. Hieron. Hom. lib. i. Com. in Matt. cap. ix.

<sup>\*\*</sup> F. Elzeare l'Archer, Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet, p. 648. Vol. I.—19

<sup>†</sup> Hom. in Luc. cap. i. § Epist. ad Éustoch.

Gregory Nazianzen. "The intention of afflicting a man is always a sin. The most lawful action, the exercise of the most incontrovertible right, becomes a sin, when directed to this horrible end. It is with this view," continues Manzoni, "that the Catholic Church lays down her morality." What a contrast, then, was here, to the spirit of that people among the ancients, who in many respects approached nearer to the discipline and character of our ancestors than any other! For at Sparta the young were expressly taught to impart a peculiar sharpness and brilliancy to their sayings; and in later life, the public manners prescribed ridicule, the being able to endure which was considered the mark of a Lacedæmonian spirit; though if any person took it ill, and asked his antagonist to desist, (and he would suffer much before he would avail himself of such a privilege,) the other was forced to comply. That the power of ridicule was not undervalued, may be inferred from the circumstance, that in the code of Charondas public ridicule was assigned as the penalty of the adulterer and busy-body, the sycophant and coward.† It is hard, therefore, to conceive any thing more opposed to the Christian manners in ages of faith, than the discipline which encouraged such a spirit; which, though it may sometimes assume a form of gentle courtesy, when it is used in loving mood, to chase away black humours, yet oftener it doth indicate "harsh rage, defect of manners, want of

government, pride, haughtiness, opinion, and disdain."

"The servant of Christ," says St. Chrysostom, "is to be called rather from the mildness of his manners than by the name given to him by his parents." And St. Ambrose shewed the moral benefit which resulted, by observing, that, "a mild man is a physician of the heart."; "Would not the true philosophic nature possess mildness?" asks the disputant in Plato. It was found so in after ages; for the utmost meekness appeared in all the discourses of the clergy, distinguishing their eloquence from that which Plato ascribes to the democratic orator, "who says the most severe and acrimonious things; and when speaking from the tribune—βομβεί τε καί οὐκ ἀνέχεται τοῦ ἄλλα λέχοντος." § The courtesy of the Christian writers, uniting the most uncompromising firmness with delicate and condescending language is most remarkable. For instance, St. Jerome thus writes to Læta: "Witness the family of your illustrious father; a man, without doubt, to be commended, for the nobleness of his sentiments, and for his great knowledge on every subject; but, unhappily, still imbued with the errors of Paganism."\*\* St. Augustin, in his correspondence with the pagan people of Madaura, calls them his relations and his brethren: "fratres mei, et parentes mei." And the letters of St. Basil to Libanius the Sophist, present a still more striking instance of the courtesy and gentleness with which a doctor, full of Christian zeal, would address a Pagan. This spirit is evinced, also, by the chivalrous writers of the middle age. In Gyron le Courtoys, Phebus remains with a certain Payen, named Harsaan, of whom the romance says, "Il estoit moult gentil homme en la loy Payenne." Tasso commends, in glowing terms, the constancy and valor of Argantes, an In-

fidel:\* and he even goes so far as to acknowledge the virtues of Emireno, a false Armenian,

That, in his youth, from Christ's true faith and light, To the blind lore of Paganism did slide.†

A beautiful instance of this ancient Christian courtesy, united with fervent zeal, combining the gentleness and innocence of the evangelical spirit with the polished refinement of the Platonic dialogue, and with a little of the Socratic irony, is furnished by Manzoni in his reply‡ to the objections advanced by Sismondi against Catholic morals, in his History

of the Italian Republics.

It may be remarked, that the development of the courtcous principle was, in many respects, similar even to the form of more recent manners. Thus in the sixth and seventh centuries, it was common to give the title of Abbot to any venerable or learned priest. Pope Adrian thus styles Angilbert, who was but a simple chaplain of the king's chapel; and Cassien applies it to many solitaries, who never had any command over a community. As it was become the custom of the Romans to give certain titles of honour to Bishops, such as the pious, or the blessed, or holy,—the delicate courtesy of the fathers, which we have spoken of, induced them to apply these even to men whom they had to condemn. In the Conference of Carthage, St. Augustin speaks of the holy Emeritus, and the holy Petilien, although these were Donatists. An author had often occasion to evince the same modesty as a knight of chivalry. Thus Suger, in his work on the Gestes of Louis VII., though he describes minutely the events of his time, says not a word respecting his own administration as Regent, nor the choice made of him to govern the kingdom, such was his modesty in not publishing his own great merit and services. And where merit had raised persons of low and obscure birth, like this celebrated Abbot, the meek sincerity inspired by religion must have preserved their manners from all that offensive vanity which would otherwise have so inevitably attended their sudden elevation. Willegisus, Archbishop of Mayence, being son of a carpenter, had wheels painted in all the chambers of his house, with an inscription, reminding him of his origin. Pope Urban, being son of a shoe-maker, decorated the churches of Troyes with paintings of his father's stall; and Cardinal Maicus, in the time of Paul II., having been a shepherd's son, had painted a lamb, with a book on its head, to show his origin and his profession. Suger, when Regent of France, repeatedly alludes to his own origin, and says: "Representing to myself in what manner the strong hand of God raised me poor from the dunghill, and made me to sit with the princes of the Church and of the kingdom, in what manner he hath exalted unworthy me." \*\* John of Salisbury, in the prologue to his great work "De Nugis Curialium," takes occasion to speak of himself as "a plebeian man." Indeed, St. Anselm says, that a man really humble seeks the lowest place with as much eagerness as a proud man seeks the highest: of which Palladius gives an example in the blessed Pasuntius, who, finding himself held in great honour, fled to unknown regions,

<sup>\*</sup> Cap. xix. 1.

Osservazioni sulla morale Cattolica.

<sup>5</sup> Const. i.

r xvii. 32.

Hier. Garimbert, i. 2. de Vit. Pont.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Sug. Testam.

and far-distant monasteries, dissembling his name, that there, as if a rude

and new monk, he might discharge the lowest offices.

Isocrates, in his Panegyric, says, that philosophy forms the manners of men, and "makes them mild to one another."\* But here we must distinguish: if it be the philosophy, or the love of God and truth, which saved men, and made saints, before the prophets and before Moses,—this may be true: if it be the philosophy of the proud schools of Athens, this is but an empty boast, not in the least degree borne out by what we know of the manners of the ancients; for to the men who came from those schools, as well as to the moderns who have lost the faith, we can only apply the phrase of Tacitus, "Ex suo quisque ingenio mitius aut horridius."† There is no security.

To the meekness of saintly men in ages of faith belonged an outward expression of gentleness and benignity, which one cannot pass over in silence. "The saints," says the blessed John of the Cross, "have a certain air of dignity, majesty, and sweetness, which draws the veneration of the whole world to them." This is what struck me when I came first to Camaldoli, on the eve of the exaltation of the holy cross; for there, I unwilling was humbly waited upon by men, who had in their looks and air the majesty of princes: to portray them on canvass would have required the pencil of another Andrew Sacchi. It is recorded of St. Bernard, that he had an admirably sweet and gracious look, which proceeded rather from his "spirit than his flesh." The portrait of William of Wyckham, in the College which he founded at Oxford, is singularly expressive of meekness, intelligence, and sanctity. Indeed, on the monuments of these ages, we can seldom trace those countenances which now present themselves in every direction, bearing looks

Alien from heaven, with passions foul obscur'd.

They are such as rather might serve for angels, that would seem to say, with Beatrix to Dante, "I come from a place whither I desire to return, but love has conducted me here:" or like that spirit which appeared to Dante, who shewed "in look and gesture, seemly grace of reverent awe." #

The ancients seem to have had no models of this beauty of sanctity, notwithstanding their deep and lovely conceptions of grace; as, in fact, there was nothing in their philosophy to correspond with it. Cicero says, that in the countenance of a public orator, there should be a modest expression mixed with acrimony. There is not a passage in all the most admired writings of their philosophers, which was capable of inspiring the sense which was expressed in these mild looks of Christian holiness. These looks are all derived from the Christian mysteries. No one who had not beheld the initiated, could ever have conceived the countenance of that deacon in Domenichino's painting of the communion of St. Jerome: that expression of deep, subdued, unaffected, unimpassioned piety, is exclusively to be found within the Catholic Church. At the first sight of that young priest who advances to the alter with joined palms and down-cast eyes, to sing mass, there are many present who cannot prevent their tears from bursting forth:

<sup>\*</sup> Panegyr. 50. Ad Herennium, lib. iii. 15.

it is a look of such profound humility and sweetness; such resignation and readiness to die for Christ: it is the countenance and air of a holy martyr. And remark here, that the least skilful artist in a Catholic country, can give an idea of this expression, and that the noblest genius among the moderns, in no instance, has ever succeeded.

"There have been many in this holy order," says Father Elzear l'Archer, "who have converted great sinners merely by means of their manners and outward appearance. If I may speak of what I have myself seen, I can say with truth, that having been in company for twelve hours, three or four times, with a saint, whom all Italy holds for such; one, as Dante says, 'visibly written blessed in his looks,' I have learned more respecting the duties of my profession from marking his countenance, than if he had entertained me for three days with a continuous discourse upon mystical theology. Every one who knows him, will confess with me, that he is a man rather of heaven than of the earth, and who converses more with God than with men; and, nevertheless, he is of so sweet and agreeable a conversation, that he captivates every one. To see him when he is not performing his exercises, during which he appears as an angel of heaven, one would say that he was but an ordinary man, and nothing more than another; so well has he learned how to cultivate that holy cheerfulness and joyous modesty."\* Armed only with a crucifix and the looks of an angel, "severe in youthful beauty," St. Francis Regis stopped a troop of heretical soldiers, who were about to burst into a church, and pre-

vented them from profaning it.

The writers of the middle age generally ascribe beauty to an internal excellence of the mind: thus Holinshed says of Henry VI. "His face was beautiful, in the which continually was resident the bountie of mind, with which he was inwardly endewed." "Where is now that beauty of countenance," asks St. Jerome; alluding to a young friend lately dead, "where that dignity of person, which, like a beautiful garment, clothed the beauty of the soul?" In speculation, the ancients had nothing to learn here; the beautiful and good were expressed by the Greeks conjointly in one term. Socrates says of bodies, arts, and domestic economy that, "in all these things there is a just order and a deformity, and that deformity and discord are sisters of evil speech and evil manners, in like manner as the contrary are of the contrary, being sisters and imitations of temperance and virtuous manners." t In fact, a life at enmity with God, seems of necessity to produce in the human countenance an expression of deformity, which is not found in any of his innocent creatures. The eye naturally turns aside in disgust from the face of the heartless libertine, the avaricious slave of wealth, the epicure, the unfeeling minister of law, the haughty proud man, or the energumen of any of those political theories connected with impiety. The countenance of the moderns is characteristic of their philosophy and of their manners,-cold, stiff, affected; it wears a tone of cunning and malice, of duplicity, curiosity, and disdain. There is nothing in it playful, natural, or benign: it is subject, like that of Julian, to immoderate changes of gloom and laughter; and betrays the inward and almost

<sup>\*</sup> Le sacré Mont d'Olivet, 279. † Epist. xxxv. ‡ De Repub. lib. iii.

ceaseless storm of passion: not like that of the king Don Alonzo IX., who, in the bloody battle of Las Navas del Toloso, evinced throughout an equable serenity of countenance. Savedra mentions that no accident was ever known to develope the least symptom of passion in the person of the king Don Fernando the Catholic.\* The countenance of the middle ages is now chiefly to be found among the peasantry in Catholic countries,—the look of manly dignity, with innocent abandonment—the joyous and yet modest expression—the free and benign look which is never disconcerted by the presence of grandeur, and never clouded by the artifice of pride. All travellers remark the graceful dignity of the Tuscan peasant, and the respectful sweetness of expression which belongs to the youth of Ireland. It was, no doubt, these considerations, which made the holy men of ages of faith so indulgent and favourable to beauty. They would have reproached no one for being beautiful, but would have repeated the Homeric lines against those who should do so.

· อบังวง ลังว์อุ๊มหา' อิจาร วิธมิง อิฐเพบชีย์ส ฮินีฮูส, อ็จจส ลอง สบังวง ฮินีฮม, อันมิง ฮิ' อบัน สัง สมร อีมอมจอ.+

In proof of which assertion, it might be sufficient to appeal to that passage, where St. Ambrose evinces such a delicate sense of beauty and grace, in describing the human body; ‡ a subject which always draws from holy writers remarks of a similar kind. The ancient fathers had predicted evil of Julian, from observing the deformity of his countenance.

It is impossible to pass from this view of the meekness of men, during ages of faith, without delaying to cast a glance at the spirit and manners of that renowned chivalry which appeared in them, and which was the result of religion acting upon heroic minds, under circumstances which drew forth all the energies of human nature. So great was the meekness of noble manners, that spiritual writers used even to propose it as a model to those who wished to embrace a religious life. Thus brother John, a Carmelite, says, in his Instruction to Novices: "There are as many degrees of patience as of gentleness, and noble manners rest on patience. How common is it in the banquet-halls of the world, where the sense of honour is so delicate, that there should arise many provocations to anger, by looks, words, and actions, et tamen quo quis nobilior est et honoris expectatio major, eò patientius adversa ferre discit. Therefore the servants of God, who aspire to eternal honours, may well repress their anger, and shew a pacific heart to the contradictions of men." The knightly portrait is never without this feature, whether we look for it in history or in romance. From the former we are presented with an early instance in Boëmond the Franc, as described by Anne Commeneus, who observes, that he united in his person all the perfections of the human form; adding, that "he stooped a little, not from any defect of the spine, but from a custom of youth, which was a mark of modesty." This is curious, as the portrait of a youthful barbarian by a Greek; but even the heathens knew, that, as Plautus says, "modesty became the young." An example more to our immediate purpose, is that of John duc de Berry, brother of Charles V. given by Christine de Pisan: "Il est prince de doulce et humaine conversa-

<sup>\*</sup> Christian Prince, i. 351. † II. iii. 65. ‡ Hexæmeron, lib. vi. cap. ix. § Liv. xiii. cap. 6.

cion, sans haulteineté d'orgueil, benigne en parolle et responce, joyeus en conversacion, et en toutes choses très traictable."\* Again, of Louis duc d'Orleans, son of king Charles V. she says "Doulce response et amiable rent à toute personne qui à luy a à besoingnier."† And respecting prince Charles, afterwards Charles VI., she dwells at greater "In his great benignity, sweetness and clemency, he is past compare; humane to all kinds of people, without the least pride; and, to speak briefly, so full is he of great benignity, sweetness, and love, that God demonstrates it even on his countenance to such a degree, that he has so singular a grace of Divine Providence, that all people who see him, whether stranger, prince, or others, become in love with him, and are rejoiced in his presence; so that, oftentimes, I have been seized with admiration to see how the people, of all sorts, women and children, have flown through the streets, to see him pass." Don Diego Savedra Faxardo says, that in Spain, the royal young princes were always to be visited familiarly by every one, until Philip II. abolished the ancient custom, on occasion of his anger against Don Carlos. The writers of the old romantic histories love to paint the gracious meekness of their heroes in its most engaging colours, though it often presents a singular contrast with the scene which their imagination created for the development of their energies. Here we are only concerned with what is amiable in these extravagant portraits, and with what was most assuredly drawn from living manners. Of these books one of the most celebrated was the History of Gyron le Courtois, which seemed compiled for the express purpose of exhibiting the grace of courtesy, under every variety of circumstance, and of shewing what a revolution had been effected in the manners of those same Gauls, with whom the væ victis! had once been the style of conquerors. Here both knight and varlet are equally meek, resembling Spenser's gentle squire,

## Of myld demeanure, and rare courtesee.

Their respectful manner of address is always described in this style: "Il le salua moult doulcement et humblement." Gyron's favourite expression is, "Je ne vaulx ung garcon au regard de vous." On one occasion such honour is shewn to an old worthy, that the narrator is obliged to borrow a similitude from devotion: "Tous luy faisoient si grant honneur comme se il feust ung corps saint." The scenes which follow are not without beauty and instruction for those who regard gestures as proof of noble spirit. Brehus being interrogated respecting a strange knight, who accompanied him, replied, "Sire, I do not know his name; for he so carefully conceals it wherever he goes, that to no man of the world will he ever say any thing respecting himself. So he travels about, concealing himself. And if he is among knights he is so humble, and so coy, and so silent, that he never says a word, and never holds any parlement respecting any deed that he has performed. If you were to see him, then you would certainly think that he was not and could never be worth more than a poor boy. And when he is armed, and comes to perform any great feat, then you would behold wonders

<sup>\*</sup> Livre des faits et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V. chap. xii,

<sup>|</sup> Christian Prince, tom. i. 78. † Liv. ii. chap. xvi. ‡ Chap. xv.

openly. We do not know whether he be of a king's lineage, or that of a count, or of low people; but he is the best knight that I know of at present among errant knights. And, in addition, he is so handsome a knight, that I do not believe there is another equal to him in all the world. Sire, I tell you of this man, that in my judgment, he is a perfect knight, and he has borne arms for xv. years." This was Gyron himself.\* Dante evinces the same humility, when, on being questioned by Guido del Duca, he modestly declines giving his name:

To tell ye who I am were words mis-spent, For yet my name scarce sounds on rumour's lips.†

To the manners of Dante, in this respect, Philip Villani bears a beautiful testimony, where he says, that "if it had not been for the courtesy which he always evinced, his countenance would have worn a melancholy tone." How admirable is that trait of a delicate and courteous heart, when he beholds in purgatory the wretched souls of the envious, and, being himself invisible, scruples to advance.

It were a wrong, methought, to pass and look On others, yet myself the while unseen. To my sage counsel, therefore, did I turn. He knew the meaning of the mute appeal, Nor waited for my questioning, but said, Speak, and be brief, be subtile in thy words.‡

But let us return to Gyron, the pattern of courtesy. When a contrary spirit was evinced, there is an amusing passage related, to shew that it ought to be ascribed to some deformity of constitution, and only pitied as incurable. Messire du Lac knocks at the gate of a tower in the forest, and begs to enter: a voice from the top of the battlement begins to insult him: the knight replies that this person is not too courteous whoever he may be: the voice from over the gate answers, "Je suis tant courtoys en toutes guyses que je nay mye de longueur cinq pieds non mye quatre se comme je croy. Je ressemble a vous trop malement qui estes grant et long comme ung dyable et cuyde certainement que tout ainsi comme vous estes plus grant que ung autre, aussi estes vous plus maulvais du tout. Tous ces grans vilains toute suoyes et tous ces grans chevaliers veons nous maulvais, pour quoy je croy que vous soyez du tout maulvais. Et pour ceste raison vueil je que vous aillez vostre chemin et delivrez la nostre porte qui nest gueres plus grant de vous. Autant estes vous grant comme elle est. Cest ung grant ennuy de vous veoir tant estes grant." The knight sees it is but a dwarf who thus speaks, a little old man, not four feet high, with a head as large as a horse. "Sire, chevalier," cries the dwarf, "ne vous est il mye avis que je soyes beau bachelier et bien fait de tous membres? Vrai est que vous avez en vous de vostre part la grandesse du monde et je ay de ma part toute la petitesse du siecle. Mais je ay tant de reconfort que je pourroye encores croistre, si Dieu vouloit pource que je suis encores trop petit, mais vous ne pourriez croistre, car vous estes plus grant que ung geant." Du Lac cannot help smiling; but the dwarf continues to revile him, and to imprecate evil on him: "et messire Lac ne respond a ceste chose ne a ses parolles car il congnoist bien tout clerement que en cesluy

<sup>\*</sup> F. cexxxviii.

ne pourroit il trouver nul bien ne nulle courtoysie en nulle maniere du monde."\* The hero of chivalrous fable was, in this instance, more true to meekness than don Alonzo III. in real history, who so resented the trifling incivility of Sancho of Navarre, in withdrawing after the battle of Arc without taking leave of him, that he had never rest afterwards till he deprived him of his state.

When Gyron le Courtois and the king Melyadus are engaged in battle, and some one leads a horse, and offers it to Gyron, that knight immediately presents it to his adversary, and says, "Sire, take that horse and mount upon it, and I will take another for myself and mount. You are so good a knight, that were I to mount, and leave you here on foot, it would be too great villany." When the king heard this word, he was abashed, and replied, "Sir knight, do you really offer me this courte-. sy?"-" Sir knight," answered Gyron, "certes I say truly, for I ought not to leave such a preudhomme as you are on foot."-" But, sir knight," continues the king, "I think that you ought not to offer it to me here, since I am in this place your mortal enemy: and if I were mounted, and found you on foot, do you not suppose that I would seek to revenge the shame to which you put me at the tournament?"-" Certes," said Gyron, "I believe verily that you are my mortal enemy, as I have lately seen quite clearly; but for all that you mortally hate me as I see, I do not believe that so good a knight as you are would do villany to me or to any one else, car bon chevalier ne doit faire autre chose que bonte et courtoisie pour nulle advanture du monde."†

All this representation of meekness and courtesy might be drawn from real history. At the magnificent tournament which took place at Florence in the square of the holy cross, Lorenzo de Medicis was declared conqueror. He speaks of himself on this occasion, with the modesty of a knight of romance: "I jousted upon the square of Santa Croce, and although I was not strong in arms or in blows, the first honour was still adjudged to me; that is an helmet all furnished with silver." Du Guesclin on his death-bed, after he had devoutly received the last sacraments, called the Mareschal de Sancerre and Messire Olivier de Mauny, and other knights, and said to them, "Seigneurs, par vos vaillance et non par moy m'a tenu fortune en grant honneur en toute France, en mon vivant, et a vous en est deu l'honneur, qui mon ame a vous recommende." The same style, so gracious from its humility, was employed in speaking also of friends, as in the Homeric instance, where the son of Nestor says weeping, "My brother perished," and only adding of him, of the ninetos 'Agrelov. And Homer, in allusion to Patroclus, even furnishes language which might convey an idea of that mildness of manner, which belonged to men in Christian ages:

> πάσεν νὰρ ἐπίστατο μείλιχος εἶναι, ζωὸς ἐων.ς

To all equally mild, not like those who have ever a smile for the great and a frown and denial for the poor, but one of those souls which Montaigne calls souls of different stories or floors, which can be shewn freely to all men; which can converse with a neighbour about his build-

<sup>\*</sup> Fol. lxx.

[ Od. iv. 200.

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<sup>†</sup> Fol. xxx. § Il. xviii. 671.

<sup>‡</sup> Chronique de Du Gues. c. 442.

ing, with a carpenter about his work, with a gardener about his plants, which can make itself one among the least of the persons that are present. John the Deacon relates a saying of St. Simeon a short time before his death. "Mi optime Joannes, neminem mortalium unquam sperne: sunt ctiam inter rusticos et mendicos qui Deo sint charissimi." A French nobleman, who lately died, used to salute every poor person that he met on the way, and was the first to evince respect. Spenser describes a scene, drawn from the ancient manners of the Christian society, which might be studied with advantage by the moderns, who shew so little regard to strangers when they do not find themselves in the vein to meet them in exchange of gracious conversation; and who seem to think with the old pagan:

Lupus est homo homini, non homo Quum qualis sit, non novit.

Spenser says,

He comming neare gan gently her salute With curteous words, in the most comely wise; Who, though desirous rather to rest mute, Then terms to entertaine of common guize. Yet rather then she kindnesse would despize, She would herself displease, so him requite.\*

In the middle ages, the respect shewn to strangers was perfectly Homeric. It was not then in the higher classes studied as a noble art to render to all persons unknown such aspect as cloudy men use to their adversaries. All were similarly disposed in this point: the poor man, or the domestic, said, "gaber chevalier estrange est trop grant vilennie."† The nobleman said, with the Reman poet,

Cum te non nossem, Dominum regemque vocabam, Cum benè te novi, jum mihi Priscus eris.‡

St. Pacomius was a young Roman soldier, whose conversion originated in his observing the extraordinary kindness with which he was treated by some Christians, who received him to hospitality. At the same time the ancient manners possessed a civility which was not forgotten or unimproved by the Christians. Father Bouhours remarks in his dialogues, that the graces were represented always of little stature, in order to shew that this virtue consisted in little things, in a gesture, a smile, or a respectful air. The traveller, indeed, might have learned humility and meekness of demeanour, from the verses of that Roman poet, who, exiled amidst the desolate wilds of Thrace, had yet the sense and candour to admit, that it was he who was the barbarian, since he was not understood by the natives:

Barbarus hic ego sum quia non intelligor illis.

It belongs rather to a particular review of chivalry, than to the general glance which we are now throwing upon ancient manners, to dwell upon the courteous interchange of words, which strangers used to practise to each other; but in a history relating to the middle ages, there is one instance associated with a name of such poetic interest, that I cannot forbear adducing it. When Petrarch was on his road from Vaucluse to

<sup>\*</sup> Faery Queen, v. 6: † Martial, lib. i. epig. 113.

Montrieux, between Aix and St. Maximin, he met with a company of Roman ladies, who were going on a pilgrimage. By their air and gait he distinguished, at a distance, their country and their birth. Drawing near, he stopped and politely asked them from whence they came and whither they were going. The sound of an Italian voice spread joy through this little company. The oldest of them answered, "Rome is our country; we are going on a pilgrimage to St. James. And you Sir, are you a Roman? are you going to Rome?" "I am not going there immediately," replied Petrarch, "but my heart is always there." answer inspired the pilgrims with confidence; they surrounded Petrarch, and replied to a thousand questions which he asked them concerning the state of the republic: Petrarch then asked these ladies if he could be so happy as to serve them in any respect. "Every thing," says he, in a letter to Lelius, "urged me to make them this offer, God, their virtue, their country, and their love of you. I wished to divide with them the sum I had brought with me for my journey: their answer was, 'pray to God that our journey may be successful: we ask only this of This reply delighted, but did not surprise me: I perceived in it the dignity and disinterestedness of Roman ladies." Petrarch, charmed with their discourse, would have passed the day with them; but they were bent on hastening towards their pious design: and he was also eager to behold his brother, the monk at Montrieux. "While our discourse lasted," adds he, "I thought I saw those holy virgins who made so distinguished a figure in our Christian annals: Prisca, Praxedes, Prudentia, and Agnez."

Shakspeare ascribes to Theseus a most delicate regard for humble persons offering their honest but unskilled civility, where he says,

Our sport shall be, to take what they mistake:
And what poor duty cannot do,
Noble respect takes it in might, not merit.
Where I have come, great clerks have purposed
To greet me with premeditated welcomes;
Where I have seen them shiver and look pale,
Make periods in the midst of sentences,
And in conclusion, dumbly have broke off,
Not paying me a welcome: trust me, sweet,
Out of this silence, yet, I pick'd a welcome:
And in the modesty of fearful duty
I read as much, as from the rattling tongue
Of saucy and audacious eloquence.

It must be admitted, however, for such courtesy there is less occasion in countries under the influence of the modern spirit, for there the poor are themselves sufficiently disdainful: reminding one almost of that portrait in the Odyssey, though, indeed, wanting all its dignity, where Ulysses, though in the dress of a beggar, is ready every moment to assume a countenance that strikes the beholder with terror,  $i\pi/3g_{\pi}$  is an unit not this subject of the gracious courtesy of manners in past ages, must not detain our steps. It has been, in fact, exhausted in other works, and after all, respecting the form of manners in which the principle of meekness developed itself, there can be no enquiry of any great importance

<sup>\*</sup> Midsummer Night's Dream, v. 1.

instituted; for this is subject to the changes to which every thing that relates to the conventions of men is exposed. The Christian society has survived many revolutions in the form of manners, as well as of languages, philosophy and empire. It beheld the hollow professions of flatterers and sensualists, under the Roman Cæsars; the savage roughness of the barbarians of the North; the courtesy of the chivalrous middle ages; the politeness and refinement of the court of France, in later times; and, finally, since the revolution in that country, and wherever the new philosophy has spread, it has marked a strong tendency to affect a certain tone of proud isolation and personal insensibility to the ancient harmonies of a social state. Undeserved importance should not be attached to these things, which have no relation whatever with beatitude, beyond what they may derive from that one living source of meekness and benignity, which will never be sought for in vain among those who have raised their eyes to the mountain, whose conclusion will always be that of the wise king, saying, "it is better to be humbled with the meek, than to divide the spoils with the proud."\*

This spirit may, indeed, yield to the impression of different external forms; for the fancies of men, which give birth to the language of signs, are capable of being as various as their wants and meseries; but no catage in this respect, that the capace or circumstances of mankind may hereafter demand, will ever be able to efface the traces of its constant operation in the manners of our ancestors, or render doubtful the fact which is so beautifully attested by all kinds of concurrent evidence, that under the simple and manly discipline of ages of faith, modesty and gentleness were virtues belonging to all classes of society, admired in a Bayard or a Chandos, as constituting the courtesy of the accomplished gentleman, revered in an Ambrose or an Anselm, as being the result of saintly meditation, and of holy prayers; as proving the sincerity of a faith which has no lovelier fruits than those which are offered to the Creator in ministering to the necessities of men, to diminish the multiplied wants and to form even some sweet harmonious tones out of the

\* Prov. xvi.

very discords of our common nature.

## CHAPTER II.

THE history of the middle ages, for reasons which we cannot now stand to discuss, may be considered as a continuation of that of primitive Christianity. We must be prepared, therefore, to meet with the same contrast to the whole spirit and manners of heathen times, and of all nations who subsequently have cast off the authority, and the traditions of the Christian Church. The development of the principle of religious obedience, as belonging to the character and to the blessedness of the meek, is the subject to which our attention must now be directed. History bears testimony to the wide extension and efficacious operation of this principle, during the ages of faith: it was the key-stone of the whole fabric of the spiritual society, and the test by which all efforts to advance were estimated. Disciples of him who was obedient unto death, who came from heaven not to do his own will, but that of him who sent him: in whose heart was written the desire of doing the will of God, men in these ages believed with St. Gregory the Great, that, "it is obedience which produces in the soul all other virtues, and which after producing, preserves them." Accordingly, those who entered the orders of the Carthusians, and the Benedictines, that is to say, those who aspired to Christian perfection, made no other vow but this, on their profession, "Promitto obedientiam secundum regulam;" for that they conceived was to vow every perfection. "Be subject one to another in the fear of Christ," said the apostle of the nations.\* Implicit obedience, where neither religion nor common sense can discern a sin, was prescribed by St. Basil, by St. Fulgentius. by St. Bonaventura, St. Jerome, St. John Climachus, Cassien, the Abbot Sylvain, St. Bernard, and St. Francis de Sales. It is prescribed, not alone to the Jesuits, but to all the religious orders, not merely as a distinction, but as being one of the primitive and fundamental characteristics of all who embrace Christianity. Let us hear their sentiments: "What perished and is dead in Adam, hath risen and lives again in Christ. Whatever rose again and lived in Adam, hath perished and is dead in Christ. But what is that ?-true obedience and disobedience." | Disobedience and sin, are one and the same. There is no sin but disobedience; and what springs from disobedience. What is sin unless the creature wishing contrary to the will of God ?\*\* "Consider this, when we speak of obedience, of the new man, of true light, of true love, and of the life of Christ; all these things are one and the same. Where one of these is present, all are present; and where one is wanting, all are wanting; for all these things are truly and in fact one." the Let us now hear Lewis of Blois; "No action, however pious or laudable, pleases God, if it be contaminated with the sin of disobedience." the 'In all our works, words, and thoughts, we must sincerely seek God, and refer all things to his honour, and have a heart pure and free. It cannot be said, how grate-

<sup>\*</sup> Ad Ephes. v. † See Reg. xxviii. † In Vita, c. xxvii. † Theologia Germanica, cap. xiii. † Id. xiv. \*\* Id. c. xxxiv. †† Id. cap. xliii. † Enchirid. Parvulorum, lib. i. Doc. v. append.

ful to God and fruitful to ourselves will be this holy intention; if a man were only to move his foot, or his hand, or his tongue, purely on account of God, or to incline his head, or to have the least thought, or the least desire according to charity, there would be a great reward for him."\*

Original justice is only obedience: for it consists in these three things, in perfect subjection of the will to God by sanctifying grace, in entire subordination of the inferior powers to reason, and in obedience of the body to the soul. This was the philosophy which presided over education. "What, then, will the youth know on leaving the college?" asks Bonald, "Nothing; for what can one know at eighteen? But if nature has seconded education, and education nature, he will have the mind opened and the body disposed; he will have the knowledge of order, sentiments of affection for others, the habit of obedience."

As the test of piety, and the rule of genius, obedience may be seen in continued operation. St. Gregory, of Tours, relates his conversation with the monk Wulfilaïch, who had lived the life of a Stylite in the diocese of Trèves, till he descended for the purpose of destroying a Pagan idol, a statue of Diana, whom he had persuaded the people to forsake. "I was then preparing to forsake my former mode of life," says the humble monk; "but the bishops came, and said to me-the way that you have chosen is not the right way, and it is not for you to imitate Simeon of Antioch. The climate does not permit you to endure a similar suffering: descend, then, and dwell with the brethren whom you have collected. At these words, that I may not be accused of the crime of disobedience towards the bishops, I descended, and went with them, and took a repast with them. One day, the bishop having drawn me far from the village, sent some workmen, with hatchets, to destroy the pillar on which I used to hold myself. When I came back the next day, I found it destroyed. I wept; but I would not rebuild it, lest I might be accused of disobeying the bishops. Since that time I dwell here with my brethren." Behold, now, obedience as the rule of genius. St. Theresa speaks as follows, in the Prologue to the Castle of the Soul. "Of all the things which obedience obliges me to perform, there is not one which appeared to me so difficult as to write upon prayer; both, because our Lord has not given me sufficient genius to do it well, and that I had no intention to undertake it; and, also, that for the last three months I have suffered such weakness of health and disorder, that I can hardly write upon the most urgent affairs; but, as I know that obedience can render possible what appears impossible, I engage in it with joy, in spite of the resistance of nature. So it is only from the goodness of God that I expect assistance."

Elred, of Rievaulx's cloister, that Bernard of England, concludes his Speculum Charitatis with the same testimony. Addressing the person for whom it was written, he says, "I beseech you do not introduce this mirror before the public, lest, perchance, charity should not shine in it, but only the image of the author be found there. If, however, as I fear, you should involve me in that confusion, I beseech the reader, by the sweet name of Jesus, not to suppose that I undertook this work from

presumption, since I was compelled to do it by paternal authority, fraternal charity, and my own necessity to obey my superior, to converse with my absent brother, and preserve my own mind from idleness."\*

That I have not overstated the importance which was ascribed to the spirit of obedience, will be clear to every one who is conversant with the moral history of the middle ages. Guizot, speaking of the chapters of St. Benedict's rule De Obedientia and De Humilitate, takes occasion to remark, what a part this monastic rule of obedience, as he terms it, has played in the history of European civilization. "It is," he says, "in the monastic institute, that it has been truly developed. It is from thence that it has spread itself through modern civilization. This," he adds, "is the fatal present which the monks have given to Europe."; This opinion of a writer, who, on several occasions, has spoken with more respect of the middle ages than many Catholics, should not be passed by in silence. Let us consider briefly the two questions which it involves. What was the origin of this principle? Did the monks invent it? And can we justly regard its effects as injurious? Is it fatal? Words may, indeed, not tell of that blissful certainty, respecting all such questions, which belongs to the initiated in the heavenly courts, yet these will not disdain the use of human evidence.

And, therefore, let our reasoning serve though weak, For those whom grace hath better proof in store, ‡

The virtue of obedience, as far as relates to mortal agency, commenced with the creation of the race of men. In paradise it had its action, and it revived immediately after the fall. "The tree of knowledge was good in itself," says St. Theophilus, "so was its fruit. It is an error to suppose that it had a property of causing death. This fatal effect was not attached to the tree, but to the disobedience of man. There was nothing in the tree but knowledge, which is good, provided it be well employed." In paradise was heard that eloquence which now sounds forth on all sides, recommending the contempt of authority in the pursuit of knowledge, artfully or ignorantly passing over the danger of disobedience, which alone rendered it injurious.

So reasoned Satan with those primal creatures whose life was in obedience, and from their fall dates the inclination of the human will to resist that of God, which all other creatures obey; for "nothing resists God," says St. Augustin, "but the will of sinners."—"I speak of that worship of obedience," says St. Eucher, "which even creatures, wholly

<sup>\*</sup> Speculum Charitatis in fin.

Ad Antolyc. lib. ii. 25.

material, render to their Creator. Behold the stars, how equable and constant their course; the flowers and fruits, which succeed, without interruption, to serve for our pleasures and our necessities. Behold, in a word, the whole creation constantly subject, in the interest of men, to the will of God; and, in the midst of this creation, man alone dares to emancipate himself from this universal subjection, and alone revolts, while all obeys around him!" Father Diego de Stella says, that "the beginning of all our misery was Eve's curious disputing about the commandment of God. If she had been obedient she would have replied to Satan, when he asked her why did God fordid her to eat, that the authority of God was sufficient for her, but because she went about to dispute the matter at large, and to exercise her private judgment, she utterly undid herself."\* On the other hand, a converse offering of obedience was known to be the principle of man's recovery. Thus, in apostolic times, St. Irenæus pursues the argument of the apostle, and says, "As the human race was involved in death by a virgin, so is it delivered by a virgin. Virginal obedience is weighed against Virginal disobedience."† Here, then, were sublime, mysterious examples, ever present to the minds of the faithful, when they were tempted by heretics, and called upon to examine, with the serpent, with Eve and Adam, and not obey authority, with all the saints who ever passed to life from the beginning of the world. "From the school of the demon," says Drexelius, "cometh this, Why, quare aut cur hoc?" So also the guide of Dante.

Seek not the wherefore, race of human kind,

Short is the next step of the fatal way, when Eve's conclusion is approved.

In plain, then, what forbids he but to know?
Forbids us good? forbids us to be wise?
Such prohibitions bind not.

For these ambitious hopes of false freedom religious obedience presented a secure preventive, and the instructions of faithful ages can only be understood, by a reference to this knowledge, and profound consideration of the original malady of the human race. "Believe," says Taulerus, "every day lost in which you have not resisted your own will for the love of God." +-" Self-will not consenting to the Divine will is the chief evil of man," says Drexelius. Remark, here, how well they distinguished between our own will, and a will contrary "We ought not," says St. Anselm, "always to wish what God wishes; but we ought to wish that which God wishes us to wish. For God wished that the blessed Martin should be taken from this life; but if his disciples had wished this they would have been cruel. knew what God wished; but they wished what God wished them to wish." The master of the Sentences shews how two wills may exist in man, that of man, and that of the Christian. As Bede says of Christ -"As man he prayed that the cup might pass from him; yet again," he added, "Sed non quod ego volo, sed quod tu vis." §

"Some one may ask," says the author of Theologia Germanica, "since this tree, that is self-will, is so contrary to God, and to the eter-

<sup>\*</sup> On the Contempt of the World. iii. 480. ‡ Epist. viii. | De Similitudinibus, cap. clix.

<sup>†</sup> Lib. adversus hæreses. § Sentent. lib. iii. distinct. 17.

nal will, why did God create it, and place it in paradise? To this it may be sufficient to answer, that a man, truly humble and illuminated, does not wish that the secrets of God should be revealed to him, to know why God does or defers this or that; on the contrary, he wishes rather that he himself should be reduced to nothing, and should be void of will, that the eternal will might live in him, and be opposed by no other will." God created the will, not that it should be self-will, but that it should be conformable to his own, yet with such freedom as was necessary to constitute a distinct agent. Then came the Devil and Adam, that is false nature, and arrogated this will to themselves, and rendered it self-will; and this is the fatal eating which brought death and all our woe-"for as long as there is this self-will, there can be no rest."† "God alone," says St. Anselm, "ought to wish any thing of his own will. When man wishes any thing of his own will, he takes away from God, as it were, his crown; and as the proper will of God is the source and origin of all good, so the proper will of man is the beginning of all evil." That there is no exaggeration in this statement of the evil of self-will, would appear equally certain, both from posterior and prior reasoning: whether we argued philosophically or theologically. What, in fact, can be a greater proof of its involving some great moral disarrangement, than the very circumstance of that disposition which we can always discover in it, to resist and disobey merely for the sake of disobeying? "Made, as we are, by false nature," says one who deeply studied the human heart, "it is almost always sufficient, that a thing be ordered or forbidden, to make us feel tempted to resist. Nothing can be more strange or unreasonable, but nothing is more \*rue." Experience, moreover proves that his own will is a source of misery to the mind of man. "Voluisti, domine," cries St. Augustin, "et ita est, ut omnis inordinatus animus sibi ipsi sit pæna." "O, how great a punishment is a man's own will unto himself! If that would cease, hell would soon cease also. Whereupon doth the fire of hell work, but upon the will of man? And if any trouble afflict thee, what is the cause of thine affliction, but thine own will?" These are the words of Father Diego de Stella. "This will of our own," says St. Bernard, "is a great evil whence it comes to pass that your good is no good to you; for of this blood-thirsty parent, there are two insatiable daughters ever crying bring, bring; for the mind is never satiated with vanity, nor the body with lust: self-will, subverting the hearts of men, and blinding the eyes of reason, is a restless evil, which always pressing upon the spirit, meditates things that are beyond thought and unattainable."

On the other hand, what peace and joy belonged to the ancient fathers, amidst all their tribulations, because they were meek and full of obedience. There were not wanting to them tribulations, "nam quo quis sanctior, hoc plerumque afflictior:" but that equable serenity of mind proceeded from the conformity of their will, with that of Jesus Christ.\*\*

Dear to them were

<sup>\*</sup> Cap. xlviii. + Id. lv.

<sup>‡</sup> S. Anselmi simil. c. viii,

P. Judde œuvres spirit. tom. iv.

<sup>§</sup> Serm. lxxi. in can't. et serm. in verba, Ecce nos reliquimus omnia.

\*\* Drexelius de Confor. human. Vol. cum divina, iii. 6.

Soft silence, and submisse obedience, Both linckt together never to depart, Both gifts of God not gotten but from thence, Both girlands of his saints against their foes offence.\*

Christ apprises men that his yoke is a light and easy burden, although he had warned them before, that the way which led to him was narrow and strewed with pains. A moment's reflection to an instructed mind, will be sufficient to shew the advantage of religious obedience, and the folly of that sentence of condemnation, which the modern philosophers have passed upon it. In the first place, these men can claim no exemption for themselves from the general law of nature, which condemns all men to serve: we are servants by nature and by purchase. The world is full of obedience; but it is the "obedience of cupidity or of necessity, whereas the obedience of Christians, is that of charity." "Behold," says St. Bonaventura, "the obedience of those who serve worldly masters: what promptitude, what zeal, what prevention! No regard to danger, or suffering, or difficulty; no view even to personal advantage. They obey, and do not even wait for orders; but watch the countenance of their master: and the least sign, or even a look, is sufficient for them." "Every man," says St. Anselm "is born to labour as the bird to flying. Does not almost every man serve either under the name of commanding or of serving? Quid refert, exceptâ superbiâ, quantum vel ad mundum, vel ad Deum, quis vocetur servus?" Ah! when will human weakness serve God as well as it serves the world; serve heaven as well as it serves the earth; serve virtue with as much zeal as it serves vice! This is the exclamation of St. Peter Chrysologus. And what an unjust, ungrateful master is the world! It hateth and despiseth those who love it: it abandoneth its friends. "Peccavi, tradens sanguinem justum," cried Judas to those for whom he had sacrificed friendship, honour, and all that is dear to the heart of man; for whom he had betrayed the innocent, betrayed his God, and condemned himself to everlasting infamy. But they replied, "quid ad nos? tu videris." How exactly the language of the world, in all times, to its deluded slaves! "Quid ad nos? tu videris." But then it is too late, wretched mortal, to enter upon another service.

> That golden sceptre which thou didst reject Is now an iron rod to bruise and break Thy disobedience.

Better that thou hadst never been born. On the other hand, observe that the obedience of Christians is not that of necessity. "The will is every thing," says St. Bernard. "Therefore our Saviour spoke those words: 'Take my yoke upon you'—as if he had said to them,—I do not impose it upon you against your inclination, but take it yourself if you will; otherwise I say unto you, you will never find peace unto your souls, but trouble and vexation." "Beatific love is free," says the meek Hildegard. "Free-will is preserved in faith," as St. Irenæus says. St. Augustin shews, that man can only believe by willing: and speaking of the Jews, where it is said in Scripture, that they could not believe,

<sup>\*</sup> Spenser, iv. 10.

<sup>‡</sup> Epist. lib. i. 15.

<sup>†</sup> De sept. grad. vit. spiritual. cap. xliii. xliv. De amore Dei.

he adds, "Quare non poterant? Si à me quæratur, cito respondeo: quia nolebant."\* A holy man was accustomed to say, "Whatever you wish, that you are. Quicquid vis, hoc es: for such is the force of our will, joined to the Divine, that whatever we wish to be, seriously, and with a true intention, that we become. No one ardently wishes to be submissive, patient, modest, or liberal, who does not become what he wishes." This is what that holy man used to say. Faith, according to the doctrine of the Church, is a virtue, and therefore it must depend upon the will: thus St. Thomas says, "Credere est actus intellectus assentientis veritati divinæ ex imperio voluntatis;"† and St. Bernard says, "Take away free-will, and there will be nothing to save;" adding, "take away grace, and there will be no means of saving." As is read in the schools, "This is the true essence of all religion, that it should be the voluntary and free tribute of the whole man, that he may be capable of merit or of demerit. And therefore the evidence of this truth is such, that they who wish to see, can see; and they who wish obstinately not to see, do not see." "The Christian religion," says Melchior Canus, "is not like the Pythagorean, which obliged its followers to follow blindly the words of a master, without rendering a reason for them. This is the custom of ignorant persons, Saracens, Pagans, and hereticks, who embrace the rash dogmas of their sect, without exercising their judgment, and receive them without any reason. These are not instructed, but confined; not taught by reason, but acted upon as if by charms and incantations; but God does not will that his disciples should be thus constrained. Eusebius relates, that Lucian of Antioch, being asked by the judge why, being a rational and prudent man, he followed a sect for which he could render no reason, replied; 'We Christians are not, as you suppose, constrained by the error of any human persuasion; nor are we, like others, deceived by the tradition of parents, received without enquiry,' and then went on to make an eloquent apology for the faith."6 "We say there are three kinds of liberty," says St. Anselm. "There is the liberty of action, which all wish; that is, that they may do what they like: there is the liberty of the understanding, which all do not wish: there is also the liberty of right-will, which is always good, and which very few wish; that is, that they may wish those things which they ought to wish. It is to be noted, that the liberty of action, without the liberty of good-will, is always evil. Libertas actionis sine libertate bonæ voluntatis semper est mala: the liberty of the understanding is mediate, being good when joined to liberty of right-will, and evil when without it."\*\*

If now, from the abstract doctrine of obedience, we pass to the institutions and rules of life which proceeded from it, we find the same contrast to the ignoble servitude of the world. True, every one, however low in authority, was to be obeyed in the fear of God; but in this system, no one was tyrannically required to bow down to the superior talents or strength of a fellow creature, according to the principles of those gross politicians and preachers of false religion, who are continu-

\*\* De Similitudinibus, cap. clxxxii.

<sup>\*</sup> Tract. in Joan. 53 + S. S. quæst. ii. art. 9. ‡ De Grat. et Lib, arbit. | La Hogue Tractat. de Religione, cap. ii. prep. 3.

<sup>‡</sup> De Grat. et Lib. arbit. 

¶ La Hogue Tractat.

§ Melch. Can. de Locis Theologicis, lib. xii. cap. iv.

ally ascribing to visible men the grandeur of the invisible God. Man never felt himself the slave of his equal, nor was he subject to an arbitrary law. Besides this perfection in principle, the positive exercise of obedience was the highest freedom. Guizot says, that the code of St. Benedict offers a singular mixture of despotism and liberty. Implicit obedience is the principle, and yet the government is elective-the monks are to obey, but the abbot is to consult them. Thus in the third chapter we read, "Whenever any thing of importance is to be transacted. let the abbot convoke the whole congregation, and let him explain the matter, and hear the opinions of his brethren, and then let him judge. Let him call all the brethren to the council, because God often reveals the best advice to the youngest:" and in conclusion, he admits, that within the cloister, that is, where the principle of obedience was in full operation, men were governed by a more reasonable authority, and in a milder manner, than they would have been in civil society.\* There was nothing tyrannical in the ecclesiastical theory of rule. Witness what said the Irish synod in the VIIIth century. "Non debet facere quicquam sine consilio subjectorum, nisi pauca in liberationem vinctorum, et in consolationem pauperum et viduarum." What mildness and benignity is here! The sovereign authority of monastic superiors was totally removed from any thing arbitrary, for all was regulated beforehand: traditions and customs directed the least actions of the monks; they prescribed to them how they were to proceed to the chapter-house, or to the refectory; how to return from it; how they were to assist at the nocturnal office. There were laws for speaking and for silence. The monastic code had regulated every thing down to the mortifications of penance and the innocent enjoyments of the cloister. Histor records at what epoch of the year, in the monastery of Cluny, beans and herbs were to be seasoned with oil or butter, on what occasions the monks were to have fruits, eggs, spices, and fish. The greatest punishment which a superior could inflict upon a disobedient monastery was to abandon it, for his absence was regarded as the being abandoned by heaven. This is what Michaud says, All this may be seen at any time in a Catholic college, where the greatest discipline and order are united with real freedom and Christian love: for the Catholic religion teaches men to bear rule in God's name, so that their superiors need not keep up their authority by an affectation of superiority and mysterious reserve. All assumption of authority in the Christian state was the work of mutual love. This is indicated in many parts of the ritual and order of the Church, which was in ages of faith the model or basis of the ceremonial of civil society, so that a study of it will throw the greatest light upon the whole theory of the ancient civil government. Thus in every parish church when a new curate was installed, the ecclesiastic who conducted him to the seat of authority, and he who was to take possession gave each other mutually the embrace and kiss of charity. In short, veneration, consisting of love, fear, and shame, was shewn by sons to their parents, by subjects to their rulers, and by all men to priests and to God, whose greater glory was known to be always furthered by obe-

<sup>\*</sup> Cours d'Hist. ii.

<sup>†</sup> Des Monastères au Moyen Age.

dience to superiors. And we may observe by the way, that generally men were left in no doubt to know what was the will of God. "Quicquid abducit à Deo contra Dei voluntatem est: quicquid ad Deum invitat, ad divinam voluntatem est," said Drexelius.\* The will of God which Christ taught was thus expressed in the tract, ascribed to St. Cyprian, on the Pater. "Humility in conversation, stability in faith, modesty in words, justice in deeds, mercy in works, discipline in manners; to do no injury, to keep peace, to love God, to prefer nothing to Christ, to adhere faithfully to his cross." The source of slavery and of disorder lies deep in the heart of man, where it must be sought, and not in the defect of civil institutions. The general and outward anarchy in a state, says Plato, " Proceeds originally from an internal democracy in the mind of each man who belongs to it: when the sentiments of pleasure and pain which constitute that power in the soul answering to the populace in a state are suffered to prevail, there ensues in that mind an intellectual democracy or anarchy, which is the last and most dreadful evil in a state, and in the soul of man." Against this the principle of religious obedience was directed, and thus anarchy and servitude were attacked in the sphere of intelligence; and hence the world was not become as in later days,

A stage to feed contention in a lingering act.

The spirit of religion was essentially the spirit of order, as the spirit of the religion of later times is that of disorder and confusion, according to which every man rejects the guidance of a common legislator, and lives as he likes best, μυκλωπικώς θεμιστεύων παιδων ιδ' ἀλόχου. The ecclesiastical discipline was received as an universal law; the desire of the ancient sage thus became the mark at which principles were aimed, and anarchy was taken away from the whole course of human life, t so that the visible results could justify the rapture of the ascetic, when he cried, "O sweet and grateful service of God, by means of which man is rendered truly sanctified and free." "When man arrogates to himself a liberty for the sake of sin, or what is contrary to God, he can endure no disappointment or misery. Then rise up to heaven the interminable murmurs of his bitter discontent. This is not a true divine liberty from a true divine light, but it is a natural, unjust, false, erring, and diabolic liberty from a natural, false, and erring light." It is not strange that men under the influence of this liberty should regard the obedience of faithful ages with aversion and disdain. They are strangers to obedience unless in case of a command, like that of Ulysses telling them to remember eating and drinking, and then they obey as readily as the companions of that hero.

οί δ' Εκα έμοις επέεσσι πίθοντο. \*\*

Dante describes them in these terms:

Avails you, nor reclaiming call; heav'n calls, And, round about you wheeling, courts your gaze With everlasting beauties. Yet your eye

<sup>\*</sup> De Confor. Voluntat. Hom, lib, i. c. iv.

<sup>‡</sup> Plato De Legibus, xii.

<sup>§</sup> Theolog. Germanic, cap. xli.

<sup>†</sup> De Legibus, lib. iii.

De Imitat. iii. 10.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Od. x. 178.

Turns with fond doting still upon the earth; Therefore He smites you who discerneth all.\*

The effects of religious obedience in these ages may be considered in relation to the temporal and spiritual authority, in both of which respects they appear equally admirable. With regard to the first. "See what a dignity it is, men said, to acknowledge none over thee but God, and what is greater than to be under him?" By obeying God in man, I never obey my inferior or my equal; but only him whose service is a kind of empire and royalty. Nothing can be more flattering to all the noble sentiments of nature than to be called upon to exercise holy obedience. In such a service no one is found to pray to heaven like the watchman of Æschylus, for a remission of his nightly and servile labour." I am created for God. All below God is unworthy of me. The ascetical writers observe, "that here we cannot be too proud, since such pride is but justice, and that the natural sense of dignity may be at the bottom only a motion of this true greatness misdirected." This is the spirit which entitles a man to the praise bestowed on Job, when it is said "fuit vir unus," always consistent with himself because united to the divine will. Satan and his accomplices having rebelled, God created man, and subjected to his service angel wings, and established him as his representative, and as his knight against the devil. The moral dignity of persons who act from religious obedience, seems something above humanity; they move then like blessed spirits, conformable in all things to the eternal order, and one beholds in them, as it were embodied and shadowed forth, the majesty of him whom they serve. In relation to the spiritual authority, the religious obedience of these ages might suggest innumerable reflections; the first and most obvious is that of Louis de Blois, where he says, "Heresy has no other source but pride and disobedience; for heretics obstinately follow their own sense, and are unwilling to submit their own judgment to the decrees and judgment of the Catholic Church."&

Such were the men described by Dante:

Who journey'd on, and knew not whither: fools Who, like to scymitars, reflected back
The Scripture-image by distortion marr'd.\*\*

To their reproaches, the Catholic might have replied in the words of Milton:

Still thou err'st, nor end will find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
Of servitude, to serve whom God ordains.

This is servitude.
To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
Against his worthier.

Omitting all higher considerations than those of the present life, what a loss of wisdom and of peace was theirs! They had no moral dignity arising from a sense of their own position with regard to the universal order. In society they were seen ever hanging upon the tongue of

<sup>\*</sup> Purg. xiv. † Meditat. for the use of the English Coll. at Lisbo, iv. 3. ‡ Agamemnon, i. † P. Judde Retraite Spirit. 68. § Enchirid. Parvulorum, lib. i. doc. v. append. \*\* Parad. xiii.

strangers, in hopes of some novelty, ever anxious, and curious, and unsettled, loving debate and discussion μήστως as αὐτῆς: prying into the opinions of others, and ready to acknowledge that they were themselves without conviction; as attentive to a libertine or an apostate, as our ancestors would have been to a man of the interior life. The Holy Ghost thus describes them: "Arundinem vento agitatam, folium quod vento rapitur."\* Having abandoned the rule of truth, they found themselves on a moving soil on which their reason could not find rest. The last extravagance of human error is to make a religion of independence. The sentiments of eternity which the Christian revelation has imparted to men, left without authority in faith, expose the human mind to speedy destruction. Physicians themselves have remarked the fact, that the spirit of sect favours the development of mental alienation, while catholicism imposing obedience, that burden of Christ which has wings not weight, presents to it the greatest obstacle. The extravagance of a religious zeal without discipline and order, to which every ardent mind without the Church is subject, is one of the primal sources of insanity; and this is for ever excluded from the meek communion of Catholics: for

> In its devotion, nought irregular This mount can witness, or by punctual rule Unsanction'd; here from every change exempt, No influence can reach us.+

But independent of all temporal considerations, their error was most manifest: and here I must anticipate a theological argument, and give it in the words of Fenelon. Jesus Christ speaks thus: "If any one hear not the Church, let him be unto you as a heathen and as a publican." "Remark here," says Fenelon, "that he saith not, if any one hear not the Church of his country, or that to which among different churches he is attached by his birth or by his inclination; he does not suppose many churches between which each one might choose according to his liking; he supposes but one, which was to be his spouse for ever. Schism, which establishes many churches in spite of Jesus Christ, who desires there should be but one, is therefore the greatest of all crimes. In vain do our separated brethren maintain that the ancient Church was fallen to ruin, and into the desolation of idolatry. If the visible Church was for a single day to have become idolatrous, Jesus Christ would not have said, absolutely and without restriction of times and nation, 'If any one does not hear the Church.' On the contrary, he would have said, 'If any one hear the Church during ages of error and idolatry, let him be unto you as a heathen and a publican." # In fact, the moderns have transferred their obedience to a human society upon the principle of the ancient world, "Deos patrio more et ex instituto civitatum colendos:" though according to their own system, obedience to any authority ought to be equally condemned: to recommend it is raising a Doric pæon in the Athenian camp, adding only distrust and confusion to their own allies. A purely domestic state of religious society is what is called natural religion, and the public state of this society is revealed re-

<sup>\*</sup> Matt. xii. Job, xiii. Thucyd, vii. 47.

ligion. "One may remark," says Bonald, "a great parade of domestic affections in all sects who wish to bring back domestic religion into public society, and at the same time a great indifference for public duties."\* In the patriarchal times, when the rule of faith was by domestic tradition, to refrain from following the religion of one's parents would have been a fatal apostasy; but under the Christian dispensation, this authority was transferred to the public society of the Church, which all the nations of the earth were to obey. "O my daughter, hear and behold; lend an ear to my lessons, forget the house of thy father, and then the King of heaven will have pleasure in thy beauty." It is thus that God speaks to the soul of man in the 40th Psalm. Thus does he wish that after the example of Abraham, this soul should quit its country, its parents, should abandon the regions of the Chaldwans, that is to say, the places which are subject to the empire of the demons, to fix its abode in the land of the living, which is the Church, that cherished land, the object of the ardent sighs of the prophet, when be said, "I hope, yes I hope to behold one day the riches and the perfections of my God in the land of the living."† To resist this authority and yet retain the title of those who would defend the faith, must render men the very objects of that angelic reproof.

And could'st thou faithful add? O name, O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd!
Faithful to whom?

Indeed, in the commencement of the deplorable separation, no such inconsistency could be charged upon the innovators. As they are described by the contemporaries, the son was armed against his father, the brother against the brother, the servant against his master.

Les enfans sans raison disputent de la foy, Et tout à l'abandon va sans ordre et sans loy; Morte est l'authorité: chacun vit en sa guise; Au vice desreglé la licence est permise;

Thus writes Pierre de Ronsard, in his discourse on the Miseries of his time. "Alas! how sad is the present condition of Christians," said Fuller, "who have a communion disuniting!" The reply of these men whom no yoke could bow, and no bridle hold, to the invitations so affectingly addressed to them by Catholic pastors, reminds one of that answer given to the Prince of Angels in Milton.

—Err not, that so shall end
The strife which thou call'st evil, but we style
The strife of glory; which we mean to win,
Or turn this heav'n itself into the hell
Thou fablest, here however to dwell free,
If not to reign:

But it is not strange that disobedience should produce such fruit on earth, when it was able to change into demons, those who, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty, were once in the delights of the paradise of God. Let us return to those that were faithful, found among the faithless, to that one fold of which all the sheep hear the voice of the shepherd, fol-

<sup>\*</sup> Législation Primitive, tom. i. 421,

<sup>‡</sup> Book iv. 288.

<sup>†</sup> St. Hieron. Epist. ad Eustoch. Virg. \*\*Ezech. xxviii,

low him and fly from the alien,\* to those who had no idea of a perfection that did not consist in obedience, and who were content with the knowledge that the meek are blessed.

## CHAPTER III.

I APPROACH a subject of the highest importance, which demands all our attention: of infinite extent and requiring the tongue of an angel, I can but present a few detached fragments to employ the reflections of the reader, and summon to my aid the sentences of angelic men, who have treated upon it in their writings. As in some vast metropolis, when a civil rage has burst through all restraints, and pushed to open war, a thunder of artillery has shaken its most solid towers, and each man who loved order, has been exposed to death; if at the drawing on of evening shade, some pious recluse is heard to sound the angelus bell, which recalls the days of meck obedience; then tears burst from the eyes of many, who before seemed unmoved by all the desolation: so does joy well from the heart of those, long conversant with heretic debate, when their thoughts return to the Church of Christ, to that house of sweet untroubled order, of gentleness and peace.

Religion is the reason of all society, since, without it, man cannot find the reason of any power or of any duty. Religion, then, is the fundamental constitution of every state of society. Civil society is composed of religion and state, as the reasonable man is composed of intelligence and organs. Man is an intelligence which ought to make its organs serve to the end of its happiness and perfection. Civilized society is nothing but religion which makes political society serve to the perfection and happiness of the human race. These are the observations of the illustrious Bonald,† whose theory of government might be taken for a history of what existed among men during the ages of faith.

The Church is defined by theologians, to be "the society of wayfaring men, who profess the true doctrine of Christ." When our eyes are once opened upon the wisdom and providence of God in the establishment and government of his Church, we are filled with astonishment at the new points of view which are unfolded in history; and, as Bonald says, "we feel confounded at the thought of the number of books which require to be re-written." From whatever side one regards the spirit and the institutions of the Catholic Church, one is ravished with admiration; as in every thing that relates to it, one perceives the assistance and the action of the Divinity. The more one fathoms the secrets of this mysterious spouse of the Divine Word, the greater are the torrents which seem to burst forth, of a light as dazzling as it is unexpected.

<sup>\*</sup> Joan x. Vol. I.—22

There is nothing, even in the smallest detail of its belief and practice, which does not offer more truths, and more real wisdom, than can ever be discovered by the investigations of science or genius. Well may she address her children, in the beautiful words of Dante,

To rear me was the task of power divine, Supremest wisdom, and primeval love.

The sentiment of their own dignity, as being members of the holy Catholic Church, made the meek men of faithful ages feel their hearts beat within them. In their faith they possessed all things; they could find all things; while without it, there was only nothingness, fatigue, and affliction of spirit.\* But observe well with St. Cyril of Jerusalem, that it is of the Catholic Church we speak, that which possesses throughout the universe an unlimited power. Therefore adds this holy bishop, if you should ever arrive as a stranger in any city, do not ask merely where is the Church? the heretics dare to give themselves this name: but ask where is the Catholic Church; for that is its particular namethat is the special title of this holy mother of all the faithful, of this glorious spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ, only Son of God. Soon after the ages of faith there arose churches, established by human law, systems raised up like the walls of Athens, bearing marks of having been constructed in haste, and to meet the peculiar circumstances of the moment; for it is the property of all sects to pander to the temporary passions of men; and it is their end to be despised and forsaken by the unstable troop that followed them, as soon as that passion subsides: hence it was easy to detect them. The parts were not jointed into each other; but laid on just as each person, man or woman could throw them; and among them one might have discovered many pillars from tombs, στηλαι από σημάτων, and carved stones which had been brought to the work from a distance. ‡ But as for the Church of the ages of faith, the Christian, the Catholic, or if men will, the Roman or papal, for all these mean the same thing, any one could, in an instant, point it out, for there was no other like it. As Nausicaa says to Ulysses, speaking of the house of her royal father, in the city of the Phecians:

pela d' del yvar' esti nal du mais ny noutro vintos.

This was Catholic: not merely, as we shall see hereafter, from catholicity of doctrine and of time, but also of necessity from catholicity of places. There could be no region where its name had not reached. This was visible, and men were not then infected with the hatred of all visible authority; but they knew that man, body as well as mind, cannot be governed by pure abstractions without reality. Even its adversaries admitted generally, with Melanchthon, that a Church must be visible, of which the Son of God said, "tell it to the Church;" and of which the apostle said that it was made a spectacle to the world and to men. They admitted with him, that "the portentous discourses which denied the visibility of the Church, destroyed all the testimonies of antiquity, abolished judgments, and introduced an endless anarchy."\*\*

<sup>\*</sup> Revue Catholique, tom. i.

<sup>†</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. 93. | Od. vi. 300. \*\* Opera, Præfat.

<sup>†</sup> S. Cyril. Catechesis, xviii. § La Hogue tractat. de Eccles. lxi.

This Church, in its threefold state of being militant, patient, and triumphant, comprised the three divisions of all that belongs to men, with respect to the earth, purgatory, and heaven. This was commemorated as not having spot or wrinkle; but yet, as St. Augustin says, "such words were not to be understood in reference to its present, but to its future state, when it is to appear glorious: for now," he adds, "on account of some ignorance, and the infirmities of its members, it has daily reason to say, Dimitte nobis debita nostra." But as a remedy for the woes of man, and a source of needful truth, it was universal and infallible: it was a light to guide his feet into the paths of peace. If it did not remove every shade which rests upon the ways of the mortal life, it furnished a steady lustre, which not only sufficed to guide him safely, but which made him discover even charms in the darkness at his side, so that he might exclaim, in the words of Dante:

> O sun! who healest all imperfect sight, Thou so content'st me, when thou solv'st my doubt, That ignorance not less than knowledge charms.†

As St. Hilary said in his book on the Trinity, "The Church offered a remedy against all diseases of the mind and heart, it comprised so great a number of truths, that it could pursue error under all its forms, and in all directions. Its truth was ever manifested by what its adversaries held. It was unchangeable in its essence, but it was known and appreciated better in proportion as the attacks against it were multiplied. It was the sublime prerogative of the Church that it should triumph when attacked: that its truths should most shine forth when men wished to accuse it of error; and that it should repair its losses by new conquests. After separating from it, the adversaries separated from one another; and in attacking each other and gaining victories over each other, they, in fact, conquered for the interest of the Church, whose factors they were; for thus the errors of one sect were overthrown by another; her foes slew themselves, and their controversies ended in confirmation of the Catholic doctrine."

The moderns practically divide the human race into two classes. It is either, their country, their political party, their school of philosophy, their domestic circle, their immediate family, and the whole rest of mankind, whom they are willing to dismiss from their thoughts, or to speak of them with contempt or anger, as the impulse of the moment may direct them. In the ages of faith also, men divided the human race into two classes, but only one of them had a real, visible, and present existence, and this was the Church of Jesus Christ; that immense society, embracing men of all ages and all nations, and all schools of philosophy, and descending by a series of saints and great men, from Jesus Christ and thence from the patriarchs and the cradle of the universe. The other, the world condemned by Jesus Christ, was known only in theory as an abstraction, and referred to the Omniscient Judge who was to make the final separation. With respect to the institution of the Church, what we are chiefly called upon to consider in this place is the measure employed by the providence of God to preserve it in unity; and here is a theme that demands everlasting admiration, to be

<sup>\*</sup> S. August. Retract. lib. ii. cap. xviii.

described only in the celestial language of the saints. St. Peter and St. Paul are martyred at Rome, "which obtains," says St. Ambrose, "the principality and the headship of nations, that where had been the head of superstition, there might rest the head of sanctity; that where the princes of the Gentiles dwelled, there might inhabit the princes of the Churches." Celebrated is the passage of St. Leo, where he speaks of St. Peter coming to Rome. "What were the nations of which there were not natives there? Here were to be overthrown the opinions of philosophy; here were to be dissolved the vanities of earthly wisdom; here was to be abolished the worship of demons; here was to be destroyed the impiety of all kinds of sacrilege; for here was collected with the most diligent superstition, all that was ever instituted by vain error. To this city then, O blessed apostle Peter, didst thou fearlessly come; and into this wood of roaring monsters didst thou enter with that companion of thy glory, Paul: trusting thyself upon this ocean of most turbulent depth, with more constancy than when thou didst walk upon the sea." St. Peter concludes his first epistle, speaking of the Church of Rome, as that which is collected in Babylon; for by Babylon he meant Rome, according to the interpretation of Tertullian, Eusebius, St. Jerome, St. Augustin, Orosius, and others; and it was so designated on account of the influx of all kinds of error and superstition. And now behold, through the amazing grace of highest God, what a change is here. Tacitus said of Rome, "that to that city from all sides, every thing atrocious and shameful flowed in;" and we may say of Christian Rome, that thither flowed in from all parts of the world, whatever was illustrious and holy. Do we seek the testimony of genius? Petrarch having to choose between being crowned by the university of Paris, or by the senate of Rome, prefers the city where dwells the pontiff, who holds in his hand the whole race of men that worship Christ with knowledge. V 'siede il successor del maggior Piero. Even Dante forgets his prejudices, as a Ghibelin, when he beholds the gracious vision of Matilda. Is it the opinion of the learned that we demand? "Of all the places of the earth that I have visited," says the author of the martyrs, "Rome is the only one to which I should wish to return, and where I should be happy to pass my life." Is it the opinion of those who study heavenly wisdom that we require? "If you approach Italy," says Tertullian, "you have there the Church of Rome, whose decisions and doctrines give to ours all their authority." Do we desire to learn what were the sentiments of saints? St. Vincent de Paul wrote from Rome, to say that "he was so consoled to find himself in that city, the metropolis of the Church militant, containing the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of so many other saints and martyrs who have shed their blood for Jesus Christ, that he counted himself happy in walking upon ground which had been trodden by so many holy personages, and that this consolation had moved him to tears." Is it the judgment of the intelligent and deeply reflecting writers of the middle age that we desire to know? Suger's early acquaintance with the court of Rome, is assigned as one source of his subsequent wisdom of ad-

<sup>\*</sup> Serm. Ixvi. De Natali S. Apost. Pet. et Paul.

ministration, when, as regent of France, he merited the title of the father of his country. Even John of Salisbury, when relating his first conversation with Pope Adrian IV. at Beneventum, respecting the scandalous reports that prevailed against the administration, founded upon the riches which were drawn to Rome, has the candour to say "unum tamen audacter conscientia teste profiteor, quia nusquam honestiores clericos vidi quam in ecclesia Romana, aut qui magis avaritiam detestentur." The pope reminded him of the fable of the belly and the members, and concluded by saying, "Such, my brother, is the case in the republic of the Church. Be slow, therefore, to condemn, but attend to

the general utility."\*

May a-rude and recent pilgrim be allowed to add his humble testimony? Of all the cities in the world which his eyes have looked upon, there appears most faith, most piety in Rome. In no other place, does human nature as exalted by the religion of Jesus Christ, appear so innocent and so worthy of the grandeur of its Maker. All is spiritual within those holy gates. There one sees the saintly host of men separate to the Church, there walk innocent troops of holy students, angels of modesty; there are the lovers of wisdom, who exercise rule with meekness under the great pontiff who succeeds to Peter's chair; there kneels a multitude of poor continually in the churches, like those described in the mysterious vision of the blessed John, who had no rest day or night, saying, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, who was, and who is, and who is to come!" Rome, in her monuments, in her traditionary exercises, in her ceremonies, in her inscriptions, in her tone of manners, preserved by the fostering rule of Popes, speaks more forcibly to the reason and to the heart of man, than any book that ever was written to prove the truth of Christianity. While the civil power has imparted a certain tone of paganism to nearly all other states, there religion is made to the eye of all men, the one thing of paramount necessity. There only Christ seems to reign unopposed; from thence only seem to have fled the enemics of our Lord's cross; there only seems to have already conquered the Lion of the tribe of Judah. He who finds himself at Rome, wonders not that he should have passed seas and lands from afar to visit it, but rather why all men who worship Christ do not flock eagerly thither to supplicate and adore. Thence returning, he looks with careless indifference upon all other cities which now seem to him as only the fit residence for barbarous courts and unlettered merchants; from henceforth there remains only the care of cherishing precious, inestimable recollections; this earth can present no higher testimony; all is seen.

But it is necessary to speak more at large respecting the doctrine of the supremacy of Rome, which was universally acknowledged in ages of faith, and which was the foundation of all their spiritual greatness. The language of holy antiquity, adduced in evidence here, will render unnecessary any other explanation or any further comments. St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, the second from St. Peter, begins his Epistle to the Romans, "Ignatius to the Church that is sanctified, which presides in the region of the Romans." St. Irenæus says, "that all Churches of the world are to submit to the Roman Church." Tertullian

<sup>\*</sup> De Nugis Curialium, lib. vi. cap. xxiv.

again says, "could Peter be ignorant, who was called the foundation stone of the Church, to whom were given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing upon earth." St. Cyril, of Alexandria, in his book against the Greeks, cited by St. Thomas, says, "All bow their head to Peter by divine right, whom the primates of the world obey as if the head Jesus. We, therefore, that are members ought to obey our head, the Roman Pontiff, and adhere to the Apostolic See." St. Chrysostom says, "that St. Peter deserved to become for ever the fixed and indestructible foundation of the Church." " " Always remain united in heart and mind, in communion with the chief of the Roman Church," says St. Jerome, "and however prudent, however firm in good principle you may believe yourself to be, never lend an ear to any one who would speak to you of a faith which is not that of St. Peter, of whom the existing Pope is the true and only successor." This is what St. Jerome says, t and again, he asks Rufinus, "Is our faith that of the Roman Church, or is it that contained in the books of Origen?" If he answers it is Roman-then we are Catholics. "Si Romanam, ergo Catholici sumus." Again, "whoever you are that assert new doctrines, I beseech you to spare Roman ears: spare that faith which is praised by the voice of the Apostle. S Be it known that the Roman faith cannot be changed." The fourteenth Epistle of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, proves how universally and completely this doctrine was established at that time. The sermons which remain of St. Asterus, Archbishop of Amasia, who died at the beginning of the fifth century, form a precious evidence respecting the universal jurisdiction of the sovereign pontiff, as well as other parts of Catholic discipline. Even a heathen writer of the fourth age says, "In episcopo Romano positam esse præcipuam Christianorum autoritatem."\*\* Hence arose, in the distant provinces of the empire, a confusion of names, similar to what now exists among the populace of England; for the heathens of Gaul used to call the Catholics, Romans. Thus the pagan king, Theodegisilus, thought to account for a miracle by saying, "Ingenium est Romanorum et non est Dei virtus." St. Gregory of Tours adds here in a parenthesis, "Romanos enim vocitant homines nostræ religionis."# The constant exercise of primal jurisdiction by the Roman Pontiffs is to be remarked. In the second century Pope Victor proposed to excommunicate those who did not celebrate the paschal festival on the same day as the Roman Church. In the third century, Pope Stephen acted similarly with respect to those who held the necessity of rebaptism, and neither the Asiatic nor African Churches ever objected to this as an invasion of their rights. "In the Apostolic See," the fathers of the fourth council of Constantinople recognise "the whole and true solidity of the Christian religion." Prayers were offered up for the Pope in the Eastern Churches until the fifth century, when Acacius, the Bishop of Constantinople, dared to erase his name from the sacred Dyptychs. "The Roman chair," says St. Augustin, "is the rock which the proud gates of hell do not conquer." tt "Infidelity can have no ac-

<sup>\*</sup> De Præscript, cap. xxii, ‡ Epist, ad Demetriad. \* Ammian, Marcellin, lib. xv. cap. vii. † Greg. Turon, Miracul, lib. i. 25.

cess to the Roman and principal See," says St. Cyprian.\* "It is on St. Peter alone," he says in another place, "that the Lord has founded his Church: it is to him that he confided the care of feeding his sheep, and although after his resurrection, he gave to all his apostles an equal power, saying, 'As my Father hath sent me, so send I you,' nevertheless, in order to make all enter into unity, he established only one chair, and this chair is that of Peter. Doubtless the other apostles were all endowed with the honour of the same functions, but by this disposition of the Saviour, all is confined to unity, all flows from this unity. The supremacy is given to Peter, in order that there may be only one Church of Jesus Christ, and only one chair whence truth may be extended to all the world. And is he who will not preserve this unity to believe that he can preserve faith? Has he who resists the Church, who abandons the chair of Peter on which the Church is founded, has he the presumption to believe that he is within the Church? As for the Christians of all ranks, as for us above all who are bishops and guardians of the Church, it is our duty to preserve with care, to defend this precious unity, in order to prove by this that the episcopacy also is one and indivisible. Let no one seek by falsehood to deceive his brethren. The episcopacy, I repeat it, is one. The Church is one as there is but one light, although the sun has an infinity of rays. And as the innumerable branches of a great oak united with the trunk and roots form but one tree, so the Church has but one chief and one principle. Woe then to those who separate themselves from this unity, without which there can be nothing solid and immutable in the Church. In separating themselves, they detach themselves from the principle of life, as the branches which have been cut off from the trunk whence they derive nutriment, fail not soon to languish, and to lose all the lustre of their freshness and verdure."† Accordingly, he says of Novatian, that despising apostolical tradition, he rose from himself, and, therefore, he calls . him, "Episcopum adulterum et extraneum qui humanam conatur facere ecclesiam." Admitting that he might have had ordination, he had no mission.‡ In answer to Antonianus who had asked what was the heresy of Novatian, he replied, "Be it known to you that we have no curiosity to enquire what he teaches, since he teaches without. If he were to be slain for the name of Christ, without the Church, he could not be crown-According to the universal doctrine of antiquity, schism was a crime which not even martyrdom could expiate. It rendered useless even a right faith. "Why when they believe rightly," says St. Jerome, "do they make themselves Arians by their obstinacy, dividing the Church, though convinced of the truth?" St. Bernard, so deeply instructed in the faith of all preceding ages, speaks as follows to Pope Eugene. "Come let us examine who you are, and what person you bear for a time in the Church of God. Who are you? A great priest, a great pontiff. You are the prince of bishops; you are the heir of the apostles; in primacy you are Abel, in government Noah, in patriarchate Abraham, in order Melchisedech, in dignity Aaron, in authority Moses, in jurisdiction Samuel, in power Peter, in unction Christ."

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. lv. | | Epist. 65. -

<sup>†</sup> Lib. de Unitate Eccles. § De Consideratione.

<sup>‡</sup> Epist. 55.

Such, then, is the universal sense of Christian antiquity upon this subject. It might seem superfluous to produce similar testimonies from the documents of the middle ages, whose sentiments on this point were so faithful and exact; but the attempt of some modern scholars to claim a sympathy where they might least expect to find it, (for there were more heresies in the primitive Church, than during the middle ages) will render it necessary to prevent their objections by evidence from the very quarter which they have deemed vulnerable. Neander, in culogising the character of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, has the courage to maintain that he was opposed to the claims of the Roman supremacy; and some English writers have attempted to defend a similar position, with respect to the early churches of Britain and Ireland. These, however, are the paradoxes of controversial writers, which no historian has been found to advocate. Truly, what that time was when England was Christian before being Catholic or Roman, if men would rather, I think scarcely sphynx can tell. Guizot quotes the saying of St. Boniface, that "Rome is the centre, and the Pope the chief of Christianity;" and he even says, that in converting Germany, St. Boniface "gave it as it were to the popedom." In an epistle to Pope Stephen, St. Boniface says, "If any thing should be found, said, or done, by me, less skilfully or unjustly, with a ready will and humility I declare myself desirous of being corrected by the judgment of Rome;"\* and again he says, "we have decreed and confessed that we will maintain the Catholic faith and unity, and subjection to the Roman Church, to the end of our lives. Moriamur, si Deus voluerit, pro sanctis legibus Patrum nostrorum, ut hæreditatem cum illis æternam consequi mereamur."† In another epistle he signs himself a bishop, discipulus Romanæ ecclesiæ. t Such were the sentiments of these Anglo-Saxon missionaries, whom some late writers have attempted to describe as founders of what they term their national liberties. Their maxim recorded, was that of all Christian antiquity, "quid enim prosunt benorum operum emolumenta," said they, "si extra Catholicam gerantur ecclesiam?" The constant intercourse between Britain and Rome may be well conceived from the sentence of the Saxon Chronicle, "This year there was no journey to Rome; except that King Alfred sent two messengers with letters." To the doctrine of the Irish Church, down to the eighth century, that is long before its reception of the Pallium,\*\* express testimony is borne by the decree of the synod, published by Dacherius, in his Spicilegium. ait: si quæstiones in hac insula oriantur ad sedem Apostolicam referantur." Alas, reader! forgive me, and speak now as with a friend. Walks there a man this day upon the earth, so remorseless, as to turn away from these testimonies of ancient British faith, without some touch of pity, misgiving, or amaze, when he contrasts them with what now passes "through distortion of misguided wills?" Say, how comes it that gentle minds, so formed for truth and love, should still remain closed to such plain accumulated evidences, and that men who have ever stood beneath the mountain should give utterance to such fearful words as we hear:

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. xci. † Epist. cv. ‡ Epist. xci. || Id. Epist. xliv. § P. cxii. |
\* S. Bernard. vit. S. Malach. c. xv. || Tom. ix. lib. xx. cap. 5.

None left but by submission; and that word Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame, After so long a course Of other promises and other vaunts, Than to submit—

If it had been possible to have followed some of the first seducers into the deep recesses of their hearts, and to have seen the doubt and desolation there, how surely would the strain have changed!

> —— Ah me, they little know How deadly I abide that boast so vain, Under what torments inwardly I groan. Such joy ambition finds.——

This would be the place to speak of the meek reverence with which the sovereign pontiffs were treated in ages of faith: clearly it must have corresponded with their elevation, since it was generally the piety of the faithful which gave force to their dignity: yet the presence of Pope Leo I. clothed in his pontifical vestments, made even Attila tremble, and obliged him to retire and abandon his resolution of destroying Rome. When Pope Stephen V. came into France, the Emperor Lewis repaired to Rheims to meet him. On coming into his presence he prostrated himself three times, and then maintained with grandeur, during the interview, the majesty of the throne. "It is the interest of princes," says Don Savedra, "to have their eyes like the Heliotrope, always turned upon the sun of the pontifical tiara. Don Alonzo V. of Arragon, in the article of death, charged his son Don Fernando, king of Naples, to esteem nothing so much as the authority of the apostolic see; and to take care never to offend the sovereign pontiffs, whatever right might be on his side. Impiety or imprudence makes it a point of honour to show fierceness towards the popes; but humility towards them is not a weakness; it is religion: it is no dishonour; it is a glory: the most submissive deference of the greatest princes, is only a pious magnanimity, which serves as an example to subjects, to shew respect to all that is sacred: no infamy results to those who render it, but rather an universal praise, as that which attended the Emperor Constantine, when he took the lowest seat in a council of bishops; and the King Egiquez, when he prostrated himself on the ground at another celebrated council in Toledo."\*

And here a reflection suggests itself forcibly to the reason of man; for that in every country of the world differing from each other so widely in manners, tastes, opinions, and supposed interests, there should be always in every age, such a number of persons profound in learning, ardent in enterprise, and full of patriotism, entertaining sentiments so perfectly opposed to all natural and human notions of society, all agreeing to maintain and willing to die like Sir Thomas More and Fisher, for the doctrine of the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs; a doctrine such as the heathen world could never have conceived, and which we may, at the same time remark is the object of detestation with all who systematically attack revelation, is a fact assuredly most striking and unparalleled,

<sup>\*</sup> Christian Prince, ii. 502.

and enough to make all reasonable men pause before they acquiesce in the judgment of those who lament it as the result of error. The intervention of God in the establishment and preservation of his Church, is the miracle of history. Mabillon remarks as an instance, that at no time were the faithful of various countries more devoted and reverential in their professions to the Holy See, than in times when unworthy popes had succeeded to the apostolic chair. Thus Sergius, Archbishop of Cologne, and Rogerus Hammaturgensis modestly besought Sergius III. to bestow the pallium. How reasonable might it have seemed to condemn the person with the acts of Stephen VII. in his conduct to Formosus? And vet Auxilius, who wrote to Stephen in favour of Formosus, speaks thus to him: "omni humanæ potestati subditi esse debemus, et quam maxime apostolicæ."\* With the same réverence did Fulco of Rheims apply to this unworthy pontiff; and the letters of Hatto of Mayence, and his suffragans, to John IX. contain these words: "Noverit sublimitas sanctitatis vestræ quod nulla Fratrum unanimitas sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ potestati subjecta, fidelior atque devotior ac subjectior apparet, quam nos, qui vestræ dominationi et capiti omnium ecclesiarum omni mentis intentione subjicimur." Theolmar of Salzburg, and other bishops of Bavaria, wrote to the same John, declaring, that by no reports of perversity could they ever be recalled from obedience to the Roman See. "We never believe, that from that holy and apostolic seat, which is to us the mother of sacerdotal dignity, and the origin of the Christian religion, any thing of perversity can flow, but only doctrine and the authority of ecclesiastical reason."† Thus stood erect the pillar amidst the greatest wreck of high ordained spirits, as when the synagogue was most obscured, a more than ordinary sound from the voice of prophets announced that it had not fallen. We may add to the observation of Mabillon, that the veneration of men has also been always most strikingly exhibited towards that primal seat, at moments when, to the eye of the world, its glory seemed to have been nearest to the point of extinction. Cardinal Pacca has described scenes in confirmation of this truth, which in point of sublimity and pathos surpass perhaps all instances recorded in the past history of the Church: but the account given by a late illustrious philosopher of what he beheld on the return of Pius VII. will perhaps be most interesting, as the unsuspicious testimony of a stranger. "I went out," says Sir Humphrey Davy, "with almost the whole population of Rome, to receive and welcome the triumphal entry of Pius VII. that illustrious Father of the Church, into his capital; a man whose sanctity, firmness, meekness, and benevolence, are an honour to human nature. He was borne on the shoulders of the most distinguished artists, headed by Canova; and never shall I forget the enthusiasm with which he was received: it is impossible to describe the shouts of triumph and of rapture sent up to heaven by every voice. And when he gave his benediction to the people, there was an universal prostration, a sobbing, and marks of emotions of joy, almost like the bursting of the heart; I heard every where around me cries of the holy father, the most holy father! his restoration is the work of God!' I saw tears streaming from the eyes of almost all the women about me; many of them were sobbing

<sup>\*</sup> In lib. ii. cap. 17.

hysterically, and old men were weeping as if they had been children."\*
Thus ended the persecution of the eighteenth century, to which one may apply the words of Nieremberg, "Such waves against the Roman Church have never been wanting in any age, which by battering her have broken themselves. Her enemies run to their ruin, swelling like waves against her rock, whose end, though they rage for a time, will prove foam and froth, into which others before them, no less proud and swelling, are vanished."

It remains for us to consider the Church in its relation to the civil government of the state, and briefly to describe the controversies to

which that relation has given rise.

"The tendency of the independence of the clergy over the body of the people (and by this Guizot means the civil power in general) is, in some manner, the history of the Church from its cradle."† This admission will dispense us from replying to those reasoners who would date the ecclesiastical power from the age of Charlemagne. Constantine gave great power to the bishops in civil affairs, and wished them to

wear crowns but they refused.

In the time of St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, the Bishops of Alexandria were invested with much temporal authority. The power of Pope Celestin was great: for he was able to deprive the Novatianists of their churches, and to prevent them from assembling openly. But as Thomassinus observes, the Popes had a moral dominion in temporals before they possessed the judicial. Kings and people easily threw themselves upon the side to which they inclined. Hence the tears of Pope Gregory the Great, fearing lest so much secular business should separate him from the love of God. In Italy dominion came upon them, as it were, visibly by divine providence; for there was no one to discharge its duties, and they were called upon to save the people by fulfilling them. John of Salisbury bears evidence to the sufferings consequent upon this pontifical power. "I call to witness," he says, "Lord Adrian, whose times God made happy, that no one is more miserable than the Roman Pontiff, for if nothing else should occur to injure him, the mere burden and labour must quickly overcome him; he assured me that all former bitterness was pleasure to what he now experienced. He says the chair is thorny, and that the crown which seems so bright is of fire: had he consulted his pleasure, he said he would never have left his native soil of England, and his concealment within the cloister of the blessed Rufus, but he did not dare to resist the divine appointment; he often used to tell me that ascending to the rank of sovereign Pontiff, step by step, from his cloistered obscurity, he never gained by ascending in tranquillity of life." It was a common saying in the time of St. Ambrose, "that emperors rather desire priesthood, than priests empire." \*\* "Cum infirmior tunc potens sum" was the rule to the new ambition of the Roman eminence, addressed to a successor of the fisherman, and to a disciple of the cross. His empire consisted in piety, virtue, tears, and prayer. Men rushed forward to give dominion to pontiffs, who like the kings of the golden

<sup>\*</sup> The Last Days of a Philosopher, Dial. iii. † Cours d' Hist. Mod. vi.

t Thomassinus, De Vet. et Nov. Discip. iii. lib. i. cap. xxvi.

I Id. iii. lib. i. cap. xxvii.

St. Ambrose, epist. 35.

world, were pastors of the people. On beholding the solemn grandeur which surrounds the meek father of the Church, it is an emotion full of joy and gratitude, which comes upon the mind unprejudiced, for it immediately draws the inference, that the world has become Christian, and that the warlike youth of nations are deputed to pay their innocent honours to the vicar of Jesus Christ. Never did the world behold in so eminent a degree as in the grandeur of the papal power, the verification of the divine promise to exalt the humble. These Gregories and Hildebrands, when they did not go forth to meet the wolf, were as meek and humble as the lowliest of their flock. If we would desire an instance of humility in its utmost degree, we shall find it in the acts and language of the chief pontiffs of the Church. Witness that letter of Pius VII. to Napoleon, which I cite not as a more eminent but only as a more recent instance, in which he expressed his sorrow and penitence for having agreed through the weakness of his age and sufferings to the concordat which was injurious to the discipline of the Church, ending with these affecting words, "Our conscience opposes insuperable obstacles to the execution of these articles which we acknowledge, to our confusion and grief, we incautiously subscribed, not from want of a right intention, as God himself is witness, but through human frailty, as dust and ashes."

With respect to the opinion which prevailed of the origin of this temporal power, it may be well to pause an instant. In France many modern writers, not excepting even Bossuet, thought fit to found upon this supposed opinion, a charge of ignorance against the scholastic doctors of the middle age. With them St. Thomas, St. Bonaventura, St. Anselm, St. Antoninus, St. Raymond of Pennafort-are men who only groped their way in a dark age. Their grand offence consisted in supporting the false decretals. It may be well then to state the simple fact to shew the extravagance of this declamation. The acts of councils and the papal decretals of the eight first centuries, formed the common law of France, as also of England, though Sir Matthew Hale, with singular boldness, appears to know of no obligation prior to the legislation of Henry VIII. and the authority of Parliament.\* In the ninth century, appeared a compilation of these decretals and acts, which are truly given as they really existed, excepting that certain dates and names are confounded; but these anachronisms were of no importance, for the substance being still the decretals and acts of the eight first centuries, really was the common law. The scholastic doctors, therefore, had only fallen into the error of a date or a name. This is shewn by Marchetti, the Archbishop of Ancyra, in his criticism of Fleury. Even the Protestant Blondel proves that these false decretals were composed nearly in the very words of the ancient canons. But, however defencible, they were always regarded as doubtful by the learned; and Dante might have known that they were publicly disowned in the tenth century. As for the scholastic doctors having believed in the donation of Constantine, it is to be remembered that this donation never passed for certain with them; that Hinemar, Archbishop of Rheims, treated it as supposititious, and that it was two scholastic divines, St. Antoninus, of Florence, and Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. who first absolutely rejected

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. of the Common Law of England, 24,

it. Before them Adrian I., Nicholas I., and Gregory VII. omitted all mention of it in acts where they certainly would have alluded to it if it had passed for genuine. Burchard, Bishop of Worms, who lived at the end of the tenth century, excluded it from his collection, and the gloze upon Gratian's decretals adds, that it is never read in the schools. Dismissing then the question as to the origin of this power, let us briefly notice the attacks which have been directed against it from other sides. "Some men," says John von Müller, "speak against the Pope, as if it had been a great misfortune that there was an authority which had regard to the practice of Christian morals, which could say to ambition and despotism—thus far and no farther." "I know indeed," says Scotti, "that God who calleth the despised things of the world to confound the strong, in the first ages of Christianity, shewed innumerable wonders. and made all nations behold the omnipotence of his arm; but the need for prodigies ceasing, and wishing that the operations of grace should be hidden under the shade of nature to increase the merit of faith, he hath wished that his Church should follow a certain natural order for the maintenance of its own independence and influence."\* Vain attempts have been made to represent this power as inconsistent with the spirit of the Christian Church: and oft by men with minds at the moment so little open to the light of faith, that when they looked for succour, they spoke of

> That high Providence which did defend, Through Scipio, the world's empery for Rome.

But in the first place, the passage which is quoted from St. John,† is read in the Greek text εκ του κόσμου τούτου, which gives his kingdom is not from this world, but from his father. Besides, it is clear from the passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew, t where our Saviour adds, "quomodo ergo implebuntur Scripturæ quia sic oportet fieri?" that his words, as related by St. John, "Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo," must be understood as alluding to a temporal kingdom, which would have prevented him from being delivered to the Jews, and from being crucified to save the world. Such a kingdom would be utterly subversive of the Catholic Church, or rather there would in that event have been no Christian people to be governed. Nothing can be more extravagant than to make such a text an argument against the economy and government of the Catholic Church, which rest wholly upon the fact of that death and passion; so that the Church could not have existed if that kingdom had been established which the moderns now so vainly ascribe to the Church. This was a kingdom which ought never to have excited the fear of any other government that was founded on justice. The ecclesiastical and the civil power have been always recognised as essentially distinct, but directed by God to one end, which is, to the eternal and temporal happiness of the people. || Walafreid Strabo, Abbot of Fulda, in the ninth century, shews that while they differ in offices, they have one and the same end in view, that "by means of the union and love of both orders, the one house of God may be constructed, the one body of Christ edified." \ "Attentively reflect," says Pope St. Leo to an emperor, "that the royal power has been given to you by God, not only to

<sup>\*</sup> Teoremi di Politica Christiana, i. 298. † xviii. 36. ‡ xxvi. § De Rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap. xxxi.

govern the world, but principally to defend the Church." It may be observed that in a certain sense, the distinction of the two powers is founded in nature and discernible in every government of men. Edipus artiving in a strange country, asks τίς λόγω τε καὶ σθένει κεατεῖ; who possesses the moral and physical force, or authority and strength ?† Catching at certain expressions, and misinterpreting deeds of meekness, you complain that the civil power was under the dominion of the clergy! où & ταῦτ' ἀνεμώλια βάζεις. For have not other men a right to reply that you only want it to be under the dominion of your philosophy? Since in one sense the civil power must, of necessity, be always under the dominion of the spiritual, so that the only question is, ought it to be for or against the Church of Christ, under the dominion of truth or of error? The distinction of the two powers has been always invariably maintained by the tradition of the Church, although as Catholics in relation to Catholic states, it was impossible to believe them reciprocally independent, since the divine law was comprized in the spiritual order. In the middle ages there were no concordats to regulate the connection of the two powers, because God then reigned over man, and religion over law. Still less were there any constitutions like that proposed for Poland, by the Abbé de Mably, in which the authority of Rome was to be wholly rejected. The lessons given to princes were the necessary result of their professing the Christian religion. It will be well to take examples in proof of the sentiments of the age, though it must be understood that the occasions which gave rise to them, were, after all, remarkable as presenting exceptions to the general spirit of meek obedience which was evinced towards the pasters of the Church. The possibility of a collision between the two powers was apparent from the first ages. When the Emperor Constantius wished to ordain something connected with religion by his authority, the legate who presided at the Council of Nice, wrote to him as follows:-"Do not meddle with ecclesiastical matters, lest you prescribe precepts to those from whom you should rather learn; to you hath God given empire, to us he hath entrusted the things of the Church, and as he who should deprive you of empire would resist the ordinance of God, so fear lest by arrogating ecclesiastical power, you should be guilty of a great crime. It is neither lawful for us to govern the earth, nor for you to touch the censer." The laws of Justinian prescribed certain rules respecting ordination, but no attention was paid to them, and in some instances contemporary councils established a contrary usage. | Theodosius the younger, in his Epistle to the Synod of Ephesus, informed the fathers that he had sent to them Candidianus, but with express orders that he should take no part whatever in their controversies, "for it would be most atrocious," he added, "if one who is not inscribed in the catalogue of most holy bishops should meddle with ecclesiastical consultations." So that the princes who were present at councils attended only to protect the peace and freedom of the assembly. When the Emperor Maurice proposed a law forbidding soldiers to profess a monastic life, and wrote to Gregory the Great to publish it, the Pope replied, "I indeed, subject to the com-

<sup>\*</sup> Epist, Ixxiv. † Œdip. Col. 68. ‡ Apud S. Athanas. Epist. ad Solitar, Chardon, Hist, des Sacremens, tom, v. c. 5.

mand, have caused the law to be transmitted to different parts of the earth, and because the law itself does not agree with what we owe to Almighty God, behold, in an Epistle I have declared so. 'Utrobique ergo quod debui exsolvi, qui et imperatori obedientiam præbui, et pro Deo quod sensi minime tacui.'" Vincent, of Beauvais, says, "that they who make iniquitous laws, or statutes contrary to the law of God, and to ecclesiastical liberty, as many princes and counts are accustomed to do, 'ipso jure,' the laws are invalid, for no law can avail against God."\* When St. Hilary found that the Emperor Constance was resolved to attack even the faith of the Catholic Church, he wrote no more to him, but against him; "the time for speaking is arrived, the time of silence is passed. Let us raise our eyes towards the Christ, for here the Anti-Christ reigns. The pastors ought to make their voice be heard for the mercenaries have taken flight. We contend against an enemy who seeks to deceive us, against a persecutor who caresses us: he does not deprive us of life, but he enriches us in order to drive us to eternal death: he does not grant us the liberty of a prison, but he honours us with the servitude of palaces: he does not kill with iron but with gold: he professes Christ to deny him; he desires union that there may be no peace; he honours priests that they may cease to be bishops; he builds churches and he destroys faith." Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who enjoyed such favour at the court of Charles-le-Chauve, shewed no less apostolic courage, in his treatise on the Divorce between Lothaire and Teutberge. "Some sages affirm, that this prince being king, is not subject to the laws or judgment of any one exept God alone who has made him king, so that whatever he may do, he ought not to be excommunicated by bishops. Such language is not Christian and Catholic; it is full of blasphemy. The authority of the apostle says, that kings ought to be subject to those whom it institutes in the name of the Lord, who are to take care of their souls. When it is said that the king is not subject to the laws or judgment of any one but to God alone, this is true if he be king in deed as well as in name: he is called king because he governs. If then he govern himself according to the will of God, directing the good in the right way, and correcting the wicked to lead them back from the evil way to the good, then he is king, and subject to the judgment of no one but God-for laws are instituted not against the just, but against the unjust; but if he be an adulterer, a homicide, unjust, a plunderer, then he ought to be judged secretly or in public by the bishops." Louis III. in the year 881, interfered with a canonical election, Hincmar wrote to him as follows: "As for your reply, that you will do nothing but what you have done already, be assured that then God will perform what pleases him. The emperor Louis le Debonnaire did not live as long as his father Charles; King Charles the Bald your grandfather, did not live as long as his father; your father Louis, did not live as long as his father; and while you are living amidst all this pomp at

<sup>\*</sup> Speculum Doctrinale, lib. x. c. lxxxvii.

<sup>†</sup> Hincmar, Op. de Divort. Loth. tom. i. p. 693.

<sup>†</sup> The allusion, in this particular instance, was not just, for Louis the Pious renounced the right of interference with elections, and restored liberty to the Church, but his immediate successors deserved all the reproach of Hinemar. Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. v. c. vii.

Compeigne, cast your eyes on the spot where your father rests; and if you do not know it, ask where did your grandfather die, and where lies he: and let not your heart be lifted up before the face of Him who died for you and for us all, and who afterwards rose again and who now dieth no more. Be assured that you will die, and you do not know what day or what hour; you have need then like us all to be ever ready for the call of our Lord-you will soon pass; but the holy Church with its chiefs under Christ, and according to his promise, will remain for ever." This solemn argument of Hincmar was repeated so late as in 1576, by the canons of the states of Blois when they demanded their ancient liberty of elections. They observed that the Carlovingian race had been of short duration, from having arrogated the right of disposing of ecclesiastical offices, while the Capetian, which from its origin, and after the example of its founder, had habitually respected their independence, had reigned for more than five centuries. In fact, Hugues Capet, on his coronation, abdicated the dignity of Abbot of St. Germain and of St. Denis, with which he had been invested, and restored in all the monasteries of his dominions the freedom of election, which had been denied them for a century before. "Without doubt," exclaims John of Salisbury, "whoever oppresses ecclesiastical liberty, is punished

either in himself or in his offspring."†

St. Collectin wrote to Theodosius the younger, saying, "the cause of the faith ought to be dearer to us than that of the kingdom, and prosperity attends him who has the greatest care of things most dear to God." And St. Bernard wrote as follows to king Conrad, "whoever tries to make the cross subject to the throne, either does not love the king, or little understands what becomes the royal majesty, or seeks some interest of his own, or does not much care for the things of God and of the king." In another place St. Bernard says, "May my soul never come into the counsel of those, who say either that the peace and liberty of the churches are injurious to the empire, or that the prosperity and exaltation of the empire are an injury to the churches." "The office of the emperor," says the council of Mayence, "is only discharged when he lives in right faith, and true humility of heart, subjecting the height of royal dignity to holy religion, being more delighted to serve God in fear, than to rule over the people in fear, tempering anger with mercy, and power with benignity; being more the object of love than of dread: and always remembering, that he is a son of our holy mother church, endeavouring to promote her peace and tranquillity throughout the world: for the empire is more maintained and propagated by consulting, in every part of the earth, the interest of the ecclesiastical state, than by combating in some one part for temporal security." At the fourth council . of Toledo, king Sisenand devoutly fell at the knees of the bishops and fathers, begging with tears, that they would pray to God for him, and that they would diligently attend to the interests of the ecclesiastical discipline. \*\* It is examples of this kind which made Savedra say, that "it is an heroic obedience, which kings yield to the vicar of Him who gives

<sup>\*</sup> Op. tom. ii. p. 199. † De Nugis Curialium, vii. 20. ‡ Epist. xxiv. 243. ‡ Epist. cexliii. 

† Concil. Mogunt. sub Annulpho, c. ii. 

† Ribadeneira Princeps Christianus, i. 12.

and takes away sceptres: let kings glory as much as they please in not being subject to foreign laws, but never in being independent of apostolical decrees. It is their duty to give them vigour, and to make them be observed religiously in their states."\* In the sainted Isle of England during the ages of faith, we find the same meekness on the tongues of In 694 Wihtred, king of Kent, spoke to the council at Bapchild, and said, "I will that all the ministers and churches that were given and bequeathed to the worship of God, in the days of believing kings, my predecessors, and in the days of my relations, of king Ethelbert, and those who followed him, shall so remain to the worship of God, and stand fast for evermore. For I, Wihtred, earthly king, urged on by the Heavenly King, and with the spirit of righteousness annealed, have of our progenitors learned this, that no layman should have any right to possess himself of any church, or of any of the things that belong to the church. Kings shall appoint earls and aldermen, sheriffs and judges; but the archbishop shall consult and provide for God's flock."† We have also here the beloved authority of Alfred, for "he used to say, that the dignity of a king is real only in that case, where in the kingdom of Christ, that is, the Church, he considers himself not as a king, but merely as a simple subject, where he does not rise up proudly above the laws of the bishops, but submits with humility and obedience, to the laws of Christ as proclaimed by them." the "Princes," says the great Mabillon, "are but the first children of the Church, and should show an example of submission to her doctrines. Whenever they have attempted to usurp what belongs to her, they have only injured instead of benefiting the Church. these conciliations, invented to calm rebellious spirits, and to lead them back to unity, have authorized them in their separation and revolt; their authority has perpetuated errors whenever it desired to assume the part of leading them back to truth." We have heard the sentiments of virtuous princes, in ages of faith, and beheld their meek obedience. Their merit will appear greater as we proceed to notice the examples which were before them, of the oppression of ecclesiastical liberties, and even of systematic resistance. The middle ages were spared the desolation of beholding a king who, like the caliph of England in the sixteenth century, constituted himself the head of both temporal and spiritual power; but yet there were found some few Cæsars, who affected a way to Olympus, by persecuting the Church. At one time, it was by interfering, like the present sophists of France, with the rights of the episcopacy, in order to avail themselves of its authority, and to counteract the influence of the Christian freedom. Thus by a law of Justinian, bishops were prohibited from ordaining any colonus or rustic, without the leave of the proprietor of the land to which he belonged; § and though the clergy soon succeeded in defeating this anti-christian ordinance, and the same emperor affected to give leave to ordain rustics, even without the consent of their masters; \*\* yet the spirit of paganism was so infused into the civil governments, that it was not till a very late period in France, that the law formally sanctioned scholastic education of the sons of peasants and mechanics, or permitted them to educate a son for the Church.

<sup>\*</sup> Christian Prince, tom. i. 270.

<sup>‡</sup> Harpesfield Hist. Angl. § Cod. Just. l. i. tit. iii. l. 16.

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<sup>†</sup> The Saxon Chronicle, lix. Petit carême.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Nov. Just. cxxiii. c. 17.

At another time, it was by a systematic plan to assume an influence and a power over ecclesiastical discipline; such appeared in the conduct of the Ghibellines of Italy, and in the doctrines of the Gallicans in France. The Ghibellines were lax in faith: in this character, Ottaviano Uboldini, who used to be styled the cardinal, is even introduced by Dante: \* their chiefs were men of an iron and despotic nature. Voigt, in his history of Gregory VII. says, that in reading the Saxon histories of Henry IV. we might imagine we were reading of Nero.† The student of history must be on his guard, with respect to this subject, against the writings of unworthy ecclesiastics, who, like Otho Von Frisingen. because he was nephew to the sacrilegious emperor Henry V. took part with him against the Church, and wrote as an apologist for the Germans, and not as a Christian author. He must be apprised also, that there were some who were meek and holy men, like Ives of Chartres, who yet did not rightly estimate the importance of the debate between the pontiffs and the empire, respecting investitures; and who did not generously feel for Holy Church, in her combat for freedom. This was not strange, since owing to the providence of God, the first German emperors exercised the power of investiture with great piety. Germany had most holy bishops under Conrad I., Henry the Fowler, the three Othos, Conrad II., and his son Henry the Black. No sooner did Henry IV. rise up, than God opposed to him his intrepid servant Gregory, who undertook not only to prevent the present sacrilege of this wicked emperor, but to abolish for ever the principle of the danger. Frederick Schlegel points out the iron character of the Ghibellines, so fearfully displayed by Henry VI. in Naples, the bloodthirsty Ezzelin in Lombardy. and even the emperor Frederick II.t The same character, in a greater or less degree, belonged also in France to the men, who, under the name of Gallicans, were disposed to look with an eye of jealousy upon the supremacy of Rome; and in every country, and in all ages, it has distinguished that class of reasoners, who were for governing solely by the civil authority; that is, by human principles, without the intervention of the Church, and what is superhuman. The violence of the clergy of Paris, during the league, must be ascribed to the Gallican principles adopted by the university at that period. But every where such men are marked by the same hard severity of principles, the same insensibility to any mercy which would plead in opposition to a general law: like that veteran described by Tasso, of whom he says, when it is proposed to punish Rinaldo with death,

Old Raymond praised his speech, for such men think They ever wisest seem when most severe:—
There must the rule to all disorders sink,
Where pardons, more than punishments appear;
For feeble is each kingdom, frail and weak,
Unless its basis be this fear.

Every where they shew the same disposition to exult in the execution of their legislative enactments, despising the unseen power of truth and sanctity, and even addressing the Holy Church in words like those of Kopreus to the suppliant Heraclidæ:

<sup>\*</sup> Hell, x. 121. Book v. 39.

ου γάς τις έστιν, δε πάςοιθ' αιζήσεται την σην άχζειον δύναμιν άντ' Ευςυσθέως.\*

Every where also they indicate the same laxity in faith, whatever may be the vehemence of their professions; though it may resemble the zeal of those who trust the fond belief on every occasion,

That heaven Will truck its armour for the lilied shield; †

for they are the ready advocates of that modern wisdom, which discards all consideration of religion in its schemes of policy, and is the last to sympathize with the sufferings of a people who are oppressed by the enemies of their religion. In opposition to the Ghibellines and the Gallicans, the spirit of the Church is now acknowledged by all historians to have been favourable to the freedom and happiness of mankind. Even Machiavel is forced to observe continually, throughout his history of Florence, that the party for the Church was regarded as the maintenance of the public liberty. On this point, our English writers, who, alas! are still the contemporaries of Cranmer, are left alone; their continental brethren having completely abandoned their favourite positions. All are passed to the side of that Fenelon who wept over the old institutions of his country, and who recognised in the Holy See, the eternal defender of the charters of the middle age, and of the genuine liberty of nations.

In the memorable debate concerning investitures, the grand object of Gregory VII. was to behold the Church free, and the victory of the things of God over those of man. The character of this illustrious pontiff breathes all the energy and self-devotedness of the ages of faith. He alone felt sorrow on being invested with the supreme authority; "Our promotion," said he, "which administers to you and to the rest of the faithful, a pious and joyful expectation, produces in us the bitterness of internal grief, and the pressure of too much anxiety."‡ In his epistle to all the Germans, he expressed himself as follows, "to this end we feel ourselves ordained and placed in the apostolic seat, that in this life we should seek not our own, but the things of Jesus Christ, that by many labours following the footsteps of the fathers, we may pass with the merciful aid of God to the future and eternal quiet." What a noble testimony was he able to bear to himself, when he said, in allusion to the emperor Henry IV., "Never, by any prayers or manifestations of friendship or of enmity, could he obtain from us the consent to say or think any thing for his sake, contrary to justice. In this course, by the help of God, we will constantly persist so long as we shall live, not daunted by any peril of life or death." In France, the usurpation of the monarchs was often resisted by the meek men of God. In the eleventh century, when St. Gaultier, Abbot of St. Martin, at Pontoise, was installed Abbot, king Philip being present, wished to deliver to him the cross with his own hand: St. Gaultier took it, but laid hold of it at a part above the king's hand, saying, "Non à te sed de sursum." I take this charge, not from you, Sire, but from God. It was said that this action of the holy man filled all the lords of the court,

<sup>\*</sup> Eurip. Heraclid. Epist. iv. 24.

<sup>†</sup> Dante, Par. vi. § Epist, v. 7.

<sup>‡</sup> Epist. i. 39.

and even the king himself, with admiration. The holy man, however, it must be observed, had only a king of nine years old to deal with. The history of this controversy abounds with scenes of the highest interest, and of the utmost sublimity. Let us view for a moment these Roman pontiffs, in the presence, as it were, of the barbarous and raging kings of the earth. Such an occasion was presented at Chalons, when the ambassadors of the emperor came there to treat with Pope Paschal II. The inhabitants were filled with terror at the sight of this procession of martial troops, escorting the duke of Bavaria, before whom a naked sword was carried. He was a man of gigantic stature, and had a voice which made men tremble when he spoke. His nobles and attendants had so fierce a countenance, and bore themselves with such haughtiness, creating such a noise and confusion, that one would have thought they were going to give battle to some formidable enemy, and not to kiss the feet of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. 'The holy father replied to them with firmness, and in a strain of the most affecting piety; but when he had concluded, the barbarous Germans became furious, and proceeded even to address insulting words to the pontiff: but feeling that their party would not be the strongest in France, they withdrew crying out, "Non hic sed Romæ gladiis determinabitur querela." A more remarkable scene followed in the very church of St. Peter, at Rome, when the emperor came there to be crowned, upon a mutual understanding with the pope, that the emperor was to relinquish his custom of investiture, and the bishops of Germany to abandon their dukedoms, marquisites, and other principalities; a proposition originating with the emperor, and eagerly approved of by the pope; but which the emperor had kept secret from his German nobles, hoping to gain all their possessions in exchange for the abandonment of a form. The emperor, after kissing the pope's feet, who received him at the portal, was seated under a royal canopy near the altar, and the pope began the mass. Having finished the offertory, at the moment when the ceremony of the coronation was to commence, he turned to the emperor, and asked him aloud whether he was resolved to observe the treaty that had been agreed to; and if so, he begged that he would then declare his resolution pub-The emperor, who did not expect this, appeared a little confused; but resuming his presence of mind, he rose from his seat, and said he was ready to do so, provided the prelates of Germany consented; but he must first confer with them: and accordingly, for this purpose, he withdrew into the sacristy. The result was soon known, for the Germans became furious at the first intimation of the case in agitation, and all returned into the church with great noise and tumult, declaring that they would never part with the possessions which former emperors had given to their churches. In vain did the pope attempt to appease them, by reminding them of the true glory of the Church, which was independent of such privileges. At length a gigantic warrior advanced with a fierce countenance, and addressed the pope with haughty insolence, saying, that it was for him to crown their emperor, as his predecessors had done those who were before emperors, and to make no innovations. The pope seeing himself thus treated at the foot of the altar of his church, spoke as sovereign pontiff, and said that he would never cowardly betray the interests of the Church; and then he rose up

from his chair and advanced to the altar, without proceeding to the coronation, to finish the mass. The emperor greatly irritated, called out from his seat to the pope to crown him; but there was no reply or notice taken of his words. Then making a sign to his guards, they approached and surrounded the altar. The pope perceived their intention, but evinced no fear; and finished the mass with a tranquillity and presence of mind truly admirable. No sooner had he descended to withdraw, than the emperor's guards arrested him, as well as many cardinals and bishops, a great number of priests, clerks, officers, and gentlemen who had served in different functions at the altar. In an instant a fearful noise filled the whole church. The people began to cry out on all sides, "they are taking the life of the holy father!" The German soldiers drew their swords, and fell right and left upon the helpless multitude, who fled to the door, where numbers were suffocated and massacred. As the guards were dragging the pope and cardinals to a secure place near the emperor's quarters, one only of the German nobles had courage enough to speak in behalf of justice and piety. This was Conrad, Archbishop of Salzburg.

> Among innumerable false, unmoved, Unshaken, unseduced, unterrify'd, His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal.

Filled with horror on beholding the pope dragged along like a criminal. he could not keep silence, but expressed his detestation, before all the world, of such an enormous act, saying, in the ardour of his zeal, all that piety could inspire him with, unmoved by the fear of instant death, with which they threatened him; for a German nobleman advanced with a drawn sword, and swore that he would strike him on the spot, if he continued to speak; but the generous bishop offered him his throat, saying, "Strike if you will, let me perish rather than give room only by my silence, for any one to suppose that I approved of such an infamous action." Historians remark that St. Athanasius did not suffer more from the Arians than did this archbishop afterwards from Henry V. In vain did the German writers endeavour to excuse the emperor: all Europe was inflamed with indignation. The escapes and sufferings in the same cause of the holy Pontiff Gelasius II. who succeeded him, would occupy too long a space, but I cannot refrain from mentioning one event. After landing at Caïeta, for he was obliged to fly from Rome in consequence of the emperor's furious return in search of him, the night being wet and tempestuous, and the castle of Ardea where he was to take refuge being two leagues distant from the spot, the venerable old man not having sufficient strength to walk, and there being no horses, the Cardinal Hugo d'Alatre, who had saved him the preceding night from the hands of the emperor, now performed an action deserving of eternal praise: for taking him upon his shoulders he carried him the entire way, and arrived in safety at midnight with his precious burden. The conception of these scenes fills us with horror as we read of them in history: how must they have affected the minds of men in ages of faith! Five centuries have not obliterated the memory among the faithful of that blow given to Boniface VIII. by the hand of a Colonna, and for five centuries have they recognised in the sterility of his vast domains the vengeance

of Almighty God. Gelasius II. met his holy death in the monastery of Cluni. The multitude of monks and devout people who flocked to his funeral was almost infinite: they sought to honour the obsequies of a martyr, for in this light he was regarded, since his whole pontificate. which had lasted but a year and four days, was a continued persecution, during which, like St. Paul, he might have reckoned chains, prisons, stripes, wounds, exile, perils by land and by sea, treasons, and false brothren. In France the opposition was more systematic, but attended with less violence. The establishment of the pragmatic sanction, which the Popes had never recognised, constituted the clergy of France almost theoretically in a kind of rebellion against the holy See. This was formally abolished in the reign of Francis I. by the concordat with Leo X .. though the parliament and university were both violent in opposition to The theories of Gerson Almain, Jean Major, and their disciples. began to produce their fruit in the rise of the Quesnellists and Jansenists, the end of whose principles was so clearly pointed out by Fenelon. When the kings of Europe became alarmed, and began to take violent measures against the new spirit of resistance to authority, they were only reaping what they had sowed, for since two centuries they had, as it were, been conspiring against the only power which could protect them from it. While Francis I. was exercising such severity against the Protestants in France he was courting the friendship of the Protestant powers abroad, and making common cause with them; he was intimately allied with Geneva, with the eighth Henry, with the Protestant princes of Germany, and with Turkey. Charles V. finding it for his advantage that the religious disputes should cease, published the famous interim in which he made concessions that violated the rights of the holy See. Henry II. while he persecuted the Protestants in France as opposed to his crown, refused to receive the decrees of the Council of Trent with respect to discipline. Thus began the development of that artful and criminal policy carried to such perfection by Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, and ratified in the peace of Westphalia, which separating its interests from that of religion, finished, as de St. Victor says, by persuading the people that religion itself was only a matter of policy.\* What greater contempt for religion could revolutionary agents evince than had been displayed by the government of that brave Henry, on occasion of Jean Chatel, when the Père Guignard was tortured and put to death? Did Julian ever publish a more cruel decree against the Church than that of her eldest son, which closed the nine colleges of studious youth, and said to her in words that seemed like mockery, "thou needest labourers, but more thou shalt not have?" The conduct of that Louis, whose end was glory towards the holy father, relative to the sanctuary in the hotel of his ambassador, was as dangerous as it was mean and impious. "What a triumph," cries de St. Victor, "for a king of France, to prove himself more powerful than the Pope as a temporal prince, and in this respect to make no difference between him and the Dey of Algiers, or the republic of Holland." Louis, who pushed his conquests to the Rhine, after humbling the temporal princes of Christendom, resolved with the instinct of despotism, to attack freedom itself in

<sup>\*</sup> Tableau de Paris, tom. xi. p. 1070.

the pontifical dignity: and for this purpose, his flatterers stirred up the affair of the régale. The avocat-general on this occasion pronounced a discourse worthy of Cromwell, and the parliament that gave to the will of the eighth Henry the force of law. This was the moment when the dragonades were exercised upon the Calvinists, and when it was resolved to revoke the edict of Nantes. Le Pere la Chaise, Jesuit and confessor of the king, opposed this latter measure as far as he was able, and it is certain that in so doing he spoke the sentiments of the Pope. The fatal articles issued from the cabinet of the surintendant solely in consequence of the personal pique of the great king, because the holy father had not thought proper to cringe to all his wishes. Bossuet himself confesses that this was the origin of these famous articles, the basis of the Gallican liberties. Louis nourished from infancy according to the modern system, concluded that he had at length brought the monarchal government to its perfection in himself. "The state is myself," said he, and this political egotism proved that his views were narrow, and that he had but imperfecily understood society as it had been formed by the Catholic religion in ages of faith. The power of Christianity emanating from God, has two principal characteristics—it is universal and independent, for God cannot have two laws or two wills. It is the universality of this law, its independence, and its continual action upon intelligences, which constituted the wonderful social state called Christendom. therefore, as an universal ruler has precepts equally obligatory on those who govern, as on those who are governed; kings and subjects live equally in its dependence and unity, and it would be a blasphemy to suppose that there could be any thing in the world independent of God. Louis, as if he had expected to reign for ever, had sacrificed the authority of the Church to the establishment of his despotism, and he died leaving his power isolated amidst all the natural resistances of society. popular opposition gained strength under the regency, and continued to extend till the last explosion; but the agents of the revolution were not more impious in violence against the authority of the Church than the parliaments had been in 1749, on occasion of the refusal of the sacraments, and in 1754, under the succeeding Louis. Choiseul, of haughty and imperious soul, was as great an enemy to the holy See as the worst minister of Elizabeth, and it was at length reserved to the calamitous times which preceded the fall of empires to behold in the person of a German Cæsar, the chief of the conspirators against the spiritual authority. This imperial minister of a base philosophy, who shewed, perhaps, the smallest portion of sense of all the wretched men who ever bore a sceptre, descended into his grave unloved, unpitied, unrespected by his own impious advisers, and summoned as if by one voice from the brave and generous people over whom he had arrogated the spiritual authority to account for their injuries before God.

But let us hasten to more noble recollections. What a lesson has been conveyed in the history of later times to prove that neither kings nor subjects can be independent, and that the meekness of the ages of faith was after all the wisest and safest policy for them both. In France the opposition which came from kind heaven was crushed amidst shouts of victory, and at the same moment began this other opposition which comes from the cruel earth, and supplies its place. Delivered indeed

from the sovereignty of Him who said that his yoke was easy and his burden light, these independent kings soon found themselves in face of the sovereignty of the people, that is to say, of a master "whose voke breaks crowns, and who at his pleasure makes them pass from the throne to the scaffold."\* One argument of those who condemn the doctrine of the ages of faith is, that "the condition of a Christian and a Catholic prince, was then worse than that of a heathen, for he has God alone supreme, but the other had the chief pontiff." Such an argument methinks is enough to make subjects reflect rather upon the real dangers to which they are exposed, than upon those that are imaginary and things of air. Let us hope that the cry of the Jewish Deicides may be no longer that of any people professing to be Christian-"non habemus Regem nisi Cæsarem;" let us hope that none may any longer rush like willing slaves to give execution to the will of some remorseless despot, in order that they may trample on the sweet and gentle yoke of Christ. And if again we look to the character of the popular power when it aspired to independence, and rejected the spiritual authority, is not the same lesson taught in terms irresistible? For who that has studied the history of its assemblies, and that has assisted at its councils, and will not be forcibly reminded of them when he hears the poet sing of the first deliberations of those spirits that highly raged against the highest, hurling defiance towards the vault of heaven? Is it a calumnious comparison, and does history bear no witness to obdurate pride and steadfast hate? Does it record nothing of the fixed mind and high disdain, the unconquerable will and study of revenge? Nothing of immortal hate and courage never to submit or yield? Tells it of no cries like "here at least we shall be free?" Of no orators who uttered "high words that bore semblance of worth not substance?" Of no countenances like that described "cruel his eye, care sat on his faded cheek, but under brows of dauntless courage and considerate pride?" Of no arguments to ridicule the power of him who reigns only "upheld by old repute, consent or custom?" Of no counsels like those "who can think submission?" Let us live to ourselves free and to none accountable, preferring "hard liberty before the easy voke of servile pomp?" The combat sung by Milton is stated by the prince opposed to angels to be "the contest between servility and freedom;" and are we to fall down in admiration at the feeble parody of still vainer mortals, because it bore no less high a title? If then so fearful a comparison be justified by the evidence of history, was such a power, we may ask, likely to legislate for the advantage of mankind? Could its influence tend to promote a freedom consistent with justice? I have not considered these liberties in relation to the interests of the Church itself, because the delusion attempted to be practised on this point is so egregious that one would feel it a needless indignity to enter upon its refutation. The sophist in Plato who thinks he can be pious while he prosecutes his own father, and affirms that piety or holiness, being only a part of justice, is confined to the worship of God in temples, and that the rest concerned with the conduct of life belongs to another sphere,

Documens Historiques concernant la Compagnie de Jesu, 19.
 La Hogue de Ecclesia, 257.

this sophist reasons like the moderns.\* But Socrates cuts him short by requesting to know what he means by the worship of the gods, whether like the art of dressing horses or dogs as discharged by the groom or the huntsman, it is the knowledge of exercising a certain service to the gods which confers a benefit upon them? The prince or sophist imbued with these principles, would also speak eloquently upon piety; he too would have temples and solemn psalmody, but it would be only a contrivance to save appearances in banishing God from the society of men. We have seen the steps of this famous process, and from henceforth nothing can be less uncertain than the motive which actuates it; first, religion must be separated from government; then it must be separated from literature, according to the Callican advice of Boileau; then it must be excluded from the manners of life; the laity must leave it to the clergy, the clergy to the Jesui's, and finally the Jesuits are to be driven from the earth as opposed to the reign of liberties and legal order. "The liberties of the Gallican church," says Fenelon, "are real servitudes." Even Fleury acknowledged that they would furnish ample matter for a treatise upon servitude. These liberties agreed equally well with the views of Louis XIV.; of the jacobins of the first revolution; of Buonaparte; and of the present sophists, who are endeavouring to rule France exclusively in the interest of their own club at the selfish and unstable city. The real liberty of the Church opposed to these inventions is of faith, and all servitude is heretical by its essence. I By liberties is meant the subjection of the Church to the will of despots or of sophists who legislate against God. Church abhors such liberty, and considers its freedom to consist in being under the dominion of those rulers who are placed over it by Christ. In this sense the word which is engraven on the walls of the cathedral of Sienna might belong as the rightful motto to every consecrated spot that acknowledges the Roman Pontiff, Libertas. This is a liberty which is favourable and not contrary to all just and rational civil freedom. Historians admit that down to the fifth century, while the principle of authority prevailed, the utmost liberty and activity reigned in the Church of Gaul, while the civil society was in a state of slavery and decay. Revolted governments decree and even oblige men to swear contrary to a matter of fact, when they affirm blindly that the Roman Pontiff "hath no jurisdiction within their realms." The power of the vicar of Christ extends necessarily wherever there are any Catholic Christians, to the palaces of emperors and kings, to the castles of nobility, to the towers of knights, to the houses of bishops, to the chambers of the poorest clerk, to the halls of the college, to the cell of the recluse, to the shop of the mechanic, to the hut of the shepherd. Long and uninterruptedly has it been adored in lands where human legislators, in the pride of their collective wisdom, decreed that it had past away for ever-loved has it been, and submitted to with filial meekness by succeeding generations,

Who for the testimony of truth have borne Universal reproach, far worse to bear

<sup>\*</sup> Ethyphro. ‡ Mémorial Catholique, tom. i. p. 164. Vol. I.—25

<sup>†</sup> Epit. cxxv. au Duc de Chevreux. Guizot Cours. d'Hist.

Than violence; for that was all their care,
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged them perverse.

One word more to those who are jealous of the exercise of the spiritual power. The wisdom of the ancient world, as expressed by some of the sages who collected the traditions of the human race, and the sense of the universal reason, may often cause to blush men who fall far short of it, though under the light of that heavenly revelation which has purified those traditions, and given security and permanence to that sense. Socrates concludes a discourse on government with these words ;- "I say then this, expecting indeed opposition, but nevertheless I say it, compelled by truth, that neither a city nor a state, nor a man, can ever be perfect, until to these few real lovers of wisdom who are not evil men though they are called useless, a certain necessity from fortune should fall, that whether they wish it or not, they may take the management of the state, and that the people of the state may be subject to them, or else until to the sons of those kings who at present exercise the sovereign power in states, or to those kings themselves should fall the true love of the true philosophy from a certain inspiration of God.\* Until then the love of wisdom and political power shall be united in the same men, there can be no cessation of evils to a state, nor, I think, to the human race; nor can a perfect republic be born under any other circumstances, or see the light of the sun."† Does not this celebrated sentence of the Homer of philosophers, seem almost like a prophetic vision of what afterwards did actually occur during the ages of faith, when a certain necessity from God did fall upon the true lovers of wisdom, obliging them against their wills to take the management of states, and when to kings themselves did fall the true love of the true wisdom from a certain inspiration of God? "I do not say that this is impossible," to resume the discourse of Socrates, "for if so we should deservedly be objects of ridicule as saying vain things resembling vows. It is not impossible that this should be, though it must be confessed we speak of things most difficult; and if such a necessity shall hereafter fall upon them in any barbarous region far removed from our view, it will then be easy to shew that this perfect state can exist, when that Muse shall become mistress of the city." A state of perfect order. and exemption from evil, is incompatible with the existence of a race of creatures who are placed upon earth as upon a stage of combat, to make proof of fidelity to their Maker: the supposition that such a state would result from the circumstances demanded, is only a proof that the sage who had indulged in it, had never understood the real nature of their difficulties, nor the true end of their existence; but his speculation is still a sublime and magnificent testimony to the wisdom of that spiritual government which had so wide an influence in the ages of faith, and the facts of history which shew a cessation of so many evils, and of so much misery in states, and to the human race resulting from it, prove, far beyond what he had ever any reason to expect, the extent of its moral advantages,

<sup>\*</sup> Plato de Repub. vi. 138.

## CHAPTER IV.

From the spiritual let us pass to the temporal government of these ages, and view it with regard to the principles of the meek. Church as we have seen all was obedience and liberty. Hence a twofold influence was exercised by the clergy; for while they consoled the lower ranks by their doctrines of independence and evangelical equality, they gave strength to rulers by their principles of subordination; their language might have seemed contradictory without being the less sincere. As a French writer observes, "the priest was near the sovereign to remind him of the equal rights of the children of Adam, and the preference which the Redeemer granted to the poor; and this same priest was near the people to preach submission, and to induce them for conscience' sake to render to Cæsar what belonged to Cæsar." Religion in these ages, as Bonald observes, "placed as the foundation of the public laws of every Christian people, active obedience for good and passive resistance to evil, whereas the modern doctrines inculcate passive obedience and active resistance, and place man perpetually between slavery and rebellion."\* St. Thomas says, "that wisdom and power are companions of true religion." Christianity sanctioned the possession and exercise of power, the necessity of which is so obvious to reason, for

> Whose upon himself will take the skill True justice unto people to divide, Had need have mightie hands for to fulfil, That which he doth with righteous doom decide, 'And for to maister wrong and puissant pride.'t

It is an axiom of political science, that when a general power does not exist, every one attempts to establish his own particular power, in which event excess of liberty, as Plato says, will always lead to servitude: ‡ for the doing any thing over-much is sure to produce the contrary effect, in times, and in plants, and in bodies, and in political states no less, and therefore a tyranny both private and public results always from an excess of liberty. But religion did not, according to the theory of Bentham, recognize, in policy, an authority superior to all others, which does not receive the law, but which gives it, remaining mistress of the rules themselves; a maxim which Bonald justly denominates false, servile, and abject: but it declared in the language of Bossuet, that the most absolute power is regulated by fundamental laws, against which, whatever is done, is null of itself. Among the nations that worshipped Christ, in ages of faith, it would not have been thought a subject of praise to resemble that "free people" in Æschylus, of whom Pelasgus says to the supplicants, that they "love to tax authority with blame." Still less would it have been deemed wise to encourage them to do so. authority of Paschal is here against the modern sophists; "all the opinions of the people," he says, "are very sound, yet they are not in their heads, because they believe that truth is where it is not. Truth is, in-

<sup>\*</sup> Législation Prim. 108. Plato de Repub. viii.

deed, in their opinions; but not in the point where they imagine it to be: it is their sentiments, their feelings which are sound and true. Their folly is made the foundation of the security of states and thrones; for kings and magistrates are strong only in the opinion which they raise by external marks of power. The greatest and most important thing in the world, has thus for its foundation, weakness; and this foundation is admirably sure; for there is nothing surer than that the people will be weak: what is founded on reason alone, is very ill founded, as the esteem of wisdom."\* It is a mistake to suppose that the wise and heroic ancients placed any moral dignity in the spirit of resistance to just authority. Epictetus says, that it is decorous to yield obedience to a ruler. The preference of all the followers of Socrates for the state of Sparta, is well known, not from the supposition that all forms of government were united in its constitution, but because as Müller says, "the animating soul of all these forms was the Doric spirit of fear and respect for ancient and established laws, and the judgment of elder men; the spirit of obedience towards the state and the constituted authorities, medaexia, and the conviction that discipline and a restriction of actions are surer guides to safety, than a superabundance of strength and activity directed to no certain end. We moderns," says Miller, "on account of our preconceived notions with respect to the advancement of civilization, do not read, without partiality, the lessons which history affords us: we refuse to recognize the most profound political wisdom in an age, which we believe to have been occupied in rude attempts to form a settled government. Far otherwise the political speculators of antiquity, such as the Pythagoreans, and Plato, who considered the Spartan and Cretan form of government, i. e. the ancient Dorian, as a general model of all governments; whereas the Athenian and Ionic democracy, Plato altogether despises as an annihilation of government, rather than a government, in which every person striving to act as much as possible for himself, destroyed the unison and harmony of the whole." Nothing is more celebrated than the loyalty of the middle ages, which was an obedience of the heart. Their history derives from it a brilliant page which is familiar to all who have been trained to gentle studies. While attacked, like every other principle of good, by cold and bitter sophistry, this characteristic of ancient manners, has generally been admired by modern writers of genius. The loyal attachment of Tasso to the duke of Ferrara, has been represented in glowing terms by Goëthe, and made the occasion of delivering a formal eulogium upon the virtue of chivalrous fidelity.

The Church lent her sanction to the spirit of obedience towards the prince or government of the state, and by her daily prayers admonished the people that submission was a religious duty, and at the same time, she took occasion to teach important lessons, both to people and to kings. St. Paul, that true apostle of the nations, since he teaches the science of society, commanded that especial prayer should be made for kings, and for all who are placed in authority; and St. Augustin supplied this comment, "because they are at a greater distance from Christian humil-

<sup>\*</sup> Pensées, i. part viii. † Sententiæ. Torquato Tasso, by Goëthe.

<sup>#</sup> Hist. of the Dorians, vol. iii. 9.

ity, by reason of the pomp and pride of their estate;" and, therefore, the apostle adding that it is well before God our Saviour, to pray for such men, concludes thus, "In order that no one may despair before our God, who wishes the salvation of all men; and that truth may come to the knowledge of all; who wishes to exclude no rank, but who chooses whom he pleaseth in all classes of society, indifferently."\* No inference was to be drawn from her prayers, with respect to the justice or injustice of the princes who governed. Following the apostolic precept, she offered constant prayers for the safety of the civil rulers, though these might be heathens, in order that there might be even a temporal peace for her children. "As long as the two cities are confounded together here below," says the venerable Bede, "the peace of Babylon is also our peace. The people of God are enfranchised from the domination of the profane city, only on condition of finishing this pilgrimage within its walls, and the goods of this world are common to the just and to the wicked." "The Church," says the angelic doctor, "has a peace peculiar to herself, a peace which cannot be communicated to the impious; but besides this peace, there is another, common to the just and to sinners, and the Church has also need of this peace." The decree of the second session of the Council of Trent, assigns for the motive of ordering prayers for kings, "the tranquillity of the Church, its peace, and the augmentation of the faith." So when the Roman Church implores heaven for the person of the emperor, it is in order "that the enemies of peace being put down, Christian liberty may offer to God, in security, the glory which he demands from it." When, at another time, she desires that principalities and powers may recognize her divine authority, it is in order that her children may accomplish in peace the work of their salvation. If she prays to be delivered from obstacles that might retard her course, it is that being disengaged from all bonds, she may fulfil with liberty the divine will.\*\* If she prays for spiritual blessings, she no less demands temporal aid, in order that her children may be delivered from the perils of this life?'th

It should be observed, that in these ages, all persons in authority were regarded with real respect, by those above them, as well as by their inferiors. Even in the persons of men, objects of veneration were multiplied. The mayor of a little town was not looked upon differently by the great and by the poor. Indeed, in France, royal power became jealous of the dignity, so that there was no mayor of Paris, Lyons, or Toulouse. On the election of these magistrates, grand entertainments used to be given, as also when they returned from an annual pilgrimage or procession. The sheriffs of the municipalities used to be addressed with "Monseigneur." Society was then inexhaustible in supplying men to exercise these municipal authorities, who were truly respectable, like those citizens of the Flemish towns who came to Paris, of whom Victor Hugo says, "personages who all bore written on their countenances, that Maximilian of Austria had reason, as he said, 'de se confier à plein en leurs sens, vaillance, expérience, loyaultez, et bonnes

<sup>\*</sup> Enchirid. cap. xxiv.

<sup>‡</sup> Commentar. in Epist. i. ad Tim. § Orat. fer. vi. in parasceve.

<sup>†</sup> Interpret. in Epist. i. ad Tim. Missale Rom. Orat. pro Imperat.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Orat. Dom. xix. post Pent.

<sup>††</sup> Orat. fer. vi. post. Dom. iv. quadr. Dom. xxiii. post. Pent.

preudomies." "The reverence or contempt shewn to magistrates," says John of Salisbury, "passes to the honour or reproach of subjects; hence it is that in the constitutions of princes and edicts of magistrates, by a prolepsis, there is a conception of many persons, that it may seem to be not so much the constitution of one person as of the whole community."\* In ages of faith, there was less reason to complain in the words of Tacitus, that all things were done servilely for the sake of rule. Religion taught men that the office of all social ministry was a service, according to the divine word "Let him that would be the greatest among men become their servant." "Sublime words," adds Bonald, "which. passed into all Christian languages, when the highest civil functions were denominated always a service." The emperor Charles says, in a letter to Petrarch, "you know not the burden of empire: we who are charged with it feel this truth. It is love for mankind alone that can surmount the difficulties of government." King Charles VII. would have preferred being a private knight, a Dunois, a Poton, a La Hire, or a Xaintrailles. "Every thing," says Bonald, "concurs to prove that in the middle ages, there were only public functions, no titles purely personal, functions to maintain the welfare of society, and no titles to amuse the vanity and self-love of individuals. Those personal titles which indicate weakness of soul, were unknown to the Sieurs de Joinville, Duguesclin, Clisson, and Bayard, who were only distinguished in private life, by the religious denomination given to them in baptism, and in public life by the political denomination of the office they discharged. When the person became distinguished to the ear by a pompous title, he wished to be distinguished also to the eye by exterior marks, not by the habits belonging to public functions which commanded respect, because they announced a duty, but by ribands and medallions, pure decorations of the person, which wound the sentiments of men, because they have no relation to any duty, and arise from no social motive."; Men would then have shrunk from a dignity which would not have had a just foundation. It is in the spirit of those ages, that the poet cries,

> The scorne of knighthood and trew chivalrye, To thinke without desert of gentle deed And noble worth, to be advanced hye, Such prayse is shame:

Plato well describes the insane ardour of wicked men, who desire by all means possible to get hold of the helm of the government in a state, being convinced that the getting possession of it and the attaining to the art necessary to manage it, are incompatible, and that the essential thing is to get possession of it; and being full of disdain and anger for all who endeavour to teach that the art is necessary, and that it may be acquired by learning. "In that city," he says, "the government will be best and most secure from revolution, where they who are to govern have the least desire to rule: in this happy state, the rich only will govern: but what kind of fich men? they who are rich or gevice, and of the rich sidelicary theorem, and of the middle ages abounds with instances to verify this observation. Such was

<sup>\*</sup> De Nugis Curialium, lib. v. cap. 4.

t Législation Prim. ii. 309.

<sup>†</sup> Hist. lib. i. † Hist. lib. i. § Id. lib. vii.

the scene presented at the memorable assembly of Etampes, when king Louis-le-jeune, and the nobles of France resolved upon departing for the holy land. On the third day, after invoking the Holy Ghost, and hearing a discourse of St. Bernard respecting the qualities which should be possessed by whoever was elected regent during the king's absence, the king chose to wave his right of nomination, and leave it to the decision of the princes and prelates of the kingdom. These retired into a neighbouring hall, and after half an hour's deliberation returned with St. Bernard, having chosen two regents, a layman and an ecclesiastic, the Count de Nevers and the Abbot Suger. The king and every one approved of the choice; but no persuasion could overcome the resolution of the Count de Nevers to decline the honour. This prince was a man of great piety; and being pressed to assign his reasons, he confessed that he had resolved and vowed to enter into the Carthusian order: wonderful example to confound the pride and ambition of a court. Thus the Abbot Suger remained sole regent of France, and he accepted the dignity only on compulsion. The princes and the prelates declared that they would elect no one else, and still he refused till he was commanded by the pope to accept the charge, for the good of the kingdom.\* Nothing can be more affecting than the letters of this great man to the king, pressing him to return, and expressing his own fatigues and sufferings, "Senex eram, sed in his magis consenui pro quibus nullo penitus modo, nisi amore Dei et vestro me consumpsissem." The crime of usurpation was rare. Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, and Hugues Capet were not usurpers; they had every sanction which the provisions of the age required. The infant Don Fernando, was seen encompassed with glory, and endowed by heaven with many crowns, for refusing to accept that which was offered to him, belonging to his nephew. The infant James of Arragon, refused the crown, though against the will of his father, and preferred a religious life in a cloister. Instances of this kind are endless. In these ages, the magisterial character and office were in harmony with the spiritual tone of society. A painting of the crucifixion was placed in the centre of the great chamber of the parliaments,† and over the seats of justice. Those vast solemn paintings of holy subjects, done in the thirteenth century on the walls of the great hall at Sienna, in which the grand council of the republic used to assemble, are, in reality, an evidence of the tone of government. you see the adoration of the shepherds, and along with a heavenly portrait of our blessed lady, the saints of Sienna, St. Bernardin, and St. The almost sacerdotal gravity of the judicial office might. be inferred from the expression which occurs in one of the capitularies of Charlemagne. "Let no count hold his plaids, unless he be fasting and fed with sense," The plaids were the placita generalia, a kind of The duties of the town sheriff indicate the humane influence of the municipal governments: he had to visit the round of the walls at night, to see that the watch had sufficient firing; he had to inspect the provisions destined for the poor. John de Vienne, the old governor of Calais, in the time of Edward III. is represented weeping for the ca-

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. de Suger, lib. vi.

<sup>4</sup> Ann. 803. bal. i. col. 393.

<sup>+</sup> Monteil, Hist. des François, tom. iv. 155.

lamities of its inhabitants, and speaking of them as if they were his children. By the canons of the council of Arles, in the year 314, those of the faithful who became governors of provinces, were to receive letters of communion, in order that the bishop of the place of their residence, might have a watch over them, and might excommunicate them if they did any thing contrary to discipline; and by the canons of the council of Macon, in the year 585, judges are forbidden to decide any thing respecting widows and orphans, without having previously consulted with the bishop, their natural protector, or in his absence, with one of his priests. We can collect the character of these men, from what is witnessed on their vaulted graves. In the collegiate church of Fouju, was a tomb with an inscription of the date of the thirteenth century, which only stated that it was of a holy man, who was versed in jurisprudence.

Foujucii lumen, pietatis gemma; volumen Justitiæ, cinere jacet hie: Deus, huic miserere! Stephanus hie lenis fuit, et miserator egenis: Virtus vera Dei noxia tellat el. Amen.

The magistrates of the ancient Catholic states had been generally tried in pleasure and pain, like gold in the fire, as Socrates had wished; so that afterwards they were not men to change their opinion in labours or terrors or in any vicissitude whatever.\* Plato would have been satisfied also with the absence of all base inducements to desire power: his maxim was, that if men in authority who governed the state, should avowedly receive rewards for governing, they are hirelings; if they take things secretly, they are thieves; if they govern for the sake of honours, they are lovers of honours; whom he thus reckons among hirelings and thieves. In Christian states, good men, compelled by charity to assume offices of power, were, indeed, entitled to receive payment, to enable them to support the proper dignity, and to facilitate the exercise of their duties; but it was not a payment in propotion to the extent of their service. Down to the fifteenth century, the counsellors of the parliament of Paris, those high judges who were entrusted with the reformation of the laws, who received officially the compliments of the pope, to whom princes of the blood shewed reverence, who disposed of the sovereignty of provinces, received only fifteen sous per day. Those of the parliament of Bordeaux had no more, and those of the parliament of Thoulouse had scarcely the half of it. † A cloak for the winter, and another for the summer, were added to the moderate allowance of the presidents of justice. In Spain the high officers of state were entirely unconnected with emolument; and even in England, the institution of the magistracy still retains this noble feature of the middle ages. Kings themselves, as may be still seen in Spain and Italy, lived in a plain and simple manner, without great personal expense: often their sons were trained to the discipline of common rustic youths. Charlemagne and St. Louis dressed like their subjects and lived like them: even bad princes in those days, were frugal. Charles VII. of France did not expend more than sixty livres per day; and Louis XI. was never dressed in cloth of gold but once in his life, and that was to entertain the constable, Saint Pol; and he told him so.

<sup>\*</sup> Plato de Repub. vi. .

History is full of examples of the grave and holy manners of men in authority, during the ages of faith, of men truly endowed with patriotism and heroic devotion, qui pro multis perire malunt quam cum multis.\* Instances may be taken as they occur, for each is the representative of an entire class of men: they appear early in the history of Christendom. Jovin, citizen of Rheims, and a Christain, made consul by the Romans under the emperors Valens and Valentinus, became a model of heroism, His tomb was one of the finest monuments at justice, and piety. Rheims, in the Church of the Abbey of St. Nicaise, which was built on the spot where his palace formerly stood, it being the house in which St. Remi concluded his treaty with Clovis, in the name of his flock. Machiavel thus describes John de Medicis: "He died generally regretted on account of his great virtues: he was charitable, not waiting till the poor should come to him, but going out to search for them: he loved men; he praised virtue; and he had compassion upon the wicked. He never aspired to honours and enjoyed them all: he used never to go to the palace excepting when he was called thither; he was always the friend of peace; with one hand he supported the unhappy, and with the other he pushed forwards those who prospered: his only passion was for the public good; he was affable; his words were full of sense, but He died rich in renown, and in the love of his he had no eloquence. fellow-countrymen."†

The Catholic magistrates of France, down to very late times, were men of learning and constant study, of simple and even austere habits. John Rotrou, the old French poet, having an authority under the French government at Dreux, in the days of Cardinal Mazarine, spent his time between the exercise of his duty, prayer and study; in a spirit of religion he refused to leave the town of Dreux in 1650, during a contagion which carried off every person that was attacked by it. The lieutenantgeneral was absent. The mayor was dead, and he was advised to withdraw; but he replied that he would never abandon the inhabitants who were confided to him. "It is true," he wrote to a friend, "the danger is great, since at the very moment while I am writing, the bells are tolling for the twenty-second person who has died this day. They shall toll for me when it pleases God." What greatness of soul was shewn by these men when victims to political enemies. In the reign of Charles VI., John Desmarets, falsely accused of being an accomplice to the disorders in Brittany, was drawn to the scaffold. "Master John," some one said to him, "cry mercy of the king that he may pardon you." Desmarets replied, "I served King Philip, his grandfather, King John, and King Charles his father, well and loyally, and never had these three kings occasion to grant it to me, and neither has the present if he had knowledge of man. To God alone I will cry mercy." Thomas More, the last Catholic chancellor of England, shewed equal magnanimity at his death. Much may be learned from hearing the instructions which used to be addressed to magistrates and persons in authority. About the year 798, Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, was sent by Charlemagne with Leidrade into the Narbonnaise, to observe and re-

<sup>\*</sup> Cicero ad Herennium, lib. iv. 44.

<sup>‡</sup> Goujet, Bibliothèque Française, tom. xvi. 136. Vol. I.—26

<sup>†</sup> Hist. of Florence, lib. iv.

form the administration of these provinces. On his return he composed a poem entitled, "Parænesis ad judices, or exhortations to judges." It opens with a religious discourse, then follow the praise of Charlemagne, a description of their journey, a view of the danger to which magistrates are exposed, and a warning to avoid bribes and corruption. It is full of passages breathing the tenderest humanity. Witness this:—

Qui patre seu matre orbatur, vel si qua marito, Istorum causas sit tua cura sequi:
Horum causas sit tua cura sequi:
Horum causiloquus, horum tutela maneto;
Pars hæc te matrem noverit, illa virum;
Debilis, invalidus, puer, æger, anusve senexve
Si veniant, fer opem his miserando piam;
Fac sedeant qui stare nequit, qui surgere prende;
Cui cor, voxque tremit, pesque, manusque, juva;
Dejectum verbis releva, sedato minacem;
Qui timet, huic vires, qui furit, adde metum.

In more recent times, a certain seigneur of Spain, lieutenant of Seville, had written to the celebrated father J. de Avilla, requesting advice as to the conduct he ought to observe in the exercise of his office. 'The idea which was then entertained of the magisterial duties may be collected from the following reply.\* "Great is the error of those who think that the principal affair of a good government consists in restoring and maintaining the walls of the city, paving the streets, providing for the markets, laying in stores, punishing crimes, and giving justice to all who demand it at the tribunals. These things are good and necessary, but not alone sufficient; the last end of a Christian government should be to promote the Christian virtues of the people, to remove obstacles to salvation of souls, and to contribute to extend the love and honour of The government, therefore, can only be good when it is founded upon love: as for the punishment of crimes, this is a sad and miserable office, the necessity of which should be removed if possible. compassion even in his vengeance,† and the Son of God wept for Jerusalem that was to be destroyed; and since the Creator inclines to compassion, much more ought a mortal judge when he condemns another man, like to himself or perhaps less vicious. It is not reasonable that he should sleep the night before passing sentence of death, but he ought to spend it in sighs and prayers, beseeching our Lord to console, strengthen, and compassionate this his poor brother, to whom he is obliged to give the pain of condemnation: he is bound to act thus in such cases, both to satisfy his duty to his neighbour, and also in order to propitiate the mercy of God for himself, when he shall appear before the divine tribunal. Love therefore is required both to prevent and to punish crimes. Moreover, the governor should consult with holy men; for as the Scripture saith, "The soul of a holy man sometimes announceth true things more than seven watchmen seated on high."‡ In the Council of Chalons, it is enjoined to all who govern the people, that they should take counsel of bishops in affairs of importance, and in doubtful cases. Emperor Justinian commanded this to be done, and the ancient kings of Castille have always observed it, one of whom demanded of the bishops, assembled in the council of Toledo, that they would give him laws by

<sup>\*</sup> Spiritual Letters of de Avilla, Epist. xlv. † Isai. i. ‡ Eccles, xxxvii.

which he might govern his kingdom well, and they gave them to him. It is not because bishops have a great knowledge of human laws, but because of the celestial light which results from the contemplation of God, by means of which, they acquire a knowledge superior to all human prudence. The governor should also study parts of the holy Scripture, and above all, the New Testament; and also he should read passages from the holy councils and the pastoral of St. Gregory; for there is much to learn from these even with respect to temporal government. The governor should also read the lives of the saints, not only out of curiosity, but for his own advancement in the science of the saints, and by so doing he will not lose, but on the contrary, he will gain time, to govern himself and others. It will be well also that some good monk should speak to the governor once a week, or at least once a month, and oftener during the holy time of Lent. The governor should charge his officers to beware of requiring oaths in cases of temptation and doubt, lest they should give rise to perjury, which will be to oppose the great end of all government; he should be most careful to provide at the expense of the city, good masters for the schools of the poor; and for this purpose he should cause them to hear the charge of some good monks, and he should reward the best masters by inviting them to dine at his table, shewing humility after the example of our Lord, who did not disdain to wash the feet of his poor disciples. In great cities many children of ten years and upwards, spend Sundays and festivals at play without hearing mass; and it is a great pity to see them afterwards when grown up publicly committing mortal sin. When the children do go, the churches are full of elder people, who are angry at the disturbances which always attend a collection of children. There should be therefore a church on purpose for this little people, and sergeants should go about the streets to collect the little stragglers and lead them to the church, where some good priest after mass should instruct them in their duties. Great care should be taken that the streets of the city, and places of public resort should present no danger to the eyes of unguarded youth, and above all, no profit should accrue to the city from the lives of vicious and miserable men. Prisons should be attended to, and no delay suffered, and justice should be quick in execution. All persons employed in offices should be devout and fearing God. The bull-fights are things very dangerous for the conscience of him who gives orders or leave to have them; and many learned men, think that it is a mortal sin. Let the governor then do his duty, and if he cannot prevent the evil, at least he will deliver his own soul from the danger. Lastly, it is right that the governor should shew reverence to the Church and to ecclesiastics, not considering how indeed we are unworthy, but having regard to our Lord Jesus Christ, who desires that all who approach him should be treated with respect.\* A great distinction between the character of men in public stations in these ages and in our time, is the circumstance that they rather disdained than desired the talent of oratory and of public speaking. We have heard Machiavel record of John de Medicis, that he was not eloquent; in the Homeric style, we might say of him, such were his qualities αγοςη δέ τ' αμείνονές είτι καὶ άλλοι † It was

<sup>\*</sup> Id. Epist. xlvi.

rather in praise of a public man, as it had been of a Homeric hero, that he was easily vanquished in a debate of words: and perhaps even of a Christian or a philosopher it is but little to say in commendation, that he resembles the son of Andremon, the best of the Œtolians.

Be this as it may, it is certain that in ages of faith, society was not exposed to the danger arising from a multitude of orators. The public men were simple, learned, holy, intrepid, who thought it enough to know that as Homer says, "It is a Deity who presides over the assemblies of men,"t or as Pindar says, that popular assemblies agreed Brownered are ruled by the same divine power which guides the ships on the ocean and the war of armies on the land. There was, indeed, the rhetoric of Louis de Grenada, a masterly work thoroughly Christian, which seems as if it had been composed expressly for such men: but after all. in opposition to Cicero, it may be greatly questioned whether that which the Greeks called philosophy would ever be the mother of what is generally considered eloquence. Epictetus names as two things opposed to each other, and which cannot be united together, an orator and a philosopher.§ In the choice of public functionaries, men of these latter times suppose that talents alone are to be regarded; but in the middle ages, fidelity and probity were considered of more importance; for it was thought that a good will is always the first quality and the most indispensable, which of itself could give aptitude to the most moderate talents, and discernment to the understanding. Another observation to he suggested here is, that these ages knew not that prodigious and fearful multiplication of public offices in a state which is found to arise from these new political principles, which impose upon a government the obligation of interfering with every thing, and of directing every thing, agriculture, commerce, the arts, public education, the care of the sick and of the poor.\*\* Proceeding to speak of the sovereign dignity it may be remarked in the first place, that hereditary sovereignty was the work of Christianity: the elective alone was known to pagan Europe. H Homer's sense of legitimacy is, indeed, seen in Agamemnon's sceptre окинтест margainth But the invention that a king never dies, admirable invention to secure peace and an undisturbed permanence of government, belongs to the wisdom of the pastors of the Church, who even according to the admission of Gibbon, were the founders of the Christian monarchies. The fourteenth Louis, on his death-bed had forebodings of what would follow from his system of absolute power. "What will become of my kingdom when I shall be no more?" said this unfortunate prince. the middle ages the death of a king was not attended with danger to the state, for there was nothing personal or isolated in government. In fact, the rights and powers of kings differed from those of subjects who had possessions, only in their degree not in their nature, so that there was not one which other men did not also enjoy although in a more confined

## Il. ii. xlvi.

<sup>\*</sup> Il. xv. 283. † Od. ii. 69. † Olymp. xii. † Od. ii. 69. † Olymp. xii. † Manuale, cap. xxvi.

<sup>\*\*</sup> De Haller, Restaurat, de la Science Politique, tom. iii. cap. xlvii. †† Chateaub, Discours, Hist, tom. iii. cxliv.

circle.\* The kings of Spain were so subject to the laws, that the domaine in causes of royal patrimony had to run the same fortune as the goods of the least subject, and was condemned in every doubtful case. The judges in the presence of Philip IV. gave sentence against him, and he submitted.† All kingdoms and patrimonial estates were little in their beginnings; such were the original monarchies of Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor, India, Greece, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Gaul. It is not just to fix our attention exclusively on the evils resulting from so minute a division, without attending also to its advantages, among which may be reckoned the non-employment of mercenaries and subalterns, as also many circumstances favourable to the freedom of the people, such as the absence of taxes, since kings having their possessions were not obliged to extort money from their subjects. The charm of variety in this respect was highly characteristic of the middle ages. Germany and Switzerland were composed of more than two hundred states, ecclesiastical and secular, monarchal and republican. In general nothing could be more natural and gentle than the assumption of kingly power in these ages. The honour which Pindar ascribes to the Locrians, that they were never governed by foreigners as sovereigns, twould not then have been a distinction. The modern transfers of a whole people to a foreign king without any stipulations or provision to protect their ancient interests, not even their religion, are to be ascribed, as De Haller observes, to the new philosophic principles, to the system so much extolled of the revolutionary uniformity. What has been already seen in relation to the lower branches of administration, in which all office of authority was a service, continues to be witnessed in the doctrine of the royal power. Thus John of Salisbury says, "a prince differs from a tyrant in being obedient to the law, and in governing the people by its dictates; for being its minister, he is preferred before all others, since bearing the burdens of all he serves to the advantage and utility of every man; | and it is certain by the authority of the divine law, that the prince is subject to the law of justice. Vain is the censure of laws if they do not bear the image of the divine law, and the constitution of the prince is useless if it is not comformable to ecclesiastical discipline.\*\* With our Christian princes, Theodosiuses and Leos, their deeds are incitements to virtue, and their words are so many institutions of manners. The prince must beware of pride, and must remember that his subjects are his brethren. Without humility, discretion, and charity, a principality cannot subsist. Whoever therefore loves the rank of his own elevation, let him be humble: for he who departs from the works of humility, falls by the weight of tumour from the height of his dignity.# A prince like any other man, must not seek his own; he must protect the good by severity tempered with mercy towards the wicked, the correction of whom should be felt as the cutting off of his own limbs. # He must decline neither to the right hand nor to the left, neither by excessive benignity nor extreme severity; by justice and innocence thrones stand, but on account of wickedness kingdoms are transferred to

<sup>\*</sup> De Haller, Restaur. de la Science Pol. tom. i. 16. tom. ii. 25. 27, 28.

others. Read all history, and you will find that the seed of wicked and proud princes has soon been cut off; only to good princes do sons succeed in long and happy order: there is no resisting this decree: the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." "A tyrant," he says again, "is one who oppresses the people by a violent domination: a prince is one who governs by the laws: and law is a gift of God, the form of equity, the rule of justice, the image of the divine will, the guardian of safety. the union and consolidation of people, and the destruction of vice. Whoever opposes the law opposes grace and provokes God to battle. A prince fights for the law and for the liberty of the people; a tyrant thinks he has done nothing unless he make void the law and reduce the people to servitude; a prince is a certain image of the Deity, and a tyrant is the representative of Lucifer."† Against the evils of a tyranny these ancient kingdoms were provided in a manner suitable to their faith. They did not think it enough to attack it in the head of the state: they looked for its roots and fibres through even the lowest ranks of society. "Tyranny is a common vice," says John of Salisbury, "for as soon as men gain power of any kind they may establish one; for though all men cannot have kingdoms and principalities, yet from the crime of tyranny there is no one or but few wholly free; for while ambition instigates and injustice rages, the birth of tyranny follows of necessity,"; and the mechanic in his shop, and the fisherman in his boat, may each exercise a tyranny. St. Thomas Aquinas says of a democracy, that thus a whole people may be as one tyrant, "populus totus erit quasi unus tyrannus." It was in vain to think of securing a legitimate monarchy unless the people were to be formed by the principles of Christian meekness: this is the purport of the advice of John of Salisbury. "The world is overwhelmed with the waters of iniquity, but the rivers of Paradise are sweet with an infusion of the wood of the cross and they bear refreshment and health to souls. These also give liberty and prevent the incursion of all tyranny or punish it. 'Non ergo vanæ vires, sed veritas liberat in æquitate consistens, et licet vanitas promittat liberationem, vere liberi nequaquam sunt, nisi quos filius liberavit.' Distinguish the liberty of nature, of grace, and of glory, and you will find that none of them proceeds from vanity, and there can be no condition more servile than that of the tyrant himself; for if where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, he must indeed be oppressed with wretched slavery whom that Spirit doth not govern." The precautions, therefore, to secure freedom were not superficial, absurd and pernicious, like those of earlier or later times. Where these great principles on which they rested are wanting, the vague desire of a liberty of which no exact idea is ever formed, leads men to commit a thousand acts of folly, and to appear more like children or insane persons than creatures possessing reason and a title to moral dignity. History abounds with examples; witness that disposition of the Athenian people represented by the old poet, which made them ascribe every action to the desire of setting up a tyranny. If a man were buying fish in the market, and asked for a sea bream, a scarce fish, instead of a loach which was plentiful, the stall woman

<sup>\*</sup> De Nugis Curialium, cap. xii. † Id. lib. vii. cap. xvii. † Id. lib. vii. cap. xvii. † Lib. viii. cap. xvii. § Lib. viii. cap. xvii.

would cry out that he was for a tyranny. If a man buy anchovies and want leek to dress them with—

The herb women with eyes askew regards him, And what! says she, you want a leek! f.iend, do ye? Marry come up! you are not for a tyranny I hope.\*

In Catholic states men were not obliged to support through the love of freedom that monstrous and pernicious principle which requires every individual in society to become a politician and retailer of news, a character to which our English Sophocles applies the epithet of base, and which seemed to a wise people of antiquity as deserving of punishment, because it tended to produce novelty and change, and a multitude of offences and evils.† Scotti has well shewn that the study of politics when become too common, and permitted to youth superficially instructed, endangers both religion and the state.‡ Men trusted not their freedom to the voice of sophists, who as Tacitus says, "ut imperium evertant, libertatem preferunt, si impetraverint ipsam aggrediuntur." They trusted it not to the rise of some great Marcellus "in every petty factious villager." Even their most loved poets had taught them better things.

Ah, people! thou obedient still shouldst live, And in the saddle let thy Cæsar sit, If well thou markedst that which God commands.§

But their precautions were solid, natural, and efficacious. De Haller remarks, that Aristotle \*\* after proposing the most odious artifices, and the most revolting to strengthen tyranny, passes in silence over all the just and natural means of preserving a legitimate domination. # Sophists in their pride of intellect are guilty of the same extravagance in the measures which they propose for preserving the people from a tyranny. In the middle ages it is to be remembered men worked on the foundations nature lays, and believed in the force of truth, and trusted in a manner the political interests of their country to its influence. The beautiful confiding principles of nature were not obliterated, -such as dictated that famous acquittal of the two youths accused of murdering their own father—they were acquitted because they were found sleeping. suspicion of their guilt was removed at once, for no one thought, says Cicero, that he who had offended against all divine and human laws could sleep. ## It was this confidence which formed the check upon the power of kings. John of Salisbury proposes an instance, for he says, "If Alexander had warred against those just men, on the last shores of the ocean, who explained their mode of life to him, perhaps he would not have prevailed against the innocent; on that very account, because innocence is not easily conquered, and truth confiding in its strength triumphs over armed chivalry." They believed in the force of meekness and humility, of which the very ideal really existing in her whom all generations call blessed, is said by the Church to have the might of armies. "Terribilis es ut castrorum acies ordinata." "Behold," says

<sup>\*</sup> Aristoph. Vespæ, Mitchell's Translat.

‡ Teoremi di Politica Cristiana.

† Putarch de Curiositate.

‡ Politi, v. 2.

‡ Pro S. Roscio Amer,

| | Annal. xvi.

‡ Restaurat. de la Science Pol. tom. iii. 231.

John of Salisbury, "the end not alone of those kings, who by abuse exercise tyranny; but of those many tyrants in private life, of whom there may be some, even in the priesthood; for the republic of the impious has its head and its members, and, even as it were, its civil institutions, endeavouring to imitate the legitimate republic; a tyrant being its head, heretical and schismatical priests its soul, unjust laws its ears and eyes, violent armed men its hauds. It is useless to dwell on the end of tyrant kings, which is known; but where are the private tyrants, the domestic tyrants, Gaufridus, Milo, Manulphus, Alanus, Simon, Gilbertus, not so much counts of the kingdom as public enemies? Where is William of Salisbury? Where Marimus, who by interposition of the blessed Virgin, fell into the ditch that he had made for others? Of these, as the malice was criminal, so the infamy and horror of their end are known to the present age. You have not, therefore, to read histories; you have only to open your eyes to look on what is around you, to see that the end of tyrants is miserable."\* Nor should we overlook the force of those fearful denunciations of the punishments of a future life, with which the ministers of religion continually threatened tyrants; of those tremendous visions which they recounted, in which men heard, as from an unearthly voice, words like those of Dante's guide.

These are the souls of tyrants, who were given To blood and rapine. Here they wail aloud Their merciless wrongs: †

After shewing the heathen examples of tyrannicide, and those of the Old Testament, John of Salisbury concludes in the spirit of meekness, that it is out of limit and true rule to stand against anointed majesty, saying that a wicked king ought to be endured with patience, in the hopes of his repenting like David; and he adds, "if the people are innocent and humble, then God will certainly stand by them." " Neither is it lawful," he says, "through the favour of new persons to depart from the blood of princes, in constituting empire, to whom, by a privilege of the Divine will, a succession of children is promised, if they walk in the judgments of the Lord; and yet if they decline a little from the way, they are not immediately to be cast off, but to be corrected paternally in justice, until it becomes clear that they are obstinate in evil. The vices of kings are to be borne with, lest a greater evil should result from their destruction, for it is the will of God that we should bear the burden." Yet a sterner principle was admitted by sovereigns themselves. Charles the Bald, in 856, declared by a formal act, that the grandees of his kingdom could resist the king by force of arms, if he required any thing unjust. Henry I. king of England, recognized the same right in his subjects, in the strongest terms. The mighty king Andrew II. confirmed it to the states of Hungary, in 1222. John, king of Denmark, recognized the same right in the subjects of his three kingdoms. Alphonso III. king of Arragon, conferred it on the barons of his kingdom, in 1287; and in Poland the natural right of a legitimate resistance, was also formally announced. This is to be ascrib-

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. viii. cap. xvii. xxi.

I In lib. v. cap. vi.

éd to those sentiments of individual liberty, that energetic development of the rights of individuals, which the feudal system was so calculated to maintain and cherish: still this made resistance legal. A more consistent and efficacious defence consisted in provision for legislative redress, and also in the counsellors, who, under various denominations, were appointed to assist in the government of the people. In this respect, the monarchies of Christendom partook of the Homeric and Dorian The Homeric assembly, the Bound region consisted of the older men of the chief families. At Sparta the regovoia was the council to which none but men of sixty or more years of age had admission, for "the Dorians," says Müller, "laid the greatest importance upon age in the management of public affairs. These old counsellors were subject to no responsibility, since it was thought that the near prospect of death would give them more moderation than any fear of incurring censure. Plato calls this την κατά γήξας σώφερνα δύναμιν.\* Dionysius after expressing his preference of the kingly mode of government chosen by the companions of Romulus, as being the best of all kinds of rule, observes that all the ancient kings of the world had their councils composed of men of the noblest families, and were not like those of later ages, independent and abandoned to their own opinions.† The Christian sovereign was again the heroic, or Homeric, or Dorian king; not a despot, but having a council to assist him to rule: and of this government St. Thomas Aquinas says, that as the rule of a tyrant is the worst, so that of a king is the best of all forms. Trench writers observe, that the appearance of such a prince in the middle ages as Louis XI., is an extraordinary and almost inexplicable phenomenon, and that he stands alone in the old annals of their nation, like one who does not belong to the series of their kings. The history of the counsellors of kings in ages of faith, is rich in sublime examples of public virtue. Lord Bacon says of the philosophers who followed the rich, and fell at the feet of tyrants, and who were too prudent to contradict kings, "These and the like applications and stoopings to points of necessity and convenience, cannot be disallowed: for though they may have some outward baseness; yet in a judgment truly made, they are to be accounted submissions to the occasion and not to the person." Catholic counsellors, from being ignorant of this nice distinction, made by the great reformer of philosophy, were unanimous in disallowing such applications and stoopings which would have destined them, as they supposed, to join hereafter those ghosts which Dante saw in the second chasm, all immersed in ordure

Who gibber in low melancholy sounds With wide-stretch'd nostrils snort, and on themselves

Smite with their palms.

Far different from what these were when on earth, they would not have been afraid to name a Cyclops before Philip; nor would they have acted the part of Cleon before the tyrant people of Athens. Christine de Pisan says, "that the task of correcting men of high authority in a state, belongs naturally to their private and intimate friends, who for the good

<sup>\*</sup> Ag. iii. † Antiquit. Roman. lib. ii, c. xii. On the Advancement of Learning.

De Regimine Princip. iii.
 Hell, xviii.

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of their soul, and for the sake of their renown, ought to admonish them secretly of their faults."\* What a contrast is here to the pagan spirit of the English Protestant chancellor! Mercurieu, counsellor of the emperor Charles V. refused to sign a treaty of peace which he judged unjust and inhuman, and nevertheless retained his place.† The chancellor of Philip II. duke of Burgundy, alone withstood the prince on one occasion, and declared that he would rather renounce his dignity, than consent to such measures; and the duke was so pleased with his courage, that he loaded him with greater honour than before. ± Even Don Pedro the Cruel found a counsellor in Fernandez of Toledo, who was bold enough to represent sincerely to him, the crimes of his govern ment; though he had the baseness to repay him, by sending him to the scaffold. Far different was the conduct of the Black Prince, when the Sire d'Alebret, in presence of the court at Bordeaux, declared to him the reports which circulated to his discredit. The prince replied, "Little would that knight love me, if he saw in me, or heard me say any thing contrary to my honour, and would not tell me of it. Therefore let me hear what people say against me." This led to a disclosure, which ended in the deliverance of his prisoner Du Guesclin. The tenderness with which these bold speakers were cherished by Christian kings, is often presented in an affecting light. When Ansel de Garlande, Senechal of France, was slain by the baron de Puiset, king Louis-le-gros testified a most extraordinary grief, and for a long time after could never speak of any thing without alluding to the fate of his dear senechal; insomuch that he would not even grant any favour excepting upon condition that one would pray to God for the soul of Ansel. In an ancient charter of the Abbey of Maurigni, near Estampes, this condition is expressed in a touching manner: he grants this favour to the monks in memory of his faithful senechal, who had loved them in his life, and on condition that they cease not to pray to God for his soul. John of Salisbury, the priest of holy Church, explaining the duty of those who are to counsel kings, speaks very differently from Lord Bacon, the Protestant philosopher. "The rich and powerful kings of the earth," he says, "ought not to be flattered when they do evil: for free speech is not treason, and the Holy Spirit is the spirit of truth; and he will cry though he will not be heard, when any one hardens his ear to the cry of the poor." The same language had been addressed to the emperor Theodosius, by St. Ambrose, "It is neither imperial to deny liberty of speech, nor sacerdotal, not to say what one thinks; for there is nothing so popular and amiable in you emperors as to love liberty in those who are subject to you. And if this be the distinction between good and evil princes, that the good love liberty, and the evil slavery, nothing in the priesthood is so perilous before God, and so disgraceful with men, as not to deliver one's thoughts freely." Mariana relates that the king Don John II. of Portugal, being applied to for a certain vacant office, replied to those who asked for it, that he had long intended to present it to a favourite of his, one who had such a

§ S. Ambrosii Epist. xxix.

<sup>\*</sup> Livre des Faits du bon Roi Charles V. liv. ii. chap. xviii.

<sup>†</sup> Guicciardini, Hist. lıb. xvi. † Drexelius Phaëtont. cap. ix. † Chronique de Du Guesclin Bibliothèque Choisie, iii.

zeal for his service, that he had never spoken to him with the mere desire of being agreeable, but only with the wish to serve him and the state. When Petrarch and the emperor were bidding each other farewell, a Tuscan knight in the emperor's train, said to him, "This is the man of whom I have so often spoken to you: he will sing your praise if you deserve it; but be assured he knows when to speak and when to be silent;" such freedom of speech did the emperor grant to those who were attached to his person; resembling, in this respect, our Henry V. in Shakspeare, who replies to the ambassadors of France, on their asking if they might venture to render freely what they had in charge:

We are no tyrant, but a Christian king, Unto whose grace our passion is as subject As are our wretches fetter'd in our prisons: Therefore with frank and with uncurbed plainness Tell us the dauphin's mind.

The non-intervention of the commons in the affairs of the ancient governments, is a theme of bitter and interminable declamation with writers of our time: the fact certainly is, that whatever was begun by the commons was anciently termed petition; for they had no jurisdiction or power to ordain; but yet it should be remembered that the great charter which protected every individual of the nation in the free enjoyment of his life, his liberty, and his property, unless declared to be forfeited by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, was secured at a time when the House of Commons was not in being.\* It does not follow that the interests of the people in other countries were neglected, because there was not a nest of sophists, fed at their expense, forming a central power in the capital, under some vile politician, like Bolinbroke in Richard's time, "that king of smiles;" while poets were addressing odes to commemorate the glory of their insurrections, like Falstaff lauding and praising them, because they offended none but the virtuous, and orators were explaining the abstract happiness and freedom of the general nation, in which domestic liberty had perished. Possibly it happened, as Strabo says of the Rhodians, that "though not under a democratic government, great care was taken of the people."† When the Catholic religion prevailed in England, the liberty of the subject was secured, without the system of political fictions; and in France, when the government rejected the Catholic religion, nothing was done for the liberty of the subject, with that system established; for it left the minds and the persons of the lower classes without freedom, by means of the monopoly of education, and the conscript laws. Even with respect to the ancient military service, it was the intention of the monarchs that no one should be obliged to pay exorbitantly for a substitute; it was the sentence of Charlemagne, "ut liberi homines pauperes a nullo injuste opprimantur." The great writers of the middle ages express sentiments with regard to the people that breathe the most ardent and judicious love of freedom: hear what Vincent of Beauvais says, "There must be mutual safety for king and people; he errs who thinks that the king is safe when nothing is safe from the king: clemency, and not a fortress of towers, is the best security for him." | "In the depression of the

<sup>\*</sup> Note to Sir M. Hale's Hist. of the Common Law, 181. † Lib. xiv. † Baluz. tom. i. col. 515. † Speculum doctrinale, lib. v. c. ii.

people," says John of Salisbury, "the strength of the prince is weakened; for a people ground down is neither able nor willing to increase his power." As for the people in a state," he says elsewhere, "their duties are so various, that no writer of offices has treated of each separately; but generally all things are to be referred to the public good, and whatever is useful to the humbler classes, that is, to the multitude, should be pursued in all things, for a minority should always yield to the greater number. To this end magistrates are appointed that they may ward off injuries from the subjects, and nothing can be more disgraceful to the magistrates of a state than when this class is trodden down; but the whole republic will be safe as long as the superior members attend to the inferior, and the inferior to the superior, that each may assist the other, and think that to be always useful to itself, which it knows will prove most useful to the other.† Civil life should imitate nature, and may be formed best after the model of that of bees, described by Virgil, to whose republic the philosopher sends us to learn civil policy.t If kings offend God or trample upon the Church, the safety of the whole state is endangered; a result so alien from the office of a prince, that whenever that happens in a republic, he is thought either not to perceive it, or to sleep, or to be absent. But yet Christ will hear the poor when they cry, and then it will be in vain to multiply vows, and to endeavour as if to bribe God with gifts; for the offerings of the impious are an abomination to the Lord, because they are made from wickedness; and he who offers sacrifice from the robbery of the poor, is as he who should immolate a son to his father. Nevertheless, I am still bound as a debtor, not only to the good, but also to the evil, in humility and respect to God, by whom all power is instituted. And therefore the Hebrews were commanded to pray for Babylon, because in the peace of princes is the rest of the people: \ but the whole virtue and prosperity of the state depends upon the maintenance of charity in all the parts of the body politic, and upon the flesh being subdued to the spirit; for where this continues, neither will the members be oppressed by the swelling of the head, nor the head weakened by the destitution and indolence of the members; for all this proceeds from the infirmity of sin: for the faults of inferiors derogate from the merit of princes, and the sins of princes are an occasion of sinning to subjects. A prince therefore is made mild by the innocence of the people, and popular movements are repressed by the innocence of rulers."\*\* Many of the moderns are not prepared to find that such sentiments as these prevailed in the middle ages, and yet there might be no end of producing parallel That indifference for the interests of the people, to which we are now continually referred, is not to be found in the institutions and language of the ages of faith. At the siege of Calais, when the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity, and were told to surrender at discretion, in hopes of some of them being ransomed, the governor said in his reply, "nous avons enduré maint mal et mésaise; mais nous sommes résolus a souffrir ce qu' oncques gendarmes, ne souffrirent plutôt que de consentir que le plus petit garçon de la ville eût autre mal que

<sup>\*</sup> De Nugis Curialium, lib. v. cap. vi. † Id. lib. vi. cap. xx. † Cap. xxi. ¶ Lib. vi. c. xxv. § Id. lib. vi. cap. xxvi. \*\* Id. lib. vi. cap. xxix.

le plus grand de nous." All the formula and public acts of government were strongly expressive of the spirit which breathed in this noble reply. Thus at their coronation, the Norman princes swore "to defend the people committed to their care, and to govern always with goodness, justice, and loyalty." Religion defended even the material interest of the people. The bull in Cœua Domini, which used to be read at Rome every Maundy Thursday, excommunicated all kings and rulers who should levy exorbitant taxes upon their subjects, or without consulting the Holy Sec. But the goodness of sovereigns was often of itself sufficient protection. The princes of Lorraine, when they wanted taxes had only to rise up in the church after mass, and wave their hat in the air, and the faithful people used to supply them immediately with what they wanted. Such was the wise economy of Suger, as regent of France, that while he was able to meet the king's repeated demands for money to assist him in the East, the people found not once occasion of complaint for any tax.\* Nor were they retained in a state of humiliation. "A prince," says Don Savedra, "should honour not only the nobility, and their ministers, but also all other subjects, who render themselves worthy by any particular merit, as is recommended by king Don Alonzo, in one of his laws, where he shews how a king ought to honour virtue wherever it is found; and he adduces reasons for all kinds of persons, beginning from the highest, and descending to the very lowest in the scale of society."† I have already spoken of the ceremony of the coronation of kings. This was often composed so as to indicate in a striking manner, the importance and necessity of attending to the interests of the people. When a new Duke of Carinthia succeeded to the government, he was escorted by a multitude of peasants to a field, over the ruins of an ancient town, of which all that remains is one great block of marble. The new duke was to wear a peasant's hat and shoes, and hold a shepherd's crook, so as to resemble a shepherd. Having come to the spot with banners borne before him, one peasant mounted on the great stone, was to cry out, "Who is he that comes with all these banners?" They answer, "It is the prince of the country:" he cries, "Is he a just judge, does he seek the good of the land? and is he of a free condition, worthy of honour, an observer and defender of the Christian religion?" They cry, "He is and will be." Then the peasant comes down, gives the prince possession of the spot, gives him a slight blow on the cheek, and the prince mounts on the stone, brandishes a naked sword, and speaks to the people; then he drinks water out of his hat, to denote simplicity of life. Then he is escorted to the church, where he assists at mass, and assumes the ducal state. This investiture by the peasants, is said to be retained as a privilege arising from their priority in faith; because it was the peasants who first received the religion of Jesus Christ, the princes and nobles not having been converted till the time of Charlemagne.

As religion, in these ages, supplied the principle of obedience to established rulers, so was it also esteemed the basis and origin of their power. King Don Fernando the Great, said to God with his last breath, "To thee, O Lord, belongs all power; command is thine. Thou art

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. de Suger, vi.

Lord above all kings, and all are subject to thy Divine Providence. Into thy hands, then, I commend the sceptre which thou hadst the goodness to entrust in mine." Savedra observes, that king Don Fernando the Saint used nearly the same words, in his last hours. These men understood their office. The council of Paris in the year 824, reminded kings that they must not suppose that they hold their kingdoms from their ancestors, but from God. The modern sophists always speak of the religious basis of government and legislation, as the characteristic of a barbarous age. Yet the most illustrious sages of the ancient world recognised no other. According to the principles of the Dorian sovereignty, to which I have already alluded, as the object of the predilection of Plato, the dignity of the king was founded on a religious notion, and his power limited by religion. Müller shews how intimate in early times was the connection between government and religion. "It is clear," he says, "that the Dorians considered the kingly office as proceeding from the Deity, and not as originating from the people; which would, I believe. have seemed to them in no wise more natural than that the liberty of the people should be dependent on the king." Bonald well observes, in speaking of the Christian monarchies, that "Religion which placed God at the head of society, gave man a high idea of the human dignity. whereas philosophy, which is always searching for men who are above other men, to give them laws, creeps always at the feet of some idol: in Africa at the feet of Mahomet, in Europe at the feet of Voltaire or Luther; and rejecting God from the universe, makes gods of men, whose talents and opinions it admires. As legitimate power came from God, authority was justified and obedience ennobled; so that men equally feared commanding, and felt honour in obeying."t "The new sophists," he says, "having discarded the divine mission, had recourse to a human mission, and sought in an aggregation of men, the reason of the power, which they found not in one individual; but the people itself was only a collection of men, and so it was still men who sent men to give laws to men; and Jurieu, the apostle of the popular sovereignty, thought to escape from the difficulty, by saying boldly that the people is the only authority, which has no need of reason to validate its acts; a sentence which extorted from Bossuet a burst of fearful and indignant eloquence. All the ancient legislators founded their laws in the doctrine of the divinity." Virgil used the general expression in making Ilioneus ascribe to Jupiter the foundation of a new city, and the power of ruling the proud nations with justice. t "It required," says Bonald, "thousands of years, and a great progress in human philosophy, to be able to deny the Supreme Being a place in the constitutional code of a people, and to regard as a conquest the having been able to secularise its legislation." Nothing could be more simple than the views of the Christian nations in this respect. The civil legislation rested entirely upon the foundation of the natural and divine law, and the decalogue was in the first page of all the civil and criminal codes. The emperor Justinian had defined jurisprudence to be "the knowledge of things divine and human;" and his code began in the name of the Holy Trinity and of the Christian faith and by the most solemn and express declaration of

<sup>&</sup>quot; Hist. of the Dorians, book iii. 6.

the sovereignty of religion, and of the primacy of the Roman Church. These expressions did not arise from a mere vague sentiment of an abstract truth. The immediate support which government derived from the meekness and piety of the people was well understood. Suger had often on his tongue the words of St. Ambrose, "the sins of the people are the true cause of the revolutions of empires; and it is in vain that princes flatter themselves, that subjects will be faithful to them, if they are not faithful to God."\* The golden bull, which was the fundamental law of the German empire, begins by an apostrophe to "Satan, to pride, to luxury, wrath, and envy." And, in fact, in the ancient Catholic state, as of old in the Dorian, education was upon the whole a subject of greater importance than government. Again, the object of legislation was not different in its last terms, from that of religion. The universal reason, and the primal traditions of mankind had taught this lesson to the heathen legislators, that neither a state nor a man can be happy where luxurious and licentious manners prevail; but that of necessity such states would be a prey to a succession of revolutions, establishing either a tyranny, or an oligarchy, or a democracy; so that there would be no peace.† Dionysius, in treating on the early history of Rome, continually remarks that the great object of all wise government should be the cherishing temperance, simplicity, and justice among the people, and that no peace or safety can be hoped for in a state where these virtues do not exist. " This is what I chiefly admire in the man," he says of Romulus, "that he sought to cherish and secure, and not leave to chance, the things which form the happiness of a state:-first, the favour of the gods, which causes all the affairs of men to prosper; then temperance and justice, by means of which men are less inclined to injure each other, are more peaceable, and are disposed to estimate happiness, not by shameful pleasures, but by virtue and honour." Plato teaches that the great object of all national legislation, should be the promotion of virtue; | he says not a word about commerce, glory, or the preserving a rank in the scale of nations. Leibnitz, with noble energy, protests against the modern teachers of jurisprudence, who dare to teach with Pufendorff, that "the end of the science of national law, is confined to the limits of this life;" this, he says, is the policy of atheism: the pagan philosophy is in this point more wise, more severe, more sublime than that of Pufendorff. "I am astonished," he continues, "that Christians should permit such a degradation of philosophy, which has been so noble and so holy in the hands of some pagans." Man never existed, and never will exist, in a state of pure nature, that is, unassisted by sanctifying grace, and not directed to a supernatural end. "The more a people is constituted, the more it makes its political laws religious laws; and its religious laws political laws; not in civilizing religion, but in consecrating civil policy. Those who wish constantly to separate the one from the other, have never comprehended man or society." This is what Bonald says. In ages of faith no human legislation was permitted to interfere with any part of the Divine commands. "A law," says Tertullian, "which was before Cæsar, and which is above Cæsar."

<sup>\*</sup> De Fide, xii. † Plato, Epist. vii. | De Legibus, iii.

<sup>‡</sup> Antiquit. Roman. lib. ii. cap. xviii. § Législat. Primit. tom. ii. 32.

Cicero, in a magnificent passage, preserved by Lactantius, speaking of the great divine and primitive law given to mankind, declares that it can never be disannulled, "nec vero aut per senatum aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus." Indeed Catholics were never inclined to ascribe to the political constitution of states, the same degree of importance which it holds with the vain multitude, who place their hope on an assembly of their choice, because they looked higher for the source of real good to their country, and to the human race. God, as a punishment for the sins of Israel, threatened them with a multitude of laws:\* and it is only with laws that men propose to save. The very object of all law is now reversed. "Laws are only made," says St. Isidore, "in order to restrain human audacity by fear, that innocence may be safe amidst the wicked; and that the wicked by fear of punishment may lose the courage and ability to injure." What a change has taken place in the legislation of nations since these ages of faith. In France and the Isle that once was wise, and Belgium, abandoned to a king who understood but gold, laws are multiplied, not against human audacity, but against the humble ministers of religion; against ecclesiastical colleges, against orders of holy men serving God; though even Tacitus declares, "non ex rumore statuendum," against the foundation of spiritual institutions, and, in short, they are made as if for the express purpose of leaving innocence at the mercy of men, who cry "heaven we fear thee not." Tacitus says, that a good politician is like God: | but to what is a modern politician to be compared? We may observe here, that Socrates professed and practised a veneration for the laws of his country,\$ which was excessive and unknown to the philosophy of Christians; for they can recognize no covenant with society, which obliges them to await their own destruction from its unjust decrees. The text leaves no room for what Cicero calls the noble fierceness of Socrates before his judges: \*\* for it expressly charges them to fly from the insane city, which should choose to persecute them. Under a despotism, the will of a tyrant; in a democracy, that of the people is sufficient to make a thing legal, but it does not follow that it is therefore to be allowed. Modern governments drawing from this double source of despotism, pronounce many things to be according to their legal order, which the "non possumus," of those who adhere to the wisdom of faithful ages will never suffer to pass into execution. "O Church of Jesus Christ," exclaims Bossuet, "from thy birth thou didst already confound all the magistrates and powers of Jerusalem by the single firmness of this word -non possumus. We cannot keep silence as to the things which our eyes have seen—non possumus. But holy disciples of Jesus Christ, what is this new impotence? Within these few days past, you were trembling, and the boldest of the troop cowardly denied his Master, and now you say-non possumus! and why can you not? Because things have been changed; a celestial fire has fallen upon us; a law has been written in our hearts; an all-powerful spirit impels us; charmed by its infinite attractions, we have imposed upon ourselves a blessed necessity of loving Jesus Christ more than our life. This is the reason why

<sup>\*</sup> Osee, viii. 11.

we can no longer obey the world; we can suffer, we can die, but we cannot keep silence, as to the things which we have seen and heard."\* The plea of legal order is, after all, very ancient; it was used by the Persian counsellors, to persuade the king of Babylon to cast Daniel to the lions. "Scito rex, quia lex est,—ut omne decretum quod constituerit rex, non liceat immutari." They would not suffer the king to shew mercy contrary to his own ordinance.† "The philosophy of a people," says Bonald, "is its legislation. When men, greedy of domination, impose their own opinions upon a people for laws, and endeavour to make their particular sentiments a general doctrine, absurd and

impious legislations are the consequence."

Let us endeavour to form a clear view of the spirit and object of legislation in ages of faith. "We call those princes happy," said St. Augustin, "who employ their power in extending the worship of God, making it subservient to his majesty;" and again, "In this we see whether kings serve God; if in their capacity of kings, they ordain what is good, and prohibit evil; not only in what pertains to human society, but also with respect to religion." " We do not," says St. Thomas, "call those princes happy in proportion as they reigned long, left the government to their sons, punished public enemies, or vanquished the citizens who rose in rebellion against them; but we call those happy, who ruled justly, who preferred governing their passions to ruling over nations, who did all things, not for the sake of vain glory, but through the love of everlasting happiness." The type of the character of the Christian king may be collected from the office of his coronation, in which the Church prays that "this servant of God may be protected by the gift of ecclesiastical peace, and may deserve to attain to the joys of eternal peace by Jesus Christ; and the king having prostrated himself with the bishops and priests upon the cross, whilst the other clergy sing the Litanee, the metropolitan interrogates him as follows: 'Do you wish to hold the holy faith which is delivered to you by Catholic men, and to observe it with just works ?- I wish it. Do you wish to be a defender and guardian of the holy churches, and of the ministers of the churches ?-I wish it. Do you wish to rule and to defend the kingdom conceded to you by God according to the justice of your fathers ?- As far as I shall be able, by the divine assistance and the comfort of all the faithful, I promise so to act faithfully in all things.' Then the metropolitan places the crown reverently upon the king's head, saying, 'take the crown of the kingdom which is placed upon your head by the hands of bishops, although unworthy, in order to impress you with the sense that this expressly denotes the glory and honour of sanctity, and therefore you should not be ignorant that by this you become a partaker of our ministry, that as we are understood to be pastors and rulers of souls in the interior, so you also may in external things be a true worshipper of God, and a strenuous defender of the Church of Christ against all adversities." How well this type was followed in the minds and deeds of kings, history shews in numerous instances. Pope St. Leo writing to the emperor Theodosius says, "that he rejoices

<sup>\*</sup> Serm. pour le Jour de la Pentecôte. † Dan. vi. ‡ Cont. Crescon. gram. iii. 51. | De Regimine Principum ad Regem Cypri. Vol. I.—28

to find that the emperor evinces not only a royal, but also a sacerdotal mind, and that besides his imperial and public cares, he has a pious solicitude for the Christian religion." Savedra says, "that the kings of Spain esteemed more the honour and glory of God than their own aggrandisement, like Flavius Jovian, who when proclaimed emperor by the army, refused the dignity, saying that he was a Christian, and that he ought not to command men who were not Christians, and he did not consent until the soldiers cried out that they too would be Christians." In the third council of Toledo, when King Recharedus had succeeded in bringing back the Arian Goths to the unity of the Church, it is recorded that he thus spoke: "If we are to labour with all our force to repress the evil of wicked men, and to promote peace on earth, much more are we bound to desire and imitate celestial things, to sigh for what is sublime, and to shew truth to the people who are recovered from error."\* The power and grandeur of kingly government were thus to be devoted to extend the honour of the King of kings; but consistently with all the principles of human action then recognised, how could a different object of government have been admitted? Villani says, in the preface to his history, in the spirit of these ages, that he begins the book which is to celebrate the city of Florence, "to the glory of God, and of the blessed St. John." When every work of man was thus dedicated, as it were, to the Divine glory, would it not have been strange, indeed, if the noblest of all sciences had been otherwise directed? Men felt that it would. Philip Augustus, in departing for the crusade, published his testament, which was to determine the manner of conducting the government during his absence; and in this he required that his mother, the Queen Adele, and his uncle William, Archbishop of Rheims, should redress the wrongs of his subjects four times in the year, and do justice "for the honour of God." The founders of the ancient governments in ages of faith understood the end of man and of society to consist in leading souls to God.† Hence politics were made to wait upon religion, instead of sacrificing religion to every political or commercial interest, to an election or the value of a manufactory. Θεαγιπέον δη και το πολιτικο περί ψυχής said Aristotle. Political science in the middle ages rested upon a certain faith concerning the soul. This faith was embodied as it were in all the measures of government: the very coins expressed it: on the money of some of the Popes was inscribed, "væ vobis divitibus!" The administration of a Catholic state corresponded with the desire of the ancient sage, when he said, "Let the legislator take care to convince the people that the soul is a thing wholly different from the body, that it is in the soul that each man's identity consists, that it is immortal, and that after its departure from the body, it will be called to give an account of all that it has done, an account τω μέν άγαθο θαββαλέον, τω δε αναξιμάλα φιβερν. This sentence from the tongue of Plato, expressing the universal reason of men, formed by original revelation and the constant traditions of the human race, conveys a summary of the principles which directed government in ages of faith. It was then thought

<sup>\*</sup> Ribadeneira, Princeps Christ, i. cap. xii.

<sup>†</sup> Menochii Hieracconomica, seu Œconomica ex Sacris Literis deprompta, 1628. ‡ Ethic, Nic. lib. i. xiii.

that the true policy of states could not be better known than by the light of the Christian religion, and of its sacred books. So teach St. Thomas; \* Gilles de Rome; † Savedra; † Kircher; | Bossuet; § Ribadeneira; \*\* Spedalieri; # Scotti; # and all Catholic writers on legislation. Between the modern writers on the sciences which relate to society and the Catholic authors, the same distinction exists which Cicero remarked between the writings of the stoics and the peripatetics; the former of whom, he observed, said so many things that he could never understand; while the latter, treating on the same subjects, used no word that was not perfectly intelligible. The Catholic writers were so noble, so straightforward, generous, and simple, that even children could understand them at once; there was no contrast between their principles and the ordinary precepts of religion; whereas those of their opponents seem addressed to persons who know and care nothing about Christianity, and they are at total variance with its morality and design. Of their state policy we may say,-

## Νοσών έν αὐτώ φαρμάνων δείται σοφών.

The Archduke Leopold of Austria, son of the emperor Ferdinand II., hearing some one cite Machiavel to prove that an ambassador ought to be able to disguise things: "How," cried he, "it is not allowed to tell the least falsehood to save the whole world, and how then can it be lawful to do so to obey a prince, or to ensure success to an embassy?" Don Savedra expressly says, "the safest books for a prince to consult, are those which the Divine wisdom has dictated. Here the prince will find a perfect policy for all possible accidents, and instruction to direct him in the government of himself and of his states." "The first thing that a master ought to teach a prince," he continues, "is to fear God. for that is the beginning of wisdom. He who is in God, is in the fountain of science. The science of men is, properly speaking, an ignorance; it is the daughter of malice which destroys states and princes." §§ Nicolas Vauquelin Sieur du Iveteaux, in his poem de L'Institution du Prince, addressed to his pupil the Prince de Vendôme, reminds the great, that it is from heaven that all their plans and motives of life ought to proceed:\*\*\* and Antoine Godeau, the learned bishop of Vence, published in 1644 an admirable work entitled, "L'Institution du Prince Chrétien," in which the same lessons are conveyed to kings. ## No sooner were the maxims of Machiavel proposed than they excited the utmost horror. Ribadeneira wrote his "Christian Prince" to confute them by the doctrine of the Christian legislators. Lord Bacon even remarked, "that these men, bred in learning, like certain of the Popes, were perhaps to seek in points of convenience, and accommodating for the present, which the Italians call 'ragioni di stato,' and he observes that Pius V. could not hear them spoken of with patience, terming them inventions against religion and the moral virtues;" he adds, "that on the other side, they

<sup>\*</sup> De Regim. Princip. + Miroir. ‡ Christian Prince. Principis Christiani Archetypon Politicum. § Politique de l'Ecrit. †† De Diritti dell' Uomo. \*\* Princeps Christianus. ## Teoremi di Politica Cristiana, §§ Christ. Prince, i. xlvi. \*\*\* Gouget, Bibliothèque Franc. tom xvi. 113,

are perfect in those same plain grounds of religion, justice, honour, and moral virtue." \* Governments were to act with scrupulous honour, "Treaties with infidels and heretics," says Don Savedra, "must be strictly observed; for justice requires it, and as it is not permitted to a Catholic to kill or hate any one of a contrary religion, so neither is it lawful for him to deceive such a person, or fail in his word to him. Joshua kept his faith with the Gibeonites, and was rewarded by God,t and David was punished for a contrary offence." + "Honour," continues this devout Span ard, "is one of the principal instruments of the art of reigning. If it were not the child of glory, I should have thought it an invention of policy: it is the strength of states, and I do not know one that can maintain itself long without it." He would have found some in later times that thought they had discovered the art, with whom to deceive, as Pliny says, "pro moribus temporum, prudentia est." De Haller has remarked that the new political principles alter even the commonest notions of honour. What private man would not feel himself dishonoured if his bonds were to be offered for a half or a third of their nominal value? But yet sovereigns are now to do this with indifference; for as thy are debts of the state, no one believes himself interested in the honour of this imaginary being. What private gentleman would not scorn the invitation to refuse the shelter of his roof to an unhappy guest, whose enemies were jealous of his presence? In the middle ages it would have been deemed an equal insult if addressed to the ruler of a state. In the eleventh century, when Pandolfe de Teano was obliged to capitulate and deliver up Capua to his rival Pandolfe of Capua who was assisted by the Normans, he passed with his family to Naples, which little republic was then governed by Sergio. Encouraged by this success, Pandolfe of Capua desired that Sergio would banish a rival whose near presence gave him such alarm. positive refusal which he received to betray the rights of hospitality occasioned a rupture between the princes. Sergio being the weakest, was forced to fly from Naples, which then, for the first time, received the standard of the Lombards. Pandolfe de Teano escaped to Rome and died there, and he who had so generously sacrificed his interests for the sake of humanity, suffered misfortunes for three years, till he procured the assistance of the Norman knights who warmly espoused his cause, and soon reinstated him in possession of his domains. The history of these ages abounds with instances of the policy of honour. The king, Don Henrique IV. was advised by some to arrest Don John Pacheque, Marquis of Vilena, the great author of the troubles which afflicted the kingdom, but he refused, saying, that he had promised him a safe conduct to come to Madrid, and that he could not fail his word. "What troubles and perils did not the kingdom of Arragon endure," cries Savedra, "in consequence of the king Don Pedro IV. regarding more utility than honour in peace and war?" Such was not the Catholic policy, as England might have borne witness; Cromwell retained a large sum of money which had been sent from Spain for the government of the Neth-

\* On the Advancement of Learning.

<sup>‡ 2</sup> Sam. xxi. 1. Christian Prince, ii. 469. § Restauration de la Science Pol. iii. 46.

<sup>†</sup> Josh. ix. 19. Christian Prince, ii. 95.

erlands, but which was thrown upon the coast of England by a storm. Upon refusing to give it up, some persons advised the Archduke Leopold to retaliate: but he replied, "What shall we take from Cromwell or the Parliament who unjustly detain our property by following such a plan of vengeance? The goods of the English, which are in our ports. belong to private men, not to Cromwell or the Parliament: the innocent then would suffer for the guilty! I appeal to you, would this be justice."\* In short the character, which Guizot says distinguished St. Louis from all the other kings that ever reigned, excepting Marcus Aurelius, was in truth a character which more or less belonged to whole generations of men in the ages of faith,-the habit of always considering in every action whether it was good or evil in itself, of regarding the moral good or evil of a measure, without any regard to its utility or consequences, and when once its good or evil was determined, of adopting the one and rejecting the other with a straightforward resolution, which no interests or consideration whatever could alter. Since then the science of government was thus simple and Christian, it was natural that kings should be desirous of having the assistance of holy men, and ecclesiastics who were most qualified to teach it. Martial d'Auvergne gives them this advice.

> Par quoy, princes, autour de vos personnes Ayez des clercs de condicions bonnes, Ne vous chaille des astrologiens; Mieulx si vauldroit deux bons théologiens Pour enseigner de la saincte Escripture Que de parler du temps à l'aventure.

Hence it was that in many councils, as in that of Toledo, not merely matters of religion were regulated, but also those relating to the government of the state. This desire of kings, though honourable to them, was nevertheless injurious in some instances to ecclesiastical discipline. Thus we hear of the Statute of Merton, in the reign of Henry III., which was so called from the parliament, or rather council, sitting at the Priory of Merton, in Surrey, which belonged to regular canons. King Don Fernando the Catholic, used often to employ monks in his council, and this suggests a remark to Savedra, characteristic rather of Christian experience, than just in its immediate object, "that it was only barbarous arrogance in Hannibal to despise the lessons of Phormio; for though speculation alone cannot give practice," yet continues Don Savedra, "however experienced, Hannibal might have learned from him to purge his mind from treachery, to lay aside his cruelty towards the vanquished, and his pride towards those who came to him for protection; he would have learned to make a better use of his victory at Cannæ, to fly the delights of Capua, and to be reconciled to Antiochus." Savedra seems to reason on the supposition of Phormio being a monk or a priest of his acquaintance. Solemnly constituted defenders of the Church, and of the poor, who reaped the benefit of its riches, disposed by every worthy motive to pay honour to the ministers of religion who dispensed those riches, kings in these ages were generally found faithful in protecting

<sup>\*</sup> Les Vertus de Léopold d'Autriche, par. N. Avancin.

<sup>†</sup> Les Vigiles de la Mort du Roi Charles VII.

ecclesiastical property. When king Don Fernando the saint besieged Seville, and there was a great want of money to carry on the siege, some persons advised him to make use of the treasures of the churches in so great a necessity; but he replied, that he promised himself more from the prayers of the priests than from their riches. God rewarded this confidence, for the very next day the city was in his power. Savedra remarks, however, that the Apostolic See was always very liberal to the kings of Spain in assisting them in their contests with the infidels. Gregory VII. granted to the king Don Sancho Ramira of Arragon, the tenth and revenues of all the churches that were lately built or recovered from the Moors. Pope Urban conferred the same grace upon king Don Pedro I. of Arragon, and upon his successors, excepting the churches of Gregory granted to the king Don Alonso the Wise, the third of ecclesiastical revenues which were destined to buildings; Urban V. a third of the benefices of Castille to the king Don Pedro; and Pope Sixtus IV. consented that the clergy should give in one payment 100,000 ducats for the war of Grenada: but these supplies were received and expended with scrupulous delicacy. The same assistance was generally rendered to the state in other countries when occasions of difficulty occurred; and in an earlier age, when Carles Martel had taken the tithes and benefices, "Pepin and Carloman, with the council of the servants of God and of the Christian people, passed a decree, justifying the retaining of their goods on condition of paying every year to the church or monastery, a solidus for each farm house, and that on the death of the possessor, it should return to the Church; but even in the meantime, care was to be taken that the churches and monasteries whose goods had been thus lent 'in precario,' did not fall into indigence; in that event the Church and the house of God were to be replaced in full possession of their goods." It may be remarked here, that Mabillon has shewn the falsehood of the modern fables respecting the supposed condemnation of the soul of Charles Martel, disclosed by the vision of Eucherius. Mabillon proves that it was unknown to Pepin, and that the fable was a popular invention of a much later age. † The moderns, in recurring to ancient times, condemn the influence of the clergy in matters of government, without having sufficiently attended to the character of that influence. It was priests who were always for teaching kings that their safety and their real grandeur consisted in having no quarrel but what was common with them and their people. The language of Fenelon was the same in spirit as had been addressed by the clergy to the civil power, from age to age, since the rise of the Christian monarchies. authentic memorials of the saints in every period of history, prove that they did not fashion, wrest, or bow, their reading, or nicely charge their understanding souls to flatter tyrants. What then was the language of Fenelon? "You say that God will protect France," he writes to the Duc de Chevreuse, "But where is the promise? Will God be appeased in seeing you humbled without humility? Will God be content with a devotion which consists in gilding a chapel, saying a chaplet, hearing a mass with music, being easily scandalised, and banishing some heretics? The question is not only about finishing the war externally, but about

<sup>\*</sup> Capitula Carolom, in 743, book i. 148. † Præfat, in iii. Sæcul. Benedict. § viii,

giving bread to a famishing people, re-establishing agriculture and commerce, reforming luxury which gangrenes all the manners of the nation, recalling the true form of the kingdom, and tempering despotism, the cause of all our woes. If I loved France less, the king less, the royal house less, I would not speak thus." This refers to a calamitous period of history, when the principles of the ages of faith were either forgotten or, as in France, formally set aside. Let us return to those ages, and enquire what were the fruits of this spirit of legislation. Here the moderns in general have much to learn. Speaking of the Norman knights who recovered Sicily from the Sarassins in the eleventh century, Gauttier d'Arc says, that when he proceeds to treat on the foundation of the kingdom of the two Sicilies by these Normans, on their institutions, laws, and progress in science and letters, it will appear that "the policy or wisdom of these conquerors were not inferior to their heroic valour." In fact, what was it that formed the government of Christian states, but the Christian religion? and if Crotona, by being subject to the philosophy of Pythagoras, gave rise, as Müller observes, to one of the most remarkable phenomena in the political history of the Greeks. what must not have followed from the Catholic religion, the philosophy so eminently of order, of unison, of wisques, having obtained the management of public affairs, and held possession of it for so long a time? But you desire to be shewn its effects? For the present it is sufficient to reply, behold the protection of the churches, the protection of the religious orders, the protection of the countless institutions of mercy, which ministered to the necessities of the poor, the protection of the temporal part of that blessedness which is promised to the meek, the protection of the countless institutions which ministered to the sanctification of souls, and to the completion of the number of the elect. In ages of faith men would have enquired no farther. But let us hear how the legislation of this period is spoken of by writers not disposed to pass over any defects in the men or deeds of Christian antiquity. Chateaubriand says, "that in the language of the institutions or laws of Alphonso the Wise, there is a tone of candour and of virtue which renders this king of Castille a worthy contemporary of St. Louis." King Richard I. instituted a body of naval laws on his return from the Holy Land, which are yet extant. The Commentator on St. Matthew Hale's History of the Common Law of England says, "These laws were made at the Isle of Oleron, off the coast of France, where his fleet rendezvoused in its passage to the Holy Land. They were designed for the keeping of order, and for the determination of controversies abroad; and they were framed with such wisdom, that they have been adopted by other nations as well as by England. They are very prudent, humane, and just." Sir Matthew Hale, after styling Edward I. our English Justinian, concludes thus, "I think I may safely say, all the ages since his time have not done so much in reference to the orderly settling and establishing of the distributive justice of this kingdom as he did, within the short compass of the thirty-five years of his reign. The short and pithy pleadings and judgments, in the judicial records of his reign, do far better render the

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. exxxii. † Hist. des Conquêtes des Normans en Italie, Preface. † Discours Historiques, Pref. † P. 175.

sense of the business than those long, intricate, perplexed, and formal pleadings, which since the time of Henry VIII. came into use, and on which later times have still father improved." And he says elsewhere, that "the times of Henry VI., as also of Edward IV., Edward V. and Henry VII., were times that abounded with learning, and men excellent for legislative wisdom." If the maxim of law, "cuilibet in sua arte credendum est," be admitted, here is enough to put to shame many who

have written upon the history of the middle ages.

If now from the manners we pass to the men concerned with the government of states in ages of faith, we shall find the same characteristics in the practice which belonged to the theory of rule. There were, indeed, many princes who but little accorded with the noble and lofty sentiments which presided at the foundation of the Christian republics, but no historian has ever spoken of them, excepting as forming exceptions to the spirit and principles of their time; whereas in the lives of heroic and saintly kings, the writers most acquainted with antiquity have recognised the materials for the best and most faithful history of the middle What student in the least conversant with these annals would ever think of questioning the justice of the remark made by Chateaubriand, where he says, "that St. Louis as a legislator, a hero, and a saint, is the representative of the middle ages?" It seems self-evident, and yet what a noble testimony does it furnish to their virtue and to their grandeur! It is to the kings of the middle age that the most exact and philosophic writers are obliged to recur in order to find an example of a great and wise government. Fenelon says, that no prince can be found more amiable or proper to serve as a model in all ages, than Charlemagne—that even his imperfections amidst so many virtues, are not without their interest. "I do not believe," he says, "that any king can be found more deserving of being studied in every thing, or of higher authority to give lessons to other rulers."† Certainly the number of truly Christian kings is an astonishing fact in the history of mankind. Lewis of Grenada observes, that out of the great number of the Jewish kings, there were only three who observed religion and justice; for besides David, Ezekiah, and Joshua, all abandoned the law of the Most High, and despised the fear of God. "In which fact," he says, "we can recognise not only the common disease of human nature, but also and much more, the danger of power and principality." But who could enumerate the series of wise and saintly kings who have appeared upon the thrones of Christendom? It is in ages which have been denominated barbarous, that we behold men answering to the ideal perfection of Plutarch's heroes, who were to unite the possession of political power with the study and the love of wisdom. The ancient history of empires furnished no grounds for supposing that such an union was possible. "Truly," says Glaucus to Socrates, "no one has ever seen a man possessing a character thus symmetrically composed as to virtue in this perfect accordance with himself in word and deed, and at the same time having sovereign authority in a state of which the character accorded with his own." What would he have said if he had beheld the Catho-

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. of the Common Law. ‡ In Nativitate B. Mariæ Concio, i.

<sup>†</sup> Epist. xii. au Duc de Beauvilliers. || De Educat. xx. § Plato, de Repub. vi.

lic kings of Catholic states in ages of faith, wearing their crowns adorned with the bright stars of virtue, which will shine to all eternity? What would he have said of our sainted and heroic Ethelreds, Edmunds, Oswalds, Alfreds, Edwards, and Henrys? What of the valour, and piety, and prudence, and magnanimity of the ancient kings of Spain-the political wisdom of Don Fernando-the liberality of Don Alonso the pierced-handed-the justice of Don Alonso XI.-the devotion of Don Fernando the saint? Their very titles would have seemed to him as full of inspiration, and capable of exciting men to heroic virtue: and who, in fact, does not feel, as it were, some interior assistance in the mysterious contest of life, when he hears of Don Fernando the saint, of Don Fernando the Catholic, of Don Alphonso the chaste, of Don Sancho the brave, of Don Alonso the magnanimous, of Don Iaime the conqueror, that is to say, the deliverer of his country, for the victories of the kings of Spain were like the fifty battles of our Alfred, not to subdue nations, but to defend their native land? In Italy, too, how many learned and holy princes, who like Robert, king of Naples, and James of Carrara, deserved, as Petrarch said, to be styled the fathers rather than the lords of their people! Consider again that ancient monarchy of France, of which so many of the crowns passed with saints to heaven! Even Guizot condemns Sismondi and other modern historians for maintaining that the first Capetians, Robert, Henry, and Philip, were insignificant kings, as being the kings of priests rather than warriors; for he shews that though supported by the clergy and governed by their influence, they played a most important part in all the affairs, civil and military, of their times.\* We hear of nothing at present but of the vices and absurdities of a monarchal government; but it is not in the history of ages of faith that we shall learn to despise it. How happy was Spain under pious kings, Ferdinand the Great, Alphonso the Great, Alphonso the chaste, Ferdinand the saint, and others? How great was Ferrara through its princes, Hercules of Este, Hippolytus of Este, and others? Modern writers pass in silence over the heroic virtues of the ancient kings of Christendom. They are exact and judicious in describing the castle of Plessis, but where is their penetration to leave us in ignorance of the walls which received to the earnest of eternal peace, the innocent and yet penitent Wamba? We have now popular histories, in convenient form, of all our ancient kings, but when we enter the Abbey of Westminster, and behold their sepulchres, do we believe that these statements, which we hold in our hands, exhibit their true image? The names of many of these kings, like Don Alonso VI. as described by Mariana, so modest and humble in prosperity, so constant and unmoved in adverse fortune, if they had belonged to men in a private station would have passed to immortality: all Spain was restored by the piety and valour of Don Pelayo, as was England by the virtue of Alfred.

And here a curious reflection suggests itself. In these latter ages, when men boast to have made such an advance in public virtue, and in the science of political society, when we behold kings, and noblemen who are really themselves kings, surrounded with every enjoyment that their rank and unlimited riches can bestow, and the only problem sub-

<sup>\*</sup> Cours d'Hist. Mod. tom. iv. 386.

mitted to the lovers of order, seems to be how to reconcile the minds of subjects to their own condition, and how to make them admit that such an unequal distribution of the goods of this world is consistent with the plans of Infinite Justice, what would be thought of a writer, who, for the purpose of vindicating the ways of Providence, should engage in a long enquiry, in order to discover how and when God had provided a reward for kings and men in authority, and who should conclude that there must be a more eminent recompence reserved for them in heaven? Would not our astonishment be increased, if this were a writer of profound genius and a deeply reflecting mind, distinguished by his love of genuine freedom, and by the boldness with which he was always ready to declare truth to princes? Such a writer, then, was found in the ages of faith, who, by this extraordinary meditation, has left a most glorious testimony, both to the doctrine then held, respecting power, and to the virtue of a great number of men, who then exercised it. From reflecting on the burden and perils of their service, that profound and acute philosopher, the angel of the school, sets himself to investigate what compensation the providence of God ordained for kings. He takes for granted their self-devotion, and says, "since it is the office of a king to seek the good of the multitude, this would seem too laborious a task, unless there were some good to result also to himself personally." then inquires what is that personal good, and after proving that it is not honour and glory, as some have thought, and still less riches, all which motives, besides being unworthy, would lead him to commit great evil; he concludes, that it consists in an eminent reward in heaven; est autem conveniens ut rex premium expectet a Deo.\* Accordingly, Garcias Louysa, in his councils of Spain, gives the discourse of bishops to a king, which takes this conclusion for granted: for they exclaim in the commencement, "O quam beata est vita regum justorum! quæ et his temporalibus rebus fulta nitescit, et in æternum cum angelis immortaliter requiescit!" Thus words that might, in other ages, be taken for an intolerable baseness, or for a satire, were received in ages of faith as a holy, a sincere, and just tribute to the merit of Catholic kings! Their reliques were often venerated as those of martyrs. Witness the hands of Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, which remained uncorrupted at Bamborough, in the time when the Saxon Chronicle was written; a king, as it declares, whose holiness and miracles were displayed on manifold occasions throughout the island. Witness again what is said of king Edward, who was slain at Corfegate, "deed more dreary than this was never done by the English, since they first sought the land of Britain. Men murdered him, but God has magnified him: he was, in life, an earthly king; he is now, after death, a heavenly saint: him would not his earthly relatives avenge; but his heavenly Father has avenged him amply. The earthly homicides would wipe out his memory from the earth, but the Avenger above has spread his memory abroad in heaven and in earth. Those who would not before bow to his living body, now bow on their knees to his dead bones. Now we may conclude that the wisdom of men and their meditations are as nought against the appointment of God."† And in truth, how different then were the ideal

<sup>\*</sup> De Regimine Princip. cap. vii. + The Saxon Chronicle, 164.

and exercise of power! See how far these rulers were removed from governing by the principles of the modern political science. The holy emperor Ferdinand II. says, amidst his perilous fortune, that he is resolved to lose the empire, and to go out begging alms with his family, rather than commit one unjust action to maintain his greatness: and Reginard, in his life of St. Annon of Cologne, testifies that the emperor Henry II. would never assume the royal ornaments, "insignia regia," until he had purified and healed his soul by sacramental confession and penance. The king Don Fernando, surnamed the great, increased his kingdom by the force of his virtues; his piety was so great, that on the translation of the body of St. Isidore, he and his children bore the coffin, and with bare feet carried it from the Douro to the church of St. John, in the city of Leon. The noble qualities of the king Don Alonso V. of Arragon were so displayed during his imprisonment, that the duke of Milan, charmed with his merit, desired to possess him for a friend, and gave him his liberty, sending him away loaded with presents. This king Alonso, by being defeated and taken prisoner in the battle against the Genoese, obtained more than if he had conquered, for the duke supplied him with fresh forces to obtain the kingdom of Naples.\* Witness their generosity. Don Diego of Arias, treasurer to king Don Enrique IV., represented one day to his majesty the necessity of being less bountiful, and of dismissing some useless pensioners; but the king refused to listen to his remonstrance. "We give to these," he replied, "because they are men of goodness: we give to the others, in order that they may not become wicked. As for my officers, I retain some, because I have need of them, and others because they have need of me."† Witness their diligence. Don Alonso the Wise, in one of his laws, prescribes rules to limit the recreation of princes. The king Don Fernando the Catholic used to instruct himself, even at the time of his diversions, for in hawking he used to listen to the dispatches which were read by a secretary, while he kept his eye upon the hawks. Don Emmanuel of Portugal used to give audience at the time of his recreation. The abbot Suger, in his life of Louis-le-gros, says of Louis the prince, during the life of his father, "this young hero, gay, conciliating all hearts, and endowed with a goodness, that made him be regarded by certain people as a simpleton, was hardly arrived at the age of puberty, when he shewed himself a courageous defender of his father's kingdom; he provided for the wants of the Churches, and he watched over the safety of labourers, artisans, and the poor. Having become king, by the grace of God, he did not lose the habits which he had acquired in his youth; he protected the Churches, sustained the poor and unhappy, and attended to the defence and to the peace of the kingdom: he made frequent expeditions into various parts to maintain the tranquillity of the Churches and of the poor." The abbot concludes thus, "It is the duty of kings to repress with their strong hand, and by the right of their office, the audacity of tyrants, who tear asunder the state by endless wars, and take a pleasure in pillaging the poor, and destroying the Churches." When the young prince Louis was to set out for Guienne, he went to

<sup>\*</sup> Savedra, i. 371.

<sup>§</sup> Id. cap. xiv.

<sup>†</sup> Savedra, i. 419. - ‡ Savedra, ii. 321,

E Cap. ii.

take leave of his father, Louis-le-gros. None of the ancient patriarchs ever spoke to their children, before dying, with more religion than did this Catholic king in embracing his son. "I pray God, my dear son," said he, "that Almighty God, who gives authority to the kings of the earth, that he may extend his favourable hand over you, and those whom I give you for companions; for if any fatal accident should befal you on the road, I could not survive that calamity. I have supplied you with all things necessary. Suffer not your troops to commit any devastation as they pass: take nothing without paying for it; and when you arrive, live in such a manner that your new subjects from being your friends may not become your enemies." Then he wept and embraced him. Pignotti says, that Hugo the Great, duke of Tuscany, should rather have been called the just and pious: he was accustomed privately to visit the cottages of his rustic subjects, interrogate them upon the government and character of their sovereign, and listen to their answers, which were not marked by fear or adulation. His memory is venerated by the ecclesiastics. The abbey of Florence is one of the seven monasteries founded and richly endowed by him; where his tomb and statue are to be seen, and where annually his praises are celebrated in a rhetorical declamation.\* Historians, in recording the accession of kings in these ages, are continually obliged to mention the joy and affection of the common people. Thus when Godfrey de Bouillon was elected king of Jerusalem, the old chronicle adds, "Dont tout le menu peuple en fut moult joyeulx, car moult l'aymoient:"† and describing the death of Baldwin, count of Thoulouse, it says, "et sachez que le dit conte fut merveilleusement plainct des grans et des petis par tout le pays, car il avoit bien employé tout son temps à l'honneur de Dieu et de la foy chrestienne, et fut grant dommage de sa mort pour la terre saincte."‡ Mark the universal cry of sorrow, which resounded within the castle and town of Amboise on the death of Charles VIII., or that which was heard in Bruges on the death of Philip the Good. John le Maine thus breaks forth in praise of Philip I. king of Spain,

> Le Roy des bons, du monde les délices, Le cultiveur des haults divins services, Le bien volu des povres et des riches.

And John Marot describing the departure of Louis XII. for Italy, says, that all men were equally afflicted at the thought of losing him, citizens, merchants, and mechanical people, and the poor rustic peasants; the latter of whom cry out, that they will arm and follow him.

C'est nostre Roy, nostre pere et appuy; Mieux nous vault morir en la bataille, Que de languir en doleur après luy.

The monk of the abbey of St. Germain, who relates the birth of Philip Augustus, furnishes a remarkable evidence of the popular feeling respecting that prince; for he says, "the messenger who brought us the news arrived at the moment when we were finishing lauds with the canticle of the prophet, Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, so that it al-

<sup>\*</sup> History of Tuscany, c. v.

<sup>\$</sup> Id. f. cxxvi.

<sup>†</sup> Le grant voyage de Hierusalem, f. cxxii. ¶ Gouget, tom. xi. 14.

most seemed an oracle of the events which followed." The festival of the king's patron was every where a festival of public observance and rejoicing. "What happy reigns!" says Monteil, "when a whole people, transported with loyal gratitude, make the signs of their devotion for the saints the signs of their attachment to their king."\* The pieces of money of St. Louis which have reached our time are all pierced. They used to be worn round the neck, like relics, through veneration for the sainted king. It should be observed, in general, that there was nothing of oriental seclusion in the manners of the Catholic kings. They lived rather like pastors and fathers of the people. The emperor Rodolph would not suffer that any one should be denied entrance to him in his palace. "I am not emperor in order to be shut up in a cage," he used to say. "Etiam fera animalia si clausa teneas virtutis obliviscuntur," says Tacitus.† James I. king of Arragon, when young, being confined too strictly by his preceptors, made his escape and fled from the court, and for this love of freedom is proposed as a model to princes, by Don Diego Savedra. The difficulty with which Ramiere III. used to grant an audience seemed so monstrous a defect in a king, that the kingdom of Leon rebelled against him, solely on that ground. The king Don Fernando the Saint never refused it to any one, and every person, of whatever rank or condition, might penetrate into his most retired cabinets. The kings Don Alonso XII. and Don Enrique III., as also Don Ferdinand and Isabella, used to give public audience three times a week. When I was at Pilnitz, the king of Saxony used to dine with all his family in a great hall, at the end of which the peasants might enter, and numbers of the younger sort, barefooted and in their labouring dress, used to enjoy the spectacle. This was in the style of Charle-magne. Charles VII. and Francis I., from whose reigns may be dated the revolution which took place in the spirit and manners of society, were the first kings of France of the third race, who publicly transgressed the moral law. After those examples, there were secrets of palaces which it was important to conceal by a system of seclusion, and the free court of the Christian king was thenceforth to be sought only in chronicles of the past. The same causes operating among the people occasioned the disgracefulness of this concealment to be less noticed. When the first liberty of man, the liberty from sin, perished, the last that from force and necessity, which is called the liberty of nature, was not slow to follow: when the indulgence of Solon was admitted into morals, magistrates were soon obliged to introduce the rigour of Dracon into the police: but this was found a weak barrier against the opposing flood. Revolution therefore followed, and vain attempts to reconstitute society: "for," as Pindar says, "it is easy even for the weakest to shake a city suddenly, but again to replace it in its seat is truly difficult, unless God should be a guide to its princes."

βάδιον μέν γὰρ πόλιν σεί σαι και φαυροπέριις ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώς ρας αὐθις ἐσσαι, δυσπαλές 
δὶ γίνεται ἐξαπίνασ, 
εἰ μὰ θεσ ἀρεμόνεσσι κυβερναπηρ γένηται. \*

God was to be no longer a guide to its princes, and in vain therefore was all their labour. As St. Augustin had said, the blessed city was not to be entered without avoiding false religion; \* nor was freedom to be secured by a people more docile to political than to religious laws; for in proportion as man loses his religious docility, he will forfeit his real political freedom, and less submissive to God, he will be more dependant upon man. It was an ancient progress of mankind which followed. Every one wished to command, and fearing the domination of one, the people fell under that of many: the name of liberty was sounded on all sides, but the reality was soon diminished; every man possessed it in idea; but each day fewer in fact. At no period of the middle ages did Christian nations ever suffer such exactions, such servitude, and such losses as they experienced under the shadow of liberty, and the boast of advancing civilization: they reduced themselves to a state which might be described in the words of Tacitus, "magis sine domino quam in libertate." And surely, we may add, while pride and hatred were thus seen instigating people against kings, and kings against people, to the mutual injury and dishonour of them both, it was made still clearer to the very eye of man than it could have been merely from the old experience of the peaceful life without its opposite, that even with regard to the fleeting interests of the present existence, the only secure policy was taught from the mountain, and that meekness diffused through the whole spirit and manners of a people, including both its legislation and its rulers, was the only basis of a lasting power; the only security for real freedom.

## CHAPTER V.

As when the pilgrim through an Alpine forest, losing the track of a path which fails abruptly, throws an anxious look on all sides through the dark labyrinth of mossy trunks, endeavouring to discover some woodman or returning guide, who might direct his steps; so now do I in vain desire to find some indication of a way that would conduct me to the end of this long argument, and to the opening of more happy scenes; for powers that rule must needs be conversant with evil, and "dark are earthly things, compared to things divine."

So far we have viewed the obedience of men in ages of faith, to the spiritual and to the civil powers, the origin of these authorities, and the objects of their administration:—now I proceed to visit with you the ordinary walks of men in social life; to mark the general character of a Catholic state, and the effects of meek obedience to this twofold govern-

<sup>\*</sup> De Civit. Dei, ii,

ment upon the constitution of the race of men,-a visit which may even instruct some persons who have had the opportunity of forming a personal acquaintance with it; for wanderers in our age see the cities, but do not, like Ulysses, behold the mind of various nations.\* And first respecting this view of its meek obedience, its freedom and public virtue, we have not to fear that great question which Plato had to answer in his republic, namely, to shew whether such a state be possible, or in what manner it can be possible, ως δυνατή αυτή ή πολιτεία γενέσθαι. † We are not driven to adopt his mode of escape, when he says, "Do you think that he would be a less good painter, who having made a portrait of the most perfectly beautiful person, and who had done all that art required, would yet be unable to prove that it was possible there might be such a man?" Though we may agree to his opinion when he asks, "Do you think it possible to do any thing exactly as one may say it, or is it consistent with nature " φύσιν έχει that practice should have more correspondence with truth than language?" he justly shews that in practice we can only arrive at an approximation to the perfect ideal. But in what has passed we have been concerned with no imaginary state of things, or mere theory of perfection. At each step we have rested upon historical facts; for let it be remembered, that sentiments and opinions taught as conveyed to us in ancient writings are themselves facts of history, and perhaps the only facts, on which we can always depend. We have seen that the basis of all was in truth a religious idea, and that the immediate cause in operation was the virtue to which that idea gave birth; so that looking upon that religion and upon those manners, we may be obliged, as Plato says, to admit that whoever would embrace these, so as to become most like the men of ages of faith, would experience a fortune most similar to theirs; and after this it would be easy to discover and shew why the same harmony does not now exist in states, and on account of what cause they do not so much approximate to the ideal of happy society, and what circumstances, though very small, being changed (in speculation it would be a small change to substitute for protestations of independence, meekness, leading to a return of obedience to the holy see which would be sufficient,) the state would be brought once more to favour, not as at present only the material and sensual, but the intellectual and spiritual interests of mankind. Modern writers in their contempt for these ages, besides having confounded causes together which had no connexion, have shewn that they never rightly understood society, as it had been formed by the Catholic religion. The greatest enemies of this religion of truth must admit a fact, which De Saint Victor says is as clear as the light of the sun-that it has developed the intelligence in all ranks of the social hierarchy, and to a degree of which no society of pagan antiquity can offer an example. Hence it followed that the people, properly speaking, could among Christian nations become free and enter into civil society, because every Catholic Christian, however ignorant and rude, has in himself, by his faith and by the perpetuity of instruction, a rule of manners and a principle of order sufficient to maintain him in this society without disturbing it: whereas the pagan multitude who had no such moral law, or who at

<sup>\*</sup> Odys. lib. i. 3.

least had very incomplete notions of it, was obliged to remain in a state of slavery, in order that it might not overthrow society. The moral history of the ages of faith proves the truth of this observation. In referring to it, reader, you are journeying to a Catholic land, "id est," we may add in the language of Pliny, and with far greater justice than when he used it, "ad homines maxime homines, ad liberos maxime liberos, qui jus a natura datum, virtute, meritis, amicitia, fœdere denique et religione, tenuerunt." You are going to behold a state that is earthly, and therefore imperfect, composed of men, and therefore liable to a thousand disorders and afflictions; but it is a state constituted with an especial view to all the spiritual necessities and to all the noble capacities of the redeemed race that is destined to rise to a life immortal: it is a state in conformity with the principles of nature, in which the imagination, the purity and the happiness of the youngest member, are deemed of greater importance than the thoughts and interests of the highest in the walks of commerce and ambition, and one in which gloom and proud severity, and merciless industry, are never suffered to enter under the mask of virtue. The apostles of nations, and the saintly kings who placed their crowns at the foot of the altar, founded these old Catholic monarchies, and as Pindar says of Hieron establishing the new city of Ætna upon the genuine Doric principles, they founded them "with heaven-built freedom."† "Your solicitude for the public good," says St. Hilary of Poitiers to a government that was disposed to abuse its power, "your imperial vigils, in a word the whole labour of your sovereignty should have for object to secure for all those over whom it extends the sweetest of all treasures, liberty. There is no mode of appeasing troubles, and of reuniting what is divided, unless every one, emancipated from all the fetters of servitude, be able to live according to his choice."‡ "Impius et crudelis judicandus est qui libertati non favet," was the old Catholic maxim of English law. "Nihil autem gloriosius libertate, præter virtutem," says John of Salisbury, adding "si tamen libertas recte à virtute sejungitur," for to all wise persons it is clear, he continues, "that true liberty can proceed from nothing else: so that a man is virtuous as far as he is free, and free as far as he is virtuous. Vices alone bring men into slavery, to persons, and to things. What, therefore, is more amiable than liberty? What more favourable to one who has any reverence for virtue? We read that all good princes have promoted it, and that none have ever trampled upon liberty, but the manifest enemies of virtue." To think that the new religious systems which dissolved the ancient union of society have been favourable to political liberty, would in nations under their influence be every man's thought: no doubt, as Prince Henry says to Poins, he is "a blessed fellow who thinks as every man thinks:" and we may add, never a man's thought in the world kept the roadway better than that of Blackstone, who in eulogising Edward VI. and in reviling Mary, records the most oppressive and tyrannical laws enacted by the former, and the most just and mild laws enacted by the latter. Their principle has on the contrary been favourable to anarchy and despotism, though it may have met with contrary

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. viii. 24. † Pyth. i. 61. † Epist. ad Constant. August. † De Nugis Curialium, lib. vii. cap. xxv.

causes to neutralize its effects; for as the learned father Ventura observes, "there are some people of Europe who although they have ceased for three centuries to believe, and to think catholically, yet in many respects have continued hitherto to live catholically; and there are others who after monarchy has been destroyed, yet continue to be governed monarchally; so that if they retain any thing true in matter of religion, or right in politics, it is not to be ascribed to their inventions or rebellions, whose institutions are of no weight, but to the ancient traditions of the Catholic religion, and of monarchy, which have not as yet been totally effaced; but when these traditions and manners shall have vanished, then it will be manifest how pernicious was their departure

from the true religion and from their just institutions."\*

With regard to the religious element that entered into the constitution of a Catholic state, we may observe that Leibnitz recognised its necessity, and admired the exterior society of God and man, which he calls "the state the most perfect under the most perfect of monarchs:" under which it is impossible for men to live as Isocrates described the Persians, "all their lives either insulting over others, or else servilely enslaved to others, which must of all things corrupt the nature of men."† This really secured that spiritual excellence of government which Tacitus ascribed in a material sense to Nerva, saying, "res olim insociabiles miscuisset, imperium et libertatem." It was this element which inspired the desire and enhanced the real value of political freedom: witness what Don Savedra testifies of the Belgians in his time, that "they love religion and liberty, neither deceiving others nor enduring to be deceived." The liberty, however, which was loved in these ages was not an abstraction, but a real personal exemption and immunity from the inconvenience and indignity of servitude. This is expressed even on the tomb of the Norman hero, Jourdan, son of Roger, on which was inscribed "quantus fuit auctor domesticæ libertatis ipse devicta à Barbaris Sicilia demonstrat;" and that under the influence of Christianity even the remains of pagan servitude were unattended with individual misery may be inferred from the fact, that when Louis X. published his ordinance, very few of the serfs desired to redeem themselves, so that the king by letters declared afterwards "that many have not known the greatness of the benefit which was offered to them." It must be remembered that until the fifth century there were in Gaul two distinct societies, the civil and religious, which differed not only in their object but also because they were governed by different principles. The civil society seemed to be Christian like the religious, but at the bottom it was in fact pagan; it derived from paganism its institutions, its laws, and its manners. The Christian civil society, as Guizot remarks, was not developed till later, after the invasion of the barbarians; and we must carefully distinguish its action and institutions from the influence of the ancient legislation; for the founders of Christian states had not the advantage which Plato ascribes to his ideal legislators: when a necessity fell upon the Christian clergy to apply the things which they contemplated in the regions of universal truth and order to the manners of men

<sup>\*</sup> De Methodo Philosophandi. Roma, cap. ii. art. 6.

thrist. Prince, ii. 384.
Vol. I.—30

<sup>†</sup> Panegyr. 72. Cours d'Hist. Mod. iv.

in public as well as in private, and not merely to form themselves, they were not, indeed, found bad artists to form temperance and justice, and all that belongs to the virtue of a people: for in employing their pencil, and in tracing that picture from a divine model, they constituted states which were highly favourable to the sanctification and eternal beatitude of men, but they were not permitted in the first instance, as Socrates required, to take as a piece of plain canvas the city and the manners of men, and make it clean, which he acknowledges would be no easy matter: they enjoyed no such distinction over all legislators, that they never were required to touch either an individual or a state, or to make laws before they either received or made it pure and clean.\* They found the world polluted with all the vices of the old pagan civilization, and the new elements entrusted to them were wild and barbarous; yet their deep and sweet colours succeeded at last in overpowering the almost inveterate and loathsome forms over which they had to work: their labour cannot be better described than in the very words of Plato. "While painting the form of the state they continually turned their eyes from one to the other, that is, from what is essentially just and beautiful and wise, and all such things, to what actually takes place among men, blending and fashioning from these models the ideal of humanity To andgetheshor, taking as their point of departure or as their model that which Homer called as being among men Bereides to und Bereinenov: and parts they effaced and parts they refreshed and repainted, until they rendered the manners of men as far as is possible worthy of being the object of divine love." This was their noble painting of a government, not "the unhistoric rational state on the revolutionary destructive principle, which Frederick Schlegel well denounces as clearly irreconciliable with Christianity and in opposition to it,"† but the Christian Catholic and holy state, according to whose law man was contained in the family, the family in the nation, the nation in religion, religion in the universe, the universe in the immensity of God,—that holy, just, and happy state, which really enjoyed what the ancient sages and poets ascribe without reason to some of their people; for, in that of truth reigned, as Pindar says, Eunomia, or good legislation, and her sisters Justice and Peace, of congenial manners, the foundation of happy governments, and the dispensers of wealth to men. ‡ Or as the same profound poet says of the Locrian Epizeplyriaus, arp new governed their city, which word comprises all that is true in a government, integrity in manners, wisdom in legislation, and justice in the tribunals. Here was that harmony with that social order which Maximus of Tyre says is what saves a state. Here was really found that unity, of the importance of which Plato had so profound a sense, that to secure it he had recourse in his speculations to those wild and extravagant conceits which are the disgrace of his noble work on the republic: to have unity he sacrifices every thing, and even the moral law of nature. His plan is ridiculous to the last degree, detestable, monstrous, but so much the more does it prove the depth of his conviction, that unity in a state was essential to its happiness. Let it not be thought that I exaggerate in ascribing to the Catholic states of ages of faith, the

<sup>\*</sup> De Repub. lib. vi.

<sup>‡</sup> Olymp. xiii.

Philosophie der Geschichte, ii. 114.
Olymp. x. § xxii. 3.

advantage which seemed so admirable and so unattainable to Plato. Guizot is struck with observing the moral unity which prevailed in France during a period of such multitudinous divisions of territory as took place under the feudal system. He endeavours to account for it in this way. "It is because in the life of a people, the exterior and visible unity, the unity of name and of government, however important, is not the first; the most real is that which truly constitutes a nation. There is a unity more profound, more powerful, that which results, not from an identity of government and destiny, but from the similitude of social elements, from similitude of institutions, manners, ideas, sentiments, and languages, the unity which resides in the men themselves who are reunited in society, and not in the form of their approximation; in short, moral unity, far superior to political unity, and which can alone form its solid foundation." Perhaps the fact admitted might be accounted for in fewer words, but its decided recognition by such a writer is sufficiently remarkable. In a Catholic state one might have looked upon every person in every rank as one of a great but closely united family, possessing the same affections, entrusted with the same secrets, and acting from the same motives for the same end: this poor labourer, this young apprentice, this student, this soldier, this artisan, this king, had all the same sources of instruction and consolation as yourself. In the tribunal of penance, they had all been taught the same lessons and traditions, and had been all directed to the same end. In every other state, whether heathen or modern, each man has his own motives, his own rule of right and wrong, his own end in view; perhaps he thinks virtues what you regard as sins, and sins against his type of perfection what you regard as the highest virtue: in the Catholic states there was only one standard even amidst desertions, only one morality understood even by those who departed from it, as there was but one faith: what an increase of public and social happiness resulted from such unity! It is true meek obedience was a prominent feature in this painting, but that this was not opposed to real freedom, or a source of servitude, has, perhaps, already been sufficiently shewn. Müller says, "with the Dorians, that comparatively free and noble people of antiquity, so great was the desire of unity in the state, that greater importance was attached to obedience than to the assertion of individual freedom."† In fact, the Spartans considered an immunity from labour as constituting entire liberty. True, in Christian states there was degree and subordination of ranks, necessarily attended with an unequal distribution of the goods of this world,-

> But government, though high, and low, and lower, Put into parts, did keep in one concert, Congruing in a full and natural close

"Old men participate by the very law of nature in paternity," says Bonald, "and young men owe them deference: persons weak in mind or body, from sex or condition, participate in the claims of childhood, and require protection. Society is all paternity and dependance, rather than fraternity and equality." The Gallic rioters of the ill-guided city

<sup>\*</sup> Cours d'Hist. Mod. tom. iv. 1.

<sup>‡</sup> Législat. Prim. ii. 75.

<sup>†</sup> Hist. of the Dorians, book iv.

talk of the fraternization of nations just as the great depopulators of the earth always affect to attach great importance to population. The Church reminded men of a real fraternity, "Hæc est vera fraternitas, que numquam potuit violari certamine; qui effuso sanguine secuti sunt Dominum." The patrimonial bond considered in its primitive purity is the sweetest form of human existence;

Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit Servitium; nunquam libertas gratior extat Quam sub rege pio!

never more grateful, and when allied to Christian manners, never more secure, for the political inventions of men are of less avail than the provisions of nature. "This patrimonial bond," says de Haller, " is the lightest and gentlest that can be conceived; it makes not the least encroachment upon the liberty of man. That which is generally styled domination and dependance consists only in voluntary and reciprocal engagements, in a mutual assistance and an exchange of benefits. Certainly, nature in forming this bond, and in uniting men only by a law of love, has shewn herself more affectionate towards us, her tender solicitude has provided better for our freedom, our happiness, and even our desire of a higher fortune, than all the philosophers with their pretended rational states, their arbitrary or constitutional associations, and their odious establishments of coercion."\* It was characteristic of these ages, that while in all the relations and circumstances of social intercourse men were simple, natural, open to all the sweet and loving harmonies of life, unfettered by the trammels of false refinement, and the hateful barriers which pride would introduce between the different ranks of the great Christian family, they were, if I may so say, supernatural or alive to the sublime elevation of things divine above the visible world in all the relations and circumstances of religion; exactly as the converse is true with the moderns, who are miserably enslaved in their social intercourse while they affect to be natural in their religion, from opinions and manners which either destroy it altogether or render it so far from being natural, a system at total variance with what is really in harmony with the deepest sentiments of nature. We have an incidental and undesigned evidence of the union and happiness of the old societies of Europe in the description which the pilgrims have given of the states through which they passed. Thus brother Nicole, author of the famous voyage to Jerusalem, says of Venice: " Chose superflue seroit a homme vouloir descrisre la grant paix et concorde de que ont entre eulx les citoyens, seigneurs, et urbanité, magnificence, amour, benivolence par quoy leur chose publique par avant petite est devenue grande. Chascun le voit et appercoit. Au surplus qui dira la grande religion ou foy qu'ils ont a Dieu, a saincte Eglise, et a toute la discipline ecclesiastique?"† Anquetil says, "that the subordination established among the clargy of Rheims in the time of Charles VII, became a model which the laity were anxious to imitate, and that the spirit of peace, union, and concord, the result of religion exercised in its purity, made all the inha-

<sup>\*</sup> Restaurat. de la Science Pol. tom. iii. chap. liii. † Le grant voyage de Hierusalem. Paris, 1517. f. viii.

bitants of the city like one and the same family."\* The moderns would think that he must not be an indifferent orator, who should undertake to prove, that in the ages of faith the people exercised an acknowledged and often effectual power in the state, but though we were persons always as hard to be convinced as Cebes,† nothing is less questionable than that they did. ‡ We have seen that in the theory and practice of ecclesiastical rule, from which the civil was in a great measure modelled, the advice and interests of the community governed were always to be consulted. Accordingly we find in an article of a capitulary of Charlemagne, which commences with these words, "Ut populus interrogetur de capitulis quæ in lege noviter addita sunt," that the emperor, not content with ordering his officers to read "in mallo publico" to the citizens of each territory, the laws newly made, desires besides that their opinion should be asked, and that each person should testify either by his signature or by his seal his acquiescence in the new ordinance. However the modern politicians may deem such a reference unnecessary, we can only understand the reason and spirit of this ancient government by looking back to the origin and elements of the Christian society. In the first place, then, the people had priority of claims to its advantages inasmuch as religion commenced with them. The modern systems, unlike Christianity, began with the great and noble. In the first assembly of Huguenots in the year 1557, which was discovered in the street of St. James, at Paris, and dispersed by the populace, there were found among them many persons of the highest rank, and several ladies of the court, some of whom were in waiting upon the queen. From the first they had many gentlemen in their ranks who were ever ready to draw their swords and rush out upon the people as in the affair of the church of St. Marceau, where their fury was excited by hearing the bells tolling for vespers.§ In England and Germany, Protestantism introduced itself by the head of the state, by princes, and nobles, and magistrates, and men of letters, and descended slowly into the lower ranks. Christianity followed an opposite course; it commenced in the plebeian classes, with the poor and ignorant, the faith ascended by degrees into the higher ranks, and reached at length the imperial throne. It is a remark of Chateaubriand, too just to be rejected, "that the two impressions of these two origins have remained distinct in the two communions."\*\* The same difference continues in the propagation of the two religions. By the preaching and miracles of St. Francis Xavier, the whole kingdom of Travancor embraced the Catholic religion with the exception of the king and the chief men of his court. H In the missions of the Protestants, it is invariably the higher classes which furnish them with a favourable soil. So little alive are they to the natural inference from this startling fact, that in magnifying their national religions they always speak of their happy effects in giving some certain tone to high society or to literature or in contributing to some worldly advantage, which virtually belongs alone to the ranks above the poor. There is in truth always a secret tendency in the higher classes to disdain the company of

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. de Rheims, lib. iv. p. 8. † Plato, Phædo. 77.

<sup>†</sup> Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxxvii. 541.

| Baluze Capit. An. 819.
| St. Victor Tableau de Paris, tom. iii. p. 27.
| Bouhours, i. 129.

the shepherds at Bethlehem, and to follow where the fishermen had led. The poor shepherds believed the angel, and the rich will not believe apostles, prophets, angels, or the Triune Eternal God who sends them. The name of Paganus was affected for a long time by certain great families, though it attested the original paganism of some member.\* It is only perhaps at Rome in our age, where nobles generally are seen to contend with the poor in speed to seek Christ. To the observation of Chateaubriand we may add, that in the political doctrine of states and legislations, the two impressions of the two religions are still discernible. While the moderns have alternately rejected or exaggerated the doctrine of the popular power, the great writers of the middle age maintained it within its just proportion. St. Thomas, for instance, said, "that since law was given for the general good, it was not the reason of any individual that could make law, but that of the multitude or of the prince who stood in place of it." Cardinal Bellarmin placed no mediate power between the people and God, but he supposes the people to be between the king and God. Suarez t confirms this doctrine by the authority of St. Ambrose, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Augustin. Liguori speaks to the same effect. "It is certain," he says, "that power is given to men of making laws, but this power as it respects civil laws belongs by nature to no one, but only to the community, and from this it is transferred to one or to more by whom the community is governed." Fenelon also says, "the temporal power comes from the community which is called the nation," \ and Bossuet says, "no one denies that the power of kings is not in such a manner from God, but that it is also by the consent of the people."\*\* The Abbe de la Mennais shews that this doctrine of St. Thomas and other theologians is not to be confounded with that of Jurieu and Rousseau, which they defended under the name of sovereignty of the people, which supposes that the people have no other law but their own will, which creates justice, whereas Catholic theologians lay down as a principle, that the people as well as an individual is subject to the divine law of justice, essentially independent of its will, and promulgated by the conscience of the human race. Aware of all the abuses to which the exercise of that right is liable, which cannot however destroy that right, they have with St. Thomas endeavoured to guard against them, saying, "a tyrannical government is unjust, being ordained not for the common good, but for the private good of the ruler. 'Therefore, the disturbance of this rule is not sedition, unless when the overthrow of tyranny is so inordinately pursued, that the multitude suffers more from the disturbance than from the existence of the government."# In fact, during ages of faith, though the popular power was generally exercised in a legal resistance, which sufficiently preserved society from the dangers of a reckless revolution, yet the greatest monarchs had occasion to feel the necessity of guarding against its expression in a less orderly form; but true to the origin of its emancipation, it was seldom formidable excepting in defence of its religion. Hence it was that Savedra warns kings and their ministers

<sup>\*</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xi. 104.

<sup>†</sup> Defens. Fidei Cathol. lib. iii. cap. ii. 6 Tom xvii. \*\* Defens. v. cap. xxi.

<sup>† 1, 2, 9, 90,</sup> A. iii.—Id. 97 ad 3.

| De Legibus, i. Tract. ii. p. 104.

†† Sum. 22. 9. 42, Art. ii. ad 3.

never to meddle with religion, or commence a contest with ecclesiastics, because, he adds, "this will kindle the fury of the people against them."\* Charles V. so feared the people, that he decreed public prayers and processions through all Spain, to obtain the deliverance of the pontiff, whom his own troops kept prisoner in Italy. With the heathen sentiments of a false and unattainable liberty, the moderns also adopted their expressions of contempt and hatred for the lower orders of the state; expressions which, in a Christian society, are both unjust and opposed to the original laws and institutions of government. In ages of faith, the people were not that vulgar spoken of by Cicero, in whom "is no counsel, no reason, no discrimination, no diligence; whose actions, while suffered by wise men, were seldom to be praised:"t the majority of whom were evil, as Pylades said to Orestes; whom no poet was ever to address, as Theognis, the Megarian, said of the peasants of his native land, ranking them with the wicked; they were not that Athenian people described by Demosthenes "the most treacherous of all things, changeable as the wind upon the inconstant sea;" not that democracy whose gifts, as the moderns would infer, are always a Cyclopian grace, to destroy others first and their friends last. The Divine Saviour taught men not to be so proudly ready to rail at the multitude, and had left them his example in those gracious words benign, "misereor super turbam." Moreover, the constitution of a Christian state recognized them as entitled to every protection, and secured the perpetuity of institutions founded by charity for their advantage. Church claimed them as the objects of her especial love, and formed them by her discipline to become what they still continue, in every Catholic country, when not perverted by the policy, and driven to exasperation by the injustice of rulers, a most innocent, joyous, and engaging race, whose name might no longer be taken for that of a nation, but seems to be rather that of Christian intelligence. The Church prayed oftener for the people, than for kings. She wished, that their approval might accompany her elections, and she indicated its necessity for kings in the ceremony of their coronation. The first grand objects which meet the eye in the capital of her government derive their title from the people; as if to remind men of that ancient discipline, which lasted in practice till the XIIIth century, and which continues always in spirit to distinguish ecclesiastical rule: it is through the gate of the people that you enter Rome, and the first church, of St. Mary, which presents itsself to the pilgrim, is also entitled of the people: many of her solemn and holy orders have their especial missions to console and assist the people; and it is among the lower classes, who, as Bonald says, are always in the first age of society; it is among the devout multitude, who come from far over the mountains in peaceful pilgrimage to Alvernia, or to the blessed house which crowns the eastern shore of Italy, or to the rock of the archangel which beheld his bright vision beside the Adriatic, that the piety, and simplicity, and innocence of ages of faith may still be found, -not amidst the disdainful assembly of those who meet in the chapels of some proud metropolis, to display their charms,

<sup>\*</sup> Christian Prince, i. 566. ‡ Eurip. Iph. in Taur. 670.

<sup>†</sup> Orat. pro C. Plancio, iv. § S. Matt, viii. 2.

or their grandeur, in the appropriated tribunes that are formed to separate them from the poor. Let the haughty rich men, who legislate in favour of their philosophy, bear these facts in mind, and let them at least respect the right of prior possession. The Catholic religion, with all its seeds of future fruit to be developed at the Church's pleasure, embraced by the poor, was here established before them: they found it here; it is no upstart; they did not vote it into existence; a majority of their voices was not required for its establishment, as in that scene among the American savages, who lately decided for Christianity by rising from their seats. They were not once consulted about it. But let us consider other objections which are usually advanced against the political state, in ages of faith: let us come to the question of Æschylus-who next is ranged here against the city? It is objected then, that there were not those political debates, to discuss measures of government, which are now thought so essential to the happiness of every virtuous and free people. Much might be advanced in reply. The action of the Catholic religion in ages of faith necessarily secured domestic liberty from falling a victim to the immoderate licence of assemblies.\* Unskilful men, rude and ignorant of political relations, had other pleasures, other means of exercising their intellectual activity, besides sitting down as in a theatre to listen to the discourse of sophists, to hear "these fellows of infinite tongue," these ten thousand loquacious youths who make incessant speeches, birdwitted chirruppers, whose only muse is that of swallows, to hear money changers speaking on institutions of piety, and lawyers on education. Besides, the people knew too well their own interest to desire the rule of the multitude, and to wait for the mutual revelations of a Cleon and the sausage-seller,† though to hear such wrangling may be joy to vulgar minds. It is a remark of Savedra, and repeated by De Haller, that every numerous assembly, although composed of chosen men, and more or less cultivated, nevertheless, in many respects, resembles the populace: modern history proves that they are subject to the same passions, and impelled by that sanguine eloquence, that exaggerated expression, which is so uncongenial with philosophy, equally insensible to the dictates of justice. "The great crowd of men has a blind heart," says Pindar.

ที่ กาง อุ่นเกอร สิ่งอัฐฉัง อั หายเอาจระ †

The government by assemblies feeds the love of contention and the love of honours, which Plato reckons among the greatest evils of an ill-constituted state: || and when there is a foundation of error in principle, it subjects states to frequent variations. No one knows how to fix the bounds of liberty and the confines of servitude: on the contrary, there is seen a mixture of servitude and licence. "Liberty becomes only a word with the people who wish to have power to do every thing, and with the nobles who wish to subdue every thing." This is said by the great historian of Florence. A government of this kind secretly nourishes the love of riches, because it in fact participates in the character of an oligarchy, and as Socrates says, virtue has the same relation to

<sup>\*</sup> Cicero pro I., Flacco.

| De Repub. viii.

<sup>†</sup> Aristoph. Equites. § Lib. iv.

wealth that exists between any two objects in a balance, of which each has always a force acting contrary to the other, so that riches and rich men being honoured, virtue and good men will be dishonoured of necessity.\* Moreover, such a government would have been contrary to those habits of thoughtful retirement, and of a holy life, which were deemed of far greater value than any worldly interests whatever. Pindar ascribes the love of bold harangues to those who are fond of drunken banquets,

θαςσαλέα δε παςὰ πρατήςα φωνά γίνεται.†

The Romans under their kings received the abstinence of the Pythagoreans, and under their consuls the luxury of Epicurus. It was a maxim of the Christian philosophy to beware of the tumult of men, and as far as possible to avoid being drawn into the controversies of the world, "cito enim inquinamur vanitate, et captivamur." The churches were the places of assembly for Christians, and their lips were opened to sing the praises of God. Ah! seek me there, they would have replied to those who desired them to repair to political debates, approach the divine altars, before which you will find me prostrate,

—— Non me impia namque Tartara habent tristesque umbræ; sed amœna piorum Concilia, Elysiumque colo.‡

We find that the great moralists of antiquity had sentiments not different from Christians in ages of faith respecting the public or rhetorical life. The maxim of the Pythagoreans was celebrated; Plutarch, in his treatise on education, advises parents to keep their children as far as is possible from the vanity of wishing to appear before an assembly of the rommons; and he cites some lines of Euripides, which Amyot thus translates:

Langue je n'ay diserte et affilée Pour harenguer devant une assemblée, Car qui scait mieulx au gré d'un peuple dire Est bien souvent entre sages le pire.

σαῦλοι, παρ' όχλφ μουσικώτεςοι λέγειν.

"Those," he continues, "who acquire a habit of extempore speaking, besides contracting other faults, tombent en une merveilleux superfluité de langage," as Amyot translates it, and thus become accustomed to utter "an infinity of impertinent and vain things:" and what an additional evil would have followed when these impertinent and vain things were to pass into laws. "The liberals of every country," says Potter, who is himself a liberal, "commit the unpardonable fault of wishing to reform ideas, (great reform they would effect no doubt) by laws. They know not that to torment, vex, and outrage men is a bad way to convince them, and that to destroy is not to change." Pindar says, "it is impossible that a deceitful citizen should deliver an effective speech among good men;" but among those who form the majority of hearers in an assembly, the humble simplicity of real political truth would be laughed out of countenance, to make place for the theories of men, who,

<sup>\*</sup> De Repub. lib. viii. † Nem. ix. † Æneid., v. 733. || Union des Catholiques et des Liberaux dans les Pays-bas, † Pyth. ii. Vol. I.—31

as Florent Galli says, "by nature noble endeavour to recover in politics the dignity which they have lost in morals." This was the result of the enquiry which Socrates instituted among men famed for political science: he found that those men who enjoyed the greatest reputation for wisdom, when examined, as if before God, were found most wanting, whereas others that seemed simpler were men really more near to wisdom,\* The man who would correspond in his own life to the best constituted state, says Plato, must love the muse, and love to hear, but he must not be a rhetorician, φιλομουσον και φιλήκουν, βητορικόν δ' ουδαμώς. + "If any one," says Cicero, "omitting the right and honest studies of reason and duty, should consume all his work in the exercise of speaking, there will be nourished a citizen useless to himself, and pernicious to his country;"; one whose least offence and injury, as the history of a later age proves, will be when his tongue, like a fan of sedition, excites the assembly of the poor. Have you never heard of the Loupgarou? asks Socrates; I believe, he continues, that this is, in fact, some democratic leader, polluted in tongue and hands, and now of necessity become a wolf, after having been a man during life. But it is not to be inferred from these remarks, that the spirit of this society was opposed to the great judicial and legislative councils of a nation: on the contrary, the ecclesiastical assemblies, so free and wisely constituted, were a model imitated in the civil order; and the very principle of opposition was derived from their forms, in which men, who had reasonable objections to advance, were exhorted boldly to produce them for the love of God. They were not, indeed, to quarrel about who should save the state, like Ulysses and Diomede, and still less to seek only their own glory, desiring to be the sole authors of the action, and conspiring against all others who should endeavour to assist their country, as Ulysses, when he determined to kill Diomede, when he carried off the Palladium; but the people were, without doubt, represented in the general assemblies. In France the kings of the first race, as in the constitution of Childebert I., express their will as the result of an universal consent. "We all assembled, of every condition, together with our nobles, have resolved, nos omnes congregati de quibuscumque conditionibus una cum optimatibus."\*\* And we find in the annals of St. Bertin, that the people were convened to the assembly at Nimegue, in the year 831,—Percunctatus est populus—a cuncto qui aderat populo judicatum est. We may conclude, therefore, from such passages, as also from what we have before shewn, that the people exercised real power in the state; but this is carefully to be distinguished from that voice of sophists, which is sometimes called public opinion, the object of execration to Plato and to all truly wise men in every age in which it existed; but in the middle ages it did not exist in the ordinary sense of the term. The language of Socrates on this point is peculiarly interesting; and it will furnish the best answer to those who despise the state of society in the middle ages, on account of not being able to discover in them the action of that public opinion which he condemns. Mark, for instance, what a reply he fur-

+ D. Bouquet, vi. 173.

<sup>\*</sup> Plato Apolog. xxii. † De Repub. viii. 

† De Inventior

§ In the Rite of Ordination for Deacons. + De Inventione, lib. i. 1. De Repub. lib. viii. \*\* Baluse, tom. i. capit. an. 595.

pishes to those sophists who maintain, that holy wise men living in religious retreat are the corruptors and deceivers of the young, and that the public opinion, and the world in general, by all which they mean only the voice of their own party, would form them better. "Truly, this would be a great happiness for the young, if one or a few only corrupted them, and the rest of men were for setting them right."\* In the Gorgias he evinces the same judgment respecting this public opinion. "Ask any one of these if it be not so?" is the appeal of Polus the sophist, to which Socrates replies; "O Polus, I am not one of the politicians; and last year when my tribe had the privilege, and it was necessary for me to compute the suffrages, and to refer them to the council, I caused a great laughter, not knowing how to set about it. Therefore do not desire me now to appeal to the judgment of the company; I know how to produce one witness, the person with whom I discourse; but as for the public, I salute it and let it pass. I know how to collect the vote of one person; but to the multitude I do not even speak."† In ages of faith it was not the supposed voice of this multitude which, as Plato says, really perfected the education of the young, making them and all others whatever it wished them to be, both young and old, men and women; they were not formed by that noisy and intemperate public opinion, which he describes as one might write of it in our own times, as a sound re-echoed in all the public assemblies, in the tribunals, in the theatres, in the camps. It is true the common judgment of Christian ages was not different from the private instructions of education; but if it had been otherwise formed and developed, there would have been an end of harmony in the state; for no private education could have resisted this influence, and the young would have been carried away by the public expression of blame and praise, in whatever direction they impelled them. So that without taking into account what Socrates adds respecting the deeds which sophists united with their instructions, in punishing with dishonour and with penalties those whom they could not convince by reason, deeds now witnessed within the loathsome towers of Ham in Gallic land, we may conclude with his words, that certainly there was no private instructor who could have overcome this contrary impulse, had it existed, that the mere attempt to produce one would have been madness; and since that power, whatever it may be called, is wielded, not in reality by the people, but by the sophists who come forward in its name, the absence of so tremendous a danger in ages of faith should be only an additional reason to feel convinced that their state was And here an observation is suggested, which reseminently happy. pects latter ages, rather than the past; for who does not perceive that the two camps now opposed to each other, those who adhere to the wisdom of Christian antiquity, and those who support a system contrary to it, are, as far as respects nature, differently affected by the action of this great intellectual and moral power? The former being children of the Catholic Church, accustomed to union, and sweet conformity with all around them, when placed in a different society, the influence of its opinion and manners has an unnatural force, derived from their laudable disinclination to be singular; whereas, on the contrary, those who pro-

<sup>\*</sup> Plato Apolog. xxv.

test against the principles of the Catholic religion are never so secure and so fierce as when in a Catholic country, where they enjoy in the greatest perfection their favourite privilege of singularity. The concluding sentence of Socrates, in the fifth book of the Republic, is very remarkable. "For neither is there, nor was there, nor can there ever be any system of education favourable to virtue capable of resisting this general opinion of society, that is, human system, O comrade, for I except from our discourse what is divine: and you ought to know well. that in such a condition of the state, when the multitude are thus disposed, if any one should be saved, and should become what he ought to be, you will not err in saying that he has been saved by an especial providence of God. Besides this, you should remark that these private instructors, who give lessons for money, and whom the multitude call sophists, regarding them as their rivals and opposition pedagogues, teach nothing else but the opinions of this very multitude, whose passions they study to please, as if it were a great animal, which they desired to understand thoroughly. Whoever lives with the multitude, presenting it either with a poem or some other work of art, or public service, making the multitude his master more than is right-must do all the things that will please it, of Diomedian necessity. Have you ever heard such a man giving a reason to show why and in what manner, in reality, things are good, and honourable, and fair, which was not altogether laughable and ridiculous? Certainly not; for they study only what seems good, and honourable, and fair, to the brutish multitude." far Socrates. "It is impossible to express," says Montaigne, "how much our mind loses and degenerates by the constant commerce and acquaintance with low and diseased souls. There is no contagion which spreads like that." It is not too much to affirm, that to the absence of a power capable of extending this contagion beyond even the ability of natural causes must be ascribed in a great measure, not only the spiritual happiness of society, during the ages of faith, but also the phenomenon which they present in the prodigious fruitfulness of nature in giving birth to men of extraordinary virtue and greatness of soul: and "how many excellent spirits," as Savedra says, "how many generous characters did then spring up and die unknown, which would have been the admiration of the whole world, if they had been once employed!" Does it seem against the evidence of history to affirm this? But even several modern writers themselves acknowledge its truth. "Another advantage," says Guizot, "from studying the history of the middle ages is political. Our time may be characterized by a certain weakness, a certain softness in minds and manners. Individual wills and convictions want energy and confidence: men take up a common opinion, obey a general impulse, and yield to an exterior necessity. Whether it be for resistance or for action, no one has a great idea of his own force, or any confidence in his own thought. Individuality, in a word, the intimate and personal energy of man, is weak and timid. Amidst the progress of general liberty many men seem to have lost the noble and powerful sentiment of their own liberty. Such was not the middle age: the social condition then was deplorable," (these writers, like painters, employ shades to make their sentences picturesque) "but in many men individuality was strong, and will energetic: the moral nature of man

appeared here and there, in all its grandeur, and with all its power."\* Bonald saw the difference and indicated the cause. "We have become so accustomed to think only in a crowd, to speak only in public, to think on laws only in a committee, to discuss them only in the courts, to establish them only by a majority of voices, that the most learned and able men feel afraid as soon as they are alone, and do not dare to move a step without that noise, often imaginary, which they call public opinion."† Let us meet another objection, and reply to those who accuse society in these ages of being wanting in industry and activity, the grand criterion of modern civilization. It was an ancient argument, that the Christian religion tended to the downfall of the empire, and modern sophists have resumed it, affirming that it is too spiritual, too inducive to carelessness for the things of earth, and therefore hurtful to the interests of society. Machiavel, speaking of the effects of Catholic instruction in withdrawing the mind from earthly interests, proposes that children should no longer be made familiar with the names of saints, who inspire contempt for temporal grandeur, but with the names of gentile captains which may inspire them with military courage. † On such subjects, it is well to present our apology in the words of the ancient sages, because the moderns will not accuse them of being under the influence of "that execrable superstition" which Pliny spoke of, and to which these ages clung with such unwearied ardour. The Athenian then, in Plato, extols the laws of Crete as securing to the state all good: "but the good of a state," he says, "is two-fold, being both human and divine; and both of these depend upon the Divinity; and if any city should receive the greater good, it will possess also the latter; but if not, it will be deprived of both: and the lesser good consists in health, and beauty, and strength, and agility, and riches, not such as are blind, but those which with clear sight follow virtue; but the first and greater good consists in temperance, and chastity, and justice, and a manly spirit: and a legislator must always attend to this order in whatever he ordains, making what is human wait upon the divine." "Neither a state nor a man can be happy, unless by means of a life of wisdom and justice, being under the dominion of holy men as rulers, and being brought up in virtuous manners." Socrates says that he used to address each of his countrymen with these words; "O best of men, being an Athenian, native of the greatest city, and most illustrious for wisdom and power, are you not ashamed to be occupied about money, about making as much of it as possible, and gaining reputation and honours, while you neglect the study of truth, and take no thought for your soul, ὅπως ὡς βελτίστη ἔσται!"\*\* There was no industry or activity in ages of faith, say the moderns; but there was industry, and activity, and subtle intelligence, in those matters which even the heathen sage thought alone deserving of human care, as having relation to intellectual wants, and to the future existence. Hæc magna, hæc divina, hæc sempiterna sunt. Was it for the illuminated race, upon whom the glory of the

<sup>\*</sup> Cours d'Hist. iv. 1.

<sup>‡</sup> Discorsi sulle decadi de Tito Livio. i. 12. & 41.

<sup>§</sup> Plato Epist. viii.

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<sup>†</sup> Législat. Primit. i.

De Legibus, lib. i.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Plate Apolog. xxx.

Lord had shone, when the nations walked in his light, and kings in the brightness of his rising,-was it for them, we may ask, to devote their lives to the pursuit of objects which had been rejected even by sages, as unworthy of man's nature, while darkness covered the earth, and a mist the people? Was it for them to prepare the way of the modern societies, by neglecting the spiritual interests of their posterity, while for themselves, "engrossing and piling up the conkered heaps of strangeachieved gold?" They pursued no ends of utility, we are told; but it was from a perfect conviction of the comparative inutility of all concerns to which death must put an end, that they gave that ecclesiastical and spiritual direction to society, which now is considered so injurious; indicating, no doubt, a mind resembling that to which Cicero alludes, weaned from the love of vanities, and placing its strength for living virtuously in the contempt of all human things.\* But nothing can be simpler than the whole of this problem; our desires are always according to our habits; the old fisherman in Plautus only delights in finding gold, at the idea of being able to build a great ship.† In ages of faith, Christians had no other object in desiring money than that they might be able to build a church, or a monastery, for they were not accustomed to luxuries which would have given them a different view of the importance of money. Do we suppose, that if it had been deemed useful or noble to construct club-houses, exchanges, and theatres, the cities of the middle age would not have possessed many monuments, like those in the streets of Vivien and St. James? It was then considered more useful to make foundations of a spiritual order, and therefore we behold instead, the abbeys of St. Germain and Westminster. Machiavel and the other politicians of that school speak disdainfully of the Catholic religion, precisely from the same cause which led the Jews and Gentiles to despise Christ. His voluntary humiliation and subjection reproved their pride; and the moderns ascribe to ignorance, and weakness, and indolence, what was the legitimate result of the profound mysteries of the Christian religion. They pretend to read the ancient poets and sages with admiration, and yet their testimony is strong in favour of these characteristics of society in the middle age, which are now condemned. "The minds of mortal men," says Pindar, "are quicker to praise deceitful gain than justice; but it is necessary for you and for me to accommodate our manners to justice, to prepare for ourselves future happiness." Thus, indeed, spoke the universal reason, and the primal traditions; but if he had consulted only the opinions of the philosophers, he could never have approached so near to the sentiments of the ages we defend, for in speaking of the errors of men, he says, that it is impossible to discover what is now and in future the best thing for man to obtain,

> τοῦτο δ' ἀμάχανον είζειν, ότι νῦν καὶ ἐν τελευτῷ φέςτατον ἀνδὲὶ πυχείν.]

And St. Augustin relates from the testimony of the learned Varro, that

<sup>\*</sup> Tuscul. i. 40.

l Olymp. vii.

there were no less than two hundred and eighty opinions among the philosophers respecting the chief good of man: they were at such a loss to know in what it consisted.\* If then they rightly extol Pindar for forming such a judgment amidst so many difficulties, with what injustice do they condemn the consistent policy of the ages of faith, which had so exact a knowledge of the supreme good, and which pursued it with such singleness of eye, following it even through the beautiful regions of imagination and poetry! "But for that politic blessedness ought not to be the last mark of a Christian man," says the old translator of Tasso, "but he ought to look more high, that is to everlasting felicity; for this cause Godfrey doth not desire to win the earthly Jerusalem to have therein only temporal dominion, but because herein may be celebrated the worship of God, and that the holy sepulchre may be the more visited of godly strangers and devout pilgrims: and the poem is closed with the prayers of Godfrey, to shew that the understanding being travailed and wearied in civil actions, ought in the end to rest in devotion, and in the contemplation of the eternal blessedness of the other most happy and immortal life." It passed even into a proverb with the Spaniards that devout people who, like Godfrey,-

Full of zeal, and faith, esteemed light All worldly honour, empire, treasure, might:

"that all is nothing in this world if it tend not to the next," and that he who has much on the earth has but little in heaven. Men in those ages did not labour with such indefatigable anxiety in making the earth yield its utmost, for their hearts were not so much set upon it, and seeking pearls and finding the one of great price, all their ambition was to procure it: they no longer sought after these visible things, lest they might lose the things invisible, and become like Ely the priest, who had his eyesight so weak that he could not see the lamp of God which hung continually lighted in the temple. "The soul which loves God," says a writer of those times, "has not leisure to think of any thing else but him, or to be occupied about other things besides him: it disdains, it despises all the rest." "Nil grande, nil pretiosum et admirabile, nil reputatione appareat dignum, nil altum, nihil vere laudabile et desiderabile, nisi quod æternum est:" this judgment gave rise to the real spirit which influenced men; they who had drank from the river of Paradise felt no more, as St. Augustin says, "the thirst of this world." How can we wonder that it produced its natural effects? The ascetical writer of the middle age, who is the author of the Manual ascribed to St. Augustin, devotes one chapter to shewing that men ought to avoid and detest every thing which turns aside the soul from the contemplation of God.† Surely such wisdom was incompatible with the industry of the children of this world, or of men in whom there seems to be neither an actual, nor virtual, nor habitual, nor interpretative intention of being Christians, men who through their ardent passion for every thing sensual must needs labour constantly for riches in order that they may be

<sup>\*</sup> De Civit. Dei, xix.

able to gratify their senses. The man, therefore, who is iridulation, as Plato\* says, will consistently embrace the modern philosophy, but he cannot with justice argue against the intelligence of others who pursued a different end by different measures. Cicero even remarked that they who refused to render themselves servants to lust and to ambition had no occasion for the daily expenses which involved others in the necessity of making money. "Why," he asks, "should they greatly desire to have money, or rather why should they care for it at all?" With greater justice might they exclaim, in answer to the magnifiers of such industry: O brother,

Call to mind from whence ye sprang; Ye were not form'd to live the life of brutes, But virtue to pursue and knowledge high.

Ah! the hearts of men in ages of faith responded to that voice from some undiscovered cell in holy cloisters which sung the hymn of "Jesu dulcedo cordium," which in one sense is falsely ascribed to St. Bernard, though in another it justly belongs to him, and to all who had sat beneath his feet:

Quando cor nostrum visitas, Tunc lucet ei veritas, Mundi vilescit vanitas, Et intus fervet caritas.

which, perhaps, in the English version has still greater simplicity.

Thy lovely presence shines so clear Through ev'ry sense and way, That souls which once have seen thee near, See all things else decay.

Reasoners who take into account only the apparent material interests of the present life can never form a just judgment of the Christian political state, or of the men who formed it: but in the ascetical writings of the middle ages, in the festivals and in the prayers of the Church, they may discover the secret, without ascending to the source, which explains the cause of all that excites their pity and disdain. Ambition, as an universally pervading principle, and the incentives to activity in merely earthly interests, received necessarily a mortal wound in that society, which recognised and made ample provisions for the wisdom of desiring to die to this world, and of wishing to be despised for Christ, and of remaining unknown in the present life. The calm of the ancient Catholic state proceeded not from indolence, for what society ever gave greater proof of intellectual activity? but from the suppression of passions. As the sea is beheld tranquil, when no breath of air moves upon the surface, so the mind of man was at rest, and human life passed in a sweet calm, when the perturbations were removed which have power to disturb it. Upon reading the motto of an illustrious and royal race of the middle ages "non laborant neque nent," a favourable occasion is

<sup>\*</sup> De Repub. ix.

furnished for sophists to give the reins to long discourse respecting the inaction and indolence of Christian antiquity; but they should remember that these are the words of the Son of God proposing an example of life to his disciples, and that they were borne as a device without implying a satire upon manners in ages when men were quite as sharpsighted to detect moral deformity as in our own. But the result alone of the two disciplines might determine their respective merits. And how astonishing is the delusion practised here! Those who were invited to the marriage feast in the Gospel, says Father Diego de Stella, "thought it better for them to travail about their business with pain than to be partakers in peace of the solemn feast of the eternal King. If the King of heaven had invited them to travail, and the world unto pleasures and ease, they might well have been excused, but when it is all contrary, then is the error too manifest if thou shouldest despise the sweet service of Christ for the displeasant servitude of the devil." The nations of the north who have refused the invitation to the solemn feast affect now to despise devout poetic Spain, and spiritual Italy, who have in successive ages accepted it; but we see how they suffer from their own tyrannic wills : -- formerly blessed with sweet peace, and nourished with the bread of angels, they are now condemned to eat that of care and sadness, to behold violence and bloody strife within their streets, which day and night resound with moans: and what after all is the spirit of industry as expressed in the character of the proud? Where is this great moral dignity spoken of, in the men who are unwilling to accept the invitation of the almighty King, "who was in earth for their sakes crucified," and who prefer going away in sullen disdain to their farms or to their affairs when the Church invites them to rejoice and rest? Even omitting all reference to heaven, on what ground are we to reserve our admiration for these men, who, as Lucian says, "spend many sleepless nights, and painfully laborious and sometimes bloody days, not for the sake of Helen or of Priam, but through hope of gaining five oboli?" What claims does this spirit possess to the praise of virtue? Tacitus paints it well in describing Vinius, "Audax, callidus, promptus et, prout animum intendisset, pravus aut industrius, eadem vi."† If we examine the true cause of the perpetual agitation in which men pass their lives, where the supernatural motives of faith do not exist, we shall understand why in a Catholic state in ages of faith there was less occasion and provision for it. To all men who are of the number that look back, it is an insupportable pain to think of themselves, so that all their care is to forget themselves, and to live without reflection in being occupied with things which leave no time for thought. "This," says Paschal, "is the origin of all the tumultuous occupations of men. The great object is not to feel one's self, and to avoid the bitterness and interior disgust which the thought of one's self would necessarily occasion. The soul finds nothing in itself which contents it, nothing but affliction, therefore it is obliged to fly abroad and to lose the remembrance of its real state in application to external things which may wear the semblance of ho-

<sup>\*</sup> On the Contempt of the World, p. 11. Vol. I.—32

nesty or duty. Its joy consists in this forgetfulness, and to see itself. and to be with itself, is enough to render it miserable. Hence men are loaded with infinite cares, and labours which occupy them from the break of day. You might think that the course of their lives was purposely contrived to render them unhappy, but it is necessary for their peace: so that even what little time remains to them after their affairs must be spent in some diversions, in order that they may never be for a moment with themselves. This it is which makes them court such interminable labours of body and mind, which makes them men of business engaged from morning till night, men of dissipation devoted to a thousand diversions which must occupy their whole souls, for it is impossible that those who act only by the movements which they find in themselves and in their nature should ever subsist in repose and leisure without being instantly attacked by melancholy and sadness." But in a Catholic state in ages of faith the case was otherwise, for as Paschal says, "it is one of the wonders of the Christian religion to reconcile man to himself in reconciling him to God, to render the view of himself supportable, and to make solitude and repose more agreeable to many than agitation and the commerce of men." Hence we can understand why the moderns are happy in London or Paris, and find themselves oppressed with melancholy in Rome or Valladolid; why they prefer a Brentford hustings to the Dome of the Vatican, and a manufactory to a convent. That a just and reasonable industry, corresponding with that divine judgment which did not condemn Martha, as St. Augustin says, but only distinguished the gift, and consistent with the noble intelligence of Christians, was not wanting in the ancient states may well be understood from many evidences. Deguignes has written a treatise upon the Commerce of the Middle Ages, containing, amidst many false and exaggerated statements, curious details.\* Not to speak of the celebrated commerce of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, it appears that in the reign of Chilperic the Franks had many vessels on the Mediterranean, that the trade of Marseilles continued to flourish as under the Romans, and that even in the interior of France the Oriental languages were cultivated in consequence of the commercial relations maintained with the countries of the East. In the time of Clovis, there were merchants at Paris who made frequent voyages to Syria. Under the Carlovingian princes the commerce of the Mediterranean was a source of riches to France. In the ninth century, the Lyonnese and the Marseillese imported spices and perfumes from India and Arabia, which were transported by the Rhone and the Saone to the Moselle, whence they were distributed by the Rhein, the Mein, and the Nekar, to the extremities of Germany. interests of commerce were not unconnected with the pilgrimages to Palestine and the crusades which followed. Deguignes exposes the immense projects of policy and commerce, associated with views of religion, which were developed by writers in the time of Philippe-le-Bel. The tin of Cornwall used to be transported by means of the Loire to the gates of Digeon, to form pinnacles for the monasteries of Burgundy; t

<sup>\*</sup> Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxxvii.

the merchants of Dieppe and Rouen, in the fourteenth century, carried on an extensive trade with Africa, where they founded great establishments: yet in general the knowledge of these facts has been transmitted only by incidental testimonies. It appears also, that the population of France and England in the middle ages, equalled that of our times. The Pope, at the council of Clermont, spoke of France as being hardly able to contain the multitude of its inhabitants. The country was rich and well cultivated, as is proved by the immensity and variety of the royal and seigneurial rights. One of the first observations made by the pilgrim brother Nicole, during his first day's journey in the Holy Land from Jaffa, was that the land was good but ill cultivated by the labourers.\* This implies that he was accustomed to see good farming. The mere fruits of the earth maintained Spain so rich in former times, that Louis IX., king of France, being at the court of Toledo in the time of Don Alonso, was lost in astonishment at its splendour, and said that he had never seen any thing comparable neither in Europe nor in Asia. Yet a vast part of Spain is incapable of much cultivation. With respect to England, there is reason to believe that tracts which had been reclaimed and cultivated by the monks have in later ages been suffered to return to their original barrenness. We shall have occasion in another place to speak of the multitude of monuments with which faith covered the soil of Europe; for the present one may be allowed to suggest, that the richly cultivated garden of the plains of Lombardy, or the lovely shores of Chiavera, do not indicate a less degree of the industry of man, because beautiful churches and graceful oratories are seen to rise at every step amidst the vines and corn; that a seaport city, like Genoa, does not impress a stranger with a less opinion of its commercial activity, because he hears during the still hour that precedes the dawn the faint music of innumerable bells summoning to matins choirs of saintly men and women, whose monasteries are thickly scattered over the surrounding mountains clothed with the pale olive. "Sed plena errorum sunt omnia:" the moderns cannot, it seems, recognise an industry which does not exclude all considerations of a spiritual order, and all sweet remembrances of a future country. Villani is to be extolled above all the ecclesiastical and noble historians of the middle age, because he chiefly studies what belongs to the material interests of the people, the operations of trade, the price of corn, the quality of the food and drink, which can only be learned by induction from the latter, as Deguignes complains; and a tyrant who destroys the liberty of education, and who pursues a systematic plan to undermine all intellectual good, is to be praised as a wise, magnanimous prince, because he encourages the breed of cattle and makes the markets thrive. How else would men legislate if they were providing a city for brute swine? So asks one in Plato, after hearing a similar plan for forming a city, El de ill mans unternedate, the αν αὐτούς ἄλλο η ταῦτα ἐχήρταζε:;† at the same time one may admit, that there is a wisdom of self-preservation shown by these societies which rest entirely upon material interests, materializing all interests and deriving their security from this forced reunion of all individual wills, when they

<sup>\*</sup> Le grant voyage de Hierusal, f. xiri.

look with a jealous eye upon Catholicism, and endeavour to exclude those who profess it; for in consequence of the spirituality of this religion it must be in perpetual contradiction with their principles and maxims, and it would become in some sort an instrument of disorder for the mechanics who govern that state and give motion to its springs. But let us mend our speed; for we draw near the opening of sweeter ways. I shall endeavour to compress in as small a space as possible the remaining subjects of reflection suggested by a review of the ancient political

state in ages of faith.

In the first place, I observe, there was a consistency between all things, material and intellectual, and the manners of men were in harmony with their institutions. The contrast which Coleridge draws between the genuine and artificial poets, might be found to exist between different forms of society. Of the modern customs and institutions, "lay aside the titles and the ornaments, translate them into another tongue, and it will be a matter of wonder to you that such trivialisms, not to say such nonsense occasionally, could ever be received and perpetuated." Apply the same process to those of the ages of faith. Lay the body of an institution, or of a custom, bare; decompose it to the utmost of your power: the beauty, and grace, and poetry, may, indeed, be destroyed, yet good sense will; in every instance, remain conspicuous, as the substance or body of the whole. The first lines of the prologue of the Salic law are an instance in point:-"The nation of the Franks having God for founder, strong in arms, firm in keeping treaties, profound in council, noble in person, beautiful in complexion, valiant in combat, but lately converted to the Catholic faith, free from heresy; and even, while under a barbarous belief, seeking, by the inspiration of God, the key of knowledge, desiring justice, and guarding piety." It is said, this might be the text of an heroic song; but compare it, in respect to the strict truth of its testimony, with the received formulas of the modern society, where such strange inconsistencies have been introduced by retaining the language, and rejecting the philosophy, of Christian antiquity, and every one must be struck with the justice of this distinction. But the perfect Christian consistency of the ancient state is one cause why the modern historians are almost invariably mistakenin their representation of it. It is with their style, as with that of Ephorus and Hermippus, in which, as Müller says, no one could recognise the ancient simplicity and loveliness which characterised all the genuine remains of the age of Lycurgus; for our modern historians, too, endeavour to assimilate as much as possible the notions of antiquity to those of their own time, and to attempt, in some way or other, to represent every deed as proceeding from such motives as would have actuated their own contemporaries. Machiavel was the first of a similar school. In his history of Florence his views are not Christian respecting the events of society. His very language is pagan; and in order to imitate the dark and fearful sentences of Tacitus, he seems to forget that he is relating the history of a state which was no longer under the impressions of paganism. Nor can I omit mention of that other characteristic of the institutions and customs of the middle ages, which consisted in their indicating habits of meditation on the life of Christ, and on all the

circumstances and mysteries of the Gospel history with which they were in harmony, or, at least, reconcileable; in the same manner as it is characteristic of the modern legislation, and form of life, to exhibit a forgetfulness of the doctrine of Christ, and of all the circumstances of the history of his Church, to such a degree as to be often absolutely ir-

reconcileable with the practice of that religion.

Another characteristic, I observe, is the settled composure of the Catholic state, like that of the ancient Dorian, which seems entitled to respect when contrasted with the versatile talents of the moderns, who set no limits to their love of change, and with whom society is only a bond of convention, which the will of the people can dissolve, like a tent which the shepherd pitches for one night and which he takes down at break of day. In opposition to the modern opinion, we may believe what is written in the ethic page, that it is not men remarkable for virtue who make revolutions, for they would be few against the many.\* "The great object of a wise and truly civilized state," as Frederick Schlegel says, "is to preserve men from becoming wild, and from degenerating into a savage state. Every revolution is a passing epoch of a savage state, when man, notwithstanding single examples of heroic virtue, and wonderful self-devotion, is, in fact, reduced to the character of a savage. There is always a propensity in his nature to become wild and savage, and it is the great object of all wise government to guard against this by all means possible." Again, one must admire (though French and English politicians regard it as sufficient evidence of a tyranny) its principle of self-defence, when contrasted with the revolutionary passion for attack, and conquest, and overthrow of existing constitutions. Like the Dorian, too, its power was not purchased, but native; its policy was slow and deliberate conviction against determined rashness; its essence a unity of feeling and principles, so as to make the whole body become as it were one moral agent; its object in administration to obtain good order, or zioques, the regular combination of different elements. Another remarkable characteristic of the middle ages was the importance attached to ancient customs, and their maintenance by a judgment and a power superior to all legislative enactments, and in defiance of all the novelties that private reasoners might advocate. Montaigne well understood the excellence of this society. "Qui mettroit mes rêveries en compte, au préjudice de la plus chétive loi de son village, ou opinion, ou coutume, il se feroit grand tort, et encore autant à moi." These are his words. The barbarians had respected the rights of the nations which they conquered, so that the ancient customs still prevailed in each province; and not only had these the force of law, but it was even permitted to each man to choose under what customs he would be governed, whether as a Roman or a Frank, a Burgundian or a German. "Populus interrogetur, quali vult lege vivere, et sub ea vivat." If we pay attention to the particular tendency of each of these customs, we shall find it still indicating the superior wisdom of a Catholic state to all the enactments as well as theories of modern sophists,

<sup>\*</sup> Aristotle Polit. lib. v. c. iv.

<sup>#</sup> Baluz. ii. an. 824.

of which every characteristic, however liberal in denomination, is, at the bottom, something that Plato, to say nothing of Christianity, would term ανελεύδιεν, and very often φιλοχεήματον. The Catholic state was the most natural of all others, that is, it was founded with the highest art; for to be natural is the most difficult triumph of all works of mind, since in laws as in arts, in morals as in manners, what is false, bad, and unnatural, presents itself to our mind of itself. And Bonald quotes Quintilian, saying, "id est maxime naturale quod natura fieri optime patitur." Again, the public mind of a Catholic community had a love for past times, and a great attachment to the memory of its ancestors. Like the Dorie race, though on additional grounds, and without its extravagance, the attention of that society was turned to the past, rather than to the future; and here was still further indication of a happy state: for, speaking of the living faith of a whole people as constituting its natural strength, De Haller says, "It is remarkable, that wherever a people is distinguished by a love for their ancient chronicles, wherever they desire to know the history of their country, wherever the glorious events which have founded, aggrandized, and consolidated the social bond, are generally recalled and celebrated by music or chaunts, one will find that there the greatest freedom prevails, and the abuses of power are least known." I have alluded to the unity of the Catholic state, by which it obtained the object of all legislation, according to the ancient sages. The great object with Plato would be to guard against the natural tendency of men to pursue private ends; "for without laws," he says, "men would neither know nor be able to follow what is best; they would not know, in political science, that the general interest is to be pursued before private, for the former consolidates, but the latter dissolves states; they would not know, that it is for the advantage both of the whole society, and of each member, that the general interest should be preferred to the individual; and if they did know it, but were to find themselves independent, and not responsible, they would not be able to persevere in the opinion and practice; for the mortal nature inclines always επί πλεινεξίαν και ίδιοπραγίαν, flying from pain and pursuing pleasure, and regarding both before justice, and involving itself in darkness, so as in the end to fill itself, and the whole state, with all manner of evil." What an assistance was here furnished by the Catholic principles, and how surely did they operate! The social order was compact and firm. and needed no propping with arbitrary laws: the authority of chiefs was strong, the consent of orders was inviolate; judgments were maintained: the minds of good men were ready at the nod of the Christian pastors. and always was there found a citizen who would expose himself to envy for the safety of his country. As the Athenian proposed in Plato, it was held that the state, like one man, should live virtuously; t and temperance and meekness were deemed as necessary in the state as in a man. This was the mark at which all aimed in life, both with regard to public and private affairs, that the state as well as each individual might cultivate justice and temperance with a view to happiness; not

<sup>\*</sup> Restaurat. tom. iii. 30. Id. lib. iv.

<sup>†</sup> De Legibus, lib. ix.

<sup>‡</sup> De Legibus, lib. viii.

allowing all things to cupidity, the desire of satisfying which is an interminable evil, and reduces men and states to lead the life of robbers; for with the desire to gratify every passion, they can be friends neither to man nor to God.\* The nation, as one supplicant, sent up prayers to heaven, that virtue might be granted to obedient youth, rest to placid age, and to the whole, collectively, wealth, and offspring, and every honour. "That as the temporal generation contributed to the ornament of the world, so by an admirable effect of the grace and providence of God, the spiritual generation might serve to the augmentation of his Church."† The whole character and desire of the state might have been expressed in the words which we read upon the great obelisk of the Vatican, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat, Christus ab omni malo plebem suam defendat." "Of all religions," says De Haller, "the Catholic is without question the most proper to maintain an union of hearts and minds, and to preserve the internal tranquillity of states: not only because the form of the Church is monarchal, and therefore analogous to that of kingdoms; for we shall prove hereafter that it agrees equally well with republics; but because it is founded on obedience to legitimate authority, and not on independence of all authority; on respect, and not on contempt for fathers and mothers; on the denial, and not on the idolizing, of self; on the reciprocal sacrifice of one for another, which is the bond of all society, and not on egotism, which is its solvant and destruction; on the bond of an immense community, united by the same faith and the same law, and not on a principle of hatred, of isolation, and of dispersion; in fine, because in its dogmas, in its morality, and in its worship, it teaches, nourishes, and vivifies without ceasing, respect for the maxims and traditions of fathers and superiors; veneration for all that is ancient, universal, perpetual; and repugnance against all separations, and all fundamental innovations.";

But all rested on the maintenance of piety, in order that, according to the converse of Cicero's celebrated sentence, piety prevailing, faith and the society of the human race, and justice, the most excellent of all things, might be established. Hence, then, arose the necessity for preserving the public mind from being corrupted by the perverse and immoral wills of a few. Though the moderns have chosen to discard these precautions, the wisdom of the ancient measures remains justified. The private error makes first the public error, and then, in its turn, the public error makes the private error. This is what Montaigne said. The Athenian disputant in Plato would subject the stage to a severe censorship, and no piece should be performed until the censors had determined that it contained nothing contrary to the spirit of the legislature. In what manner Socrates would have determined the question now so much discussed, relative to the justice or prudence of restraints upon literature and the arts, may be concluded with certainty from the famous passage in the republic relative to poets, and indeed, from the general tenor of the Platonic writings. Plato expressly says that a legislator should inflict a great fine upon any poet or other member of the state

<sup>\*</sup> Plato Gorgias.
De Legibus, viii.

<sup>+</sup> Missal Rom.

<sup>\*</sup> Tom. iii. chap. 1.

move, or turn, or bend their sight.

At Rome, where more than in any other city of the world each man feels himself personally free, any violation of public morals, by temptation, is guarded against like murder; and, indeed, owing to circumstances which we cannot delay to unfold, and which require the physician rather than the divine, more effectually prevented than manslaughter. We find S. Bernard complaining in energetic terms, as an extraordinary circumstance, of the circulation of dangerous works. In allusion to those of Abailard he says, "violent leaves are seattered on highways; books fly; in cities and in castles darkness is received for light; and poison is administered instead of honey. They pass from nation to nation, and from kingdoms to another people." So great an evil was this considered, that bishops even refrained from publishing in their diocesses pontifical constitutions which condemned errors that were there unknown, fearing lest it might introduce the knowledge of them; therefore the fathers of a council in 1528 decreed that in public assemblies the doctrines of the heretics should be only reproved in general terms in all places where they were unknown. Under Philip I. the licence of the French songsters proceeded to such a length, that Yves, bishop of Chartres, thought himself obliged to procure the interposition of the Holy See. | Philip Augustus, on coming to the crown, made severe regulations against licentious poets, banishing from court all those who employed their abilities to corrupt men. For this end, no doubt, it was necessary that power and an efficient force should belong to the government of the state. But let it be remembered while the administration was strong to repress the obstacles to the sanctification of souls, it did not sully the source of all intellectual and moral good, by attempting under the name of liberty to destroy the freedom of the Church, which is its immediate fountain. Plato proposed a hard question, "How can a state or city make use of philosophy so as not to corrupt and destroy it?" And instead of giving a satisfactory reply, he only suggests, that all great things are subject to ruin, and that every excellence involves a difficulty. S But if it were asked how did the state, in ages of faith, avail itself of the celestial wisdom without injuring it, the reply might be instantly made, by leaving the Church, which imparted it, free, only ensuring its protection or co-operating with its laws.

<sup>\*</sup> De Legibus, lib. ii.

<sup>†</sup> Id lib. iii. § De Repub. lib. vi.

<sup>‡</sup> Epist. 189.

This would be the place to speak of the creative spirit which belonged to the ancient Catholic society; but as nearly the whole of the present and following books will be a development of this truth, I shall only observe here, what a singular contrast the history of later ages presents in this respect. Destruction follows the sophists in all their plans of constitution. Without authority and meckness corresponding, men are unable to found any thing: thus in France, when every institution was falling to the ground, thrones, altars, monasteries, hospitals, and laws, they always professed the desire to reconstruct, to save, and to direct, as De Haller witnesses in the very words, Constituent, Committee of Public Safety, and Directory. The later history of the northern nations bears the same testimony, during periods of long tranquillity, and of an immense accumulation of wealth in noble families, which would have favoured the spirit of institution, if it had existed. Such, then, are a few of the general reflections that may be suggested by a review of the government and society of a Catholic state, in ages of faith: others, indeed, sufficiently obvious, relative to the disorders which the passions of men introduced into it, have already, no doubt, presented themselves to our minds; and perhaps readers of the modern school are ready to cry out with open mouths, as if they had overshot Robin Hood, that these were times of violence and desolation, and not such as are here represented; but granting that such disorders were found to exist; granting, I say, what they will have granted, the truth of what we have now seen continues no less certain; it is incontrovertible; and though such an exercise must be most painful to persons of their intellectual habits, so little prepared for encountering any trouble or difficulty in the way of a ready conclusion, the grand criterion of having profited under their masters, the task which devolves upon them, is to reconcile this view of history, which is so new to them, with the disorders and horrors which have been so long familiar to them; but with which they by no means had the exclusive privilege of being acquainted, as perhaps in a future place it will be necessary to demonstrate. As for those real lovers of truth, and real scholars, willing, but unable, to rise from the study of history with such agreeable impressions, from their familiarity with a multitude of facts which seem to contradict them, there is a reflection which I would humbly suggest, from which one would infer that they ought rather to fear the consequences of their own timidity, which may be quite as injurious to truth as a groundless confidence. It is for the sake of truth that they should dismiss their fears, and unhesitatingly follow those who find in the history of ages of faith an idea full of grandeur and peaceful delight. For, in fact, how stand they with regard to truth? They read the learned antiquarian works of the great Benedictine and ecclesiastical writers of the last century, devoted to particular investigations, which rendered it necessary to comprise within a few pages the crimes and follies of many generations of men. Thus they become insensible to the general tone of sanctity which belonged to society in these ages. No doubt the researches of a Mabillon, a Chardon, a Fleury, and others in that track, have their importance; but they do not supersede the use of simpler and less valuable works, which only give a general and comprehensive review of the periods which these Vol. I .- 33

acute and profound men have analysed, with a view to some particular object of curiosity: without this, the result, in the reader's mind, is a distorted and unjust conclusion, a right estimate, perhaps, of particular questions, but unquestionably an erroneous judgment of the general character of society. At the present, I proceed to notice the opinion of those who, in Gallic phrase, set forth the progress which has been made in civilization; and the observations I have to make will conduct us to our wonted stage of rest. "The ancients did not resemble us in this respect," says a sophist to Socrates, "because they were unable, and not sufficiently wise, for the art of wisdom with us has made a great progress since their time." "So that," says Socrates, pretending to finish the sentence, "if Bias were alive again, he would be subject to your ridicule, in the same manner as Dædalus would now be laughed at. as the makers of statues affirm, if he were to fabricate any of those objects which bear his name?" "It is so," replies the sophist. "Indeed I am persuaded that you speak truly," continues Socrates, "for I have this evidence; I know that Gorgias and Prodicus have grown immensely rich in consequence of their application to public affairs; but as for these ancients, no one ever thought them worthy of receiving money as a recompense for their skill. They were so simple and foolish, that they seem not to have known the value of money, whereas each of these modern 'talented' men (our ancient language had no term adequate to express such proficients) makes more by his wisdom than any mechanic by his trade." "And yet, O Socrates," cries the sophist, not perceiving the higher thoughts of genius, "you really know nothing of this glory of ours; for if you were to hear what sums of money I have made, you would be astonished. To omit other things, when I was in Sicily, though Protageras was there in the height of reputation, yet in a very short time I made more than 150 minæ, and from one little place, Inichus, I had more than twenty minæ, and so I came home bearing such gifts with me, that the other citizens were lost in astonishment; and I think that I must have made more money than any other two of the sophists that you could name." "Καλόν γε καὶ μέγα πεκμήριον σοφίας των νῦν ἀνθείπων προς τους ἀρχαίους, ὅσον διαφέρουσι," replies Socrates. "Truly the ancients were strangely ignorant, for many of them experienced a fortune the very reverse of yours; and they despised, and neglected, and lost all these things, so foolish was their wisdom: λέγουσι δε μαὶ πεξί αλλων ระบา สามารถไท อิรายุน ระเมมักน. You have given, by what you now advance, an abundant proof of the superiority of the moderns; for, as the saying is, the wise man must especially be wise for himself, and this is the criterion of all, whoever is able to make most money."\* How can we, other little men, presume to refute arguments which Socrates thought unanewerable? One may only pity the ancient writers for not being aware of the moral perfectibility to which human society is always necessarily advancing. Thus Thucydides, describing the horrors and atrocities which attended the sedition of Corcyra, is so incorrect in language, as to add respecting the circumstances, "such things occurred, and always will occur, as long as the nature of men continues the same,

<sup>\*</sup> Plato Hippias major.

លេខីលេខ និក អំ នាប់ការ៉ា ក្នុប់ការ នេះមិទ្ធបំកាលក ភ្និ."៖ So far behind now appears to us his

famed sagacity!

The theory of the perfectibility of human society, as understood by the political sophists who now maintain it, is admirably convenient for those who have an antipathy to the proof of facts, and the lessons of experience, conveyed in history; it suits delightfully those who love to indulge in vague generalities and common places void of sense, who are fond of ambiguous emphatic phrases, and the language of exaggeration. It is only unfortunate that they are not the first to suppose that antiquity is forgot, custom unknown, and as it were that "the world is now but to begin." Such vaunts have risen before to Him, "whose eye nothing new surveys." The followers of Laertes, in attacking the king of Denmark, have forestalled them here; and in fact, in every revolution of men, there were always some to cry, "the world is now but to begin!" The only novelty presented in the present circumstances of mankind is, that such a cry should have imposed on genius; and that the Christian poet of ill-guided France should have thought that he beheld the social state, and the human race fast advancing to perfection, in an age when men seem to speed only in the way of proud indifference to intellectual good, of systematic opposition to the beneficent will of Heaven, and to the immortal destinies of their nature. It is sad, no doubt, to have to contend with the adversaries of the cross; there is no literary glory to gain in such a contest: he who attacks them will pass away with them, and be forgotten with them; but men must not seek to ennoble their cause through disdain of seeming to contend with a base enemy, and so adopt the very tone and spirit of times to which they deem themselves superior. "Est non parva prudentia, silere in tempore malo, nec humano judicio disturbari." "The idea of the endless perfectibility of men," said Frederick Schlegel, "as long as it is merely admitted to argue a possible disposition, contains, no doubt, much truth; but only while it is accompanied with a sense of quite as great a corruptibility of men."† In the ages of faith it was well understood that religion herself, in one sense, sanctions the idea of a progress. "Posterity," says Vincent of Lerins, "will rejoice in understanding what antiquity formerly venerated without understanding: but you must teach the same things which you have learned, so that while you teach in a new manner, you may not teach new things; but perchance some one will say, will then the Church of Christ make no progress in religion? Clearly it will, and a great one: for who is there so envious to men, and so adverse to God, as to endeavour to prohibit that? But only it will be a real progress, and not a change of faith. The intelligence, science and wisdom of each, and of all men, as of the whole Church, and of whole ages, will increase, but in their own manner only; it will be a progress in the same doctrine and in the same sense."; With respect to the supposed progress of civil society, if we consider merely the effects of human agency, it is, in fact, only a change and oscillation of good and evil: if it advances in one direction, it recedes in another: like the ocean, the

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. iii. 82.

<sup>‡</sup> Vincen. Lirinensis, 27, 28.

<sup>†</sup> Philosophie der Geschichte, i. 233.

tide of human passions and of man's wickedness may lose on one side of society, but it will be found to gain on the contrary: the sea itself will remain as wide and as deep as ever. Sins and miseries will always be found in the earthly city, and abuses and imperfections must attend its government. In ages of faith there were not wanting subjects who knew that in whatever manner they were governed, by a few, or by many, or by one, it would be always a government liable to inconvenience. It was not for them, as said the meek Hildegard, who so holily admonished kings to throw off the discipline of the fear of God, and impelled by madness to ascend to the tops of the mountains, and to accuse rulers; while their temerity was not to accuse their own wicked deeds. "In fact," concludes Savedra, "freedom consists not in the search of this or that form of government, but in the preservation of that which long custom has established, experience sanctioned, in which justice is observed and public order maintained."\* The real evils which should make men hope for a progress in society, the spiritual tyranny of rulers, would be impossible to any practical and permanent extent, if subjects retained the fervour and the virtue of the ages of faith; but fallen as they are in this respect, we may deplore the evils in the government of states, but it is not to them first, that any wise politician would think of administering a remedy. In the mean while, if the question of Glaucus t were to be addressed to us, "which of the states now existing do you regard as in accordance with the love of wisdom. and favourable to that love?" we might sorrowfully reply, in the words of Socrates, "absolutely there is not one;" nay, I will add this accusation, and affirm that independent of what has been preserved from the ages of faith, and what must be ascribed to them, there is not one state now existing, if we except that whose emblem are the keys, and perhaps some few small principalities, like that which boasts of its red lily, or families united in federative bond, encircled with the snow-clad Alps, worthy of the philosophic nature.

Therefore philosophy, and that is now nothing else but the Catholic religion, is tormented, and being, as far as its earthly contingencies extend, perverted from its nature, as a foreign seed sown in an unsuitable soil, it degenerates and assumes a character partaking of the qualities of that new soil; and though, being divine and imperishable, there is no power sufficient entirely to extirpate it or totally to change its genuine qualities, still there is furnished occasion for its enemies to fancy themselves strong, who, armed with the force of the civil government, labour to paralyze the exertions of the Catholic Church, and then hope to convict it of inefficiency. Thus in one region they deprive youth of the means of a religious education, and will suffer no other schools to be maintained but such as would suit Turks or pagans: hence we are shewn officers in military command and natural philosophers of fifteen, and atheists of twenty; in another they violently or treacherously seize the property which was destined to support missions, and to erect sanctuaries, and throw all the weight of their influence on the side opposed to the true philosophy, while they employ immense riches in endeavour-

<sup>\*</sup> Christ. Prince, ii. 355.

ing to undermine it: they succeed at length in producing an indifference to all distinctions between truth and error, faith and infidelity; the laws of the religious society are lowered and assimilated to their own; hence men of supernatural motives are diminished; and the uniformity of the sophists, a very different thing from the union of Catholics, is establish-No one class of subjects is left as generally known to be essentially different in principle from another: you shew men avaricious? So are all: you shew them proud, luxurious, ambitious, degraded in philosophy, perverted in politics, vitiated in taste, materialized in understanding? So are all: as far, at least, as depends upon the effects of the general influence. In another, again, they take away the churches, they take away the monasteries, they endeavour to take away days of religious rest, for adoring God, instructing men, and filling society with joy, they deprive Catholics of the means of assembling to worship God in the beauty of holiness, leaving an immense population without the means of approaching the divine altars, or of being regularly and constantly instructed in their duty; they make laws to prevent the foundation of institutions which would support, direct, and sanctify them; they expose them defenceless and calumniated to the mercy of an armed and insane fanaticism, which their riches nourish and their honours flatter: hence follow successive generations of men, sensuous, and ignorant, unaccustomed to order, insensible to all the harmonies of a social state; knowing the law only as an enemy, and government as a detested image subservient to the very principle of evil; reckless of life and of all that wait on honourable reputation, cruel, revengeful, desperate, sanguinary; all this is then exultingly produced by the adversaries of the holy wisdom as ground that justifies their rejecting it; they challenge enquiry, not into abstract truth, not into the testimony of the universal reason, of the great traditions of the Church, or of the race of men, but into the consequences of their own artful policy and injustice; and who can think of denying them the merit of success, or of attempting to depreciate its importance? They appeal to the consequences, not of those measures and institutions which the Church would pursue in order to render men virtuous and happy, and without which she pronounces it impossible to form or preserve a state of society worthy of Christians, for they have declared by their legislation that she must abandon these, and they have forcibly taken them from her; but of the limited exertions which they, concluding against her judgment, have prescribed to her, and which she has long since judged from her profound estimate of human nature, and from her long experience of the conduct of men, to be wholly insufficient. Catholic then can be anxious to demonstrate against the overwhelming facts which they adduce, that her fears were groundless, and that her estimate of human nature was mistaken? But if philosophy, if the Catholic religion should meet with the best constituted state, or rather if it should not be bent and paralyzed by a state professing contrary principles, then, indeed, being also itself the best of things, it will be seen by all men to be in reality, not only in the little world of separate souls, but in the great and general society of nations, divine; while every thing else, whether of nature or of custom, or of profession, is human, insecure, momentary, worthless, full of some moral deformity,

opposed to innocence and mercy, to truth and justice, to the sweet enjoyment of private happiness, and to the beautiful reign of universal order. The worldly policy has prevailed over the divine, even among the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ. The institutions founded upon faith in the spirit of earlier times either have already been overthrown, or are paralyzed and rendered fruitless by the civil legislation; the new system may bring with it, as the historian of the Doric race says, by the mockery of fate, though it would be more correct to say, by the secret design of highest God who doth guide that fate, external fame and victory; but still will the humble and really philosophic mind recur with satisfaction to the intellectual union and spiritual harmony which existed in the ancient Catholic state, even while its external and material frame may have been shaken with the tempest of human passions, and its sweet peace, vexed by man's injustice, still will honour, and freedom, and moral dignity, and angelic meekness, claim it as the scene of their long and sweet abode, while they had a mission to descend and dwell with men.

## CHAPTER VI.

We have not completely escaped from the perils of this discourse on the social system of the middle ages, until we shall have more fully explained in what manner the institution and privileges of the noble classes in days of feudal law were consistent, or at least compatible, with the spirit of meekness. It seemed, indeed, a difficult thing to unite political power with humility; and to shew that mild courtesy of manner might distinguish the simple unlettered people in the rank of lower subjects, appeared a task of no less difficulty, and now when we are required to reconcile the institutions of feodality and the lives of powerful nobles with the full and free development of that meckness which was to qualify men for beatitude, one may imagine, that we are about to be overwhelmed and to succumb. I might say in the Platonic style, that "having but just escaped from two mighty waves, you now by this question make to rush upon me the greatest and most difficult of the Trichymia," that is, you ask whether I can demonstrate that such an union was possible, and that it did exist. It will be found as we advance, that I am not ignorant of the particular evils which disturbed this ancient society, nor of the violence and oppression which not unfrequently distinguished the lives of some great men of the earth, whose old blood and forefathers' gallant deeds made them haughty in those very ages when the number of the meek was most considerable. I am not standing forth as the champion of any political system, nor does the renown of nobility, whether it be exalted or diminished, affect in my mind any of those bright and primal images which we would invite to accompany us as a protection, through all the mortal changes, sanctifying our joy, and following us from the banquet of youth to save our hearts from desolation when left to the thoughts of night and solitude. It is no pleasure to be detained within these palaces of the great, when we had hoped to hasten to the lawns and groves, and to converse with the meek and joyous people that live amidst them, dwelling with nature and with poverty; but the object of this argument requires that I should remove the objection founded on the assumed incompatibility of the feudal life with meekness: and even a sense of what all men owe to truth would induce one to shew that the general sentence passed by modern writers upon the institutions and manners of nobility in the middle ages is essentially unjust and unsanctioned by the evidence of history. The Roman emperors employed generally natives, Gentiles, to guard the frontiers of their respective countries from barbarians, giving them a station or castle, which is the origin of fiefs, and perhaps of the word gentleman. The title of baron is a Celtic or Greek word which signifies grave, strong, or heavy, to denote the qualities required for a public man. The French jurisconsults derive the feudal system, feodum, from fides, which seems preferable to the modern German derivation, which has recourse to an unknown word nowhere to be found, and the English term fee, an association of ideas hardly admissible. Feedality and

<sup>\*</sup> De Repub. v.

fidelity were closely connected. Condorcet acknowledges that it was an institution which appeared among all nations, and that its principle was only the noble relations of authority and obedience, protection and attachment, and reciprocal fidelity. If the vassal swore fidelity, the seigneur was bound to justice, and this produced "a mutual confi-' which as the old capitulary says, "ensured the common safety." Even Mably, so fond of isolation, and so ignorant of the origin of society, admits that the feudal system was favourable to the multiplication of families, and to the protection of a country. The conditions between vassal and sovereign were pretty nearly equal, for if the one lost his fief if he did not come to aid his seigneur, the other lost his sovereignty if he did not protect his vassal. The vassal, indeed, could not marry without leave from his sovereign; but this had only a political object. Thus St. Louis would not allow the Count of Champagne to marry the Princess of Bretagne, but on the other hand, when his niece Isabella was to be married to the King of Navarre, he first consulted his barons, and would not conclude it, however advantageous, till he had their consent. The ancient axiom of feudal right was this: "Le sire ne doit pas moins au vassal que le vassal au sire." Sieves, in the year 1789, speaking of the system of feudal and ecclesiastical property, says, "I can never be made to believe that this manner of securing the two great public services of society was more burdensome to the people than the imposts with which it is now charged." The ban and the arrière-ban is assuredly a gentler sound than the conscription. De Haller remarks that what seems shocking in the ancient language of selling a barony with the soil and the people, Leute, results merely from a too great concision: for the term Leute in the German tongue signifies those who live with another in a relation of habitual dependence, and who owe him services, and here it implies the mutual bond which was thus transferred, securing the interests of the people as well as of the new possessor.† But men are indignant at the privileges which nobility enjoyed, and at the pride and selfishness of those nobles who monopolized all the advantages of society exclusively to themselves. Truly this is much if there be much truth in it: but are these reasoners aware that society in the middle ages comprised three classes, the noble, the free man or the ingenuous, and the servant; that the intermediate condition comprised an immense class of subjects who had possessions, and privileges, and a power in the administration, and that it was the majority of their voices which decided the election of the magistrates of justice and of the police of each county? We must not judge of the ancient magnificence of a city solely from the ruins which the chance of war, or time, may have capriciously spared, for the monuments remaining may not have formerly stood isolated and alone. The nobility possessed privileges, but what class of subjects had not also theirs? The fact is, that power being then under the general influence of the spirit of love and generosity, it became a characteristic of the times to multiply and extend on every occasion testimonies of affection and solicitude, the justice of which principle even as a temporal policy may admit of some defence on the ground of the permanence and solidity which

<sup>\*</sup> Cap. Car. Calv. tit. 53, c. 4.

this multiplication of privileges gave to the social order and consequently to freedom. We hear only of the privileges of the nobility and clergy, but we should remember that these were ages of privilege, when almost every man might possess for himself some one or other. serve the privileges which towns enjoyed. At Bourges and at Tours, and other places, the office of the municipalities conferred nobility. There were cities and towns in which the citizens and townsmen had the privilege of being addressed with Sire, there were others in which they had a right to carry swords, others in which they might wear gold spurs, others where, as in the great forest which belonged to the state of Sparta, every one had a right to hunt venison, others which had the power of conferring nobility.\* The citizens of Loches had the privileges of knighthood, and in the Bourbonnais, the Duc de Bourbon used always to treat the Bourgeois as if they were knights. At Rochelle, the king had to take an oath on his knees before the corporation. Marseille, in favour of its merchants,† and in reward for its services, had the privilege from Baldwin II. of making enclosures in Jerusalem, and of having a quarter exclusively its own, and of being exempt from all toll within that kingdom. The students of the University of Paris had the same privileges as the clergy and nobility. Even to our time at Munich, a student of the university is an important person, who has his privileges: he is inviolable and cannot be arrested without authority from the rector: he can enter places of public amusement for a third part of the usual price. Boys on their journey had privileges confirmed by the ancient capitularies .- Where were there not privileges? Horses that had four white legs enjoyed the privilege of paying no toll. 1 It would fatigue Homer to enumerate all that existed. Artisans had the privilege that their instruments could not be seized. In certain trades members were exempt from serving in the watch. In others, they paid no tax on the goods of fabrication, in others, as in that of glaziers, and silk weavers, and workers in the mint, they were free from all taxes like the nobles.\*\* In France, all states without exception enjoyed some exemption and some privilege.†† Monteil, who seems to have studied every character of the middle ages but that of the noble, is careful to remind his readers that nobles on passing a river were exempt from paying the toll, but the injury done to others by such an exemption was certainly not great, and who now thinks it absurd that members of the parliament should be exempt from the postage of letters? Again, the merchants of some towns, such as Tarbes and St. Jean d'Angeli, had the privilege of exemption from all toll of entry or custom-house duty. Some towns were entitled to demand offerings from every merchant whose goods were carried through them: Libourne had this privilege; in other towns, the citizens had the privilege of being exempt from the burden of lodging soldiers.

<sup>\*</sup> Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. iii. 180.

<sup>†</sup> Deguignes Mem. de l'Acad. xxxvii.

Memoires Hist. sur Troyes par Grosley-Monumens anciens et du moyen age. Pancarte du Péage du Comte de Lesmont.

<sup>||</sup> Lettres du Roi, 1331 rélatives aux privilèges de Salmeranges.

<sup>§</sup> Lettres du Roi, 1407, 1461.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Lettres du Roi en 1470 rélatives aux monnoyeurs, aux verriers, aux ouvriers en ie. †† Monteil, Hist. des Français, in 318.

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This was the case at Bordeaux. In France, painters were free and noble. and exempt from all tax and subsidy.\* Again, the Francarchers, who were the finest men of the population of the villages, were no less exempt from imposts than the nobility. Poor men had their names inscribed along with those of the nobles as being exempt from levies. Monteil quotes from a parchment in his possession, which enumerates among those who do not pay in that parish, nobles, Pierres le Vaillant Escurer-Poures, Jehan Hoguet, and others.† The farmers of certain abbey lands were exempt from taxes, as in the case of the abbey of St. Mexeut. The descendants of brave men, who had died of hunger rather than surrender their fortress to the enemy, were exempt from imposts, as was the case with the free citizens of the tower and castle of Evreux. The inhabitants of Montreuil-sur-le-Bois were exempted by King John from paying taxes or from giving supplies, on condition that they would maintain the fountains of their village at their own expense, a privilege confirmed to them by Charles V. and Charles VI. Ton the other hand, the privileges of the nobility were often merely honorary tributes or affectionate symbols, and never excluded a recognition of the real foundation of spiritual equality which the Christian religion had introduced among mankind; there was no absurd attempt to disguise it, but on the contrary there was almost an affectation of proclaiming it; so far were princes then from reserving to themselves, and to such nobles as they chose to honour, the right of burial in the Campo Santo, the holy field of the dead, which had been formed in ages of faith, and blest for all. The members of civil order used to eat with the king, and were called "conviva regis," because the hospitality of the table had been always a sacred symbol of communion, and this was a privilege far more sensible than that now in use of mounting in the king's carriage, or of entering the court by a private gate, an instance which may remind us of what was before remarked, relative to the consistency and sense of the forms and the customs in ages of faith, and in our own. If we look to the privileges which the kings of Spain conferred on the nobility, they are chiefly of the same class. The king Don John II., to recompense the counts of Ribadeo, permitted them to eat at his table every year on the festival of the Epiphany, and the habit which the king wore that day was always to be given to them. The king Don Fernando the Catholic conferred the same honour upon the marquisses of Cadiz, granting them the habit worn by the king on the festival of our Lady of September, and he also decreed that the marquis of Moya should have the cup out of which the king drank on the festival of St. Lucy, and that the counts of La Rogne, of the house of Vera, and their descendants for ever, should have the privilege of granting exemptions every year to thirty persons from paying all tributes Ci impost. That generally regard was paid to justice in granting privileges might be inferred from that action of Charles V., who having one day signed a privilege which was afterwards proved to him to be against justice, tore it in pieces with his own hands, saying, "he would rather tear his writing than his soul." If there were privileges which cannot be justified, it should still be remembered that they

§ Ib. ii. 202.

<sup>\*</sup> Monteil cites Lettres du Roi, 3d. Jan. 1430. † Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. v. 69.

had come down from ages of great antiquity, when they were regarded as a compensation for services rendered and losses incurred in the interest of the general society, and that in later times they may have been often possessed by men truly humble and disinterested, and not conscious of retaining any unjust distinction. With respect now to the principle itself of hereditary nobility, which gives such offence to many modern writers, it is only necessary to remark here, that this was no invention of the middle ages, and by no means incompatible with the spirit of meekness which belonged to them. Wholly unconcerned with the general defence of any political institution, candour would oblige us to admit that the French opinions on this subject indicate but little wisdom, and even an inattention to the most ordinary facts of human socie-The principle of nobility is coeval with the development of the social state, and it is even recognized by the authority of the unerring text. When God threatened to punish the idolatry of Solomon, he added, "verumtamen in diebus tuis non faciam propter David patrem tu-um."\* The institution is also recognised, and in terms that lend so little sanction to the modern notions, that when God threatens a people with the greatest evil it is said in prophetic description, that "man shall rise against man, neighbour against neighbour, the child against the old man, the people against the noble."† It is founded in the deepest sentiments of our nature. "The people honour persons of great birth," says Pascal, "the half-wise despise them, saying that birth is not a personal advantage, but a thing of chance, the really wise honour them, not with the thoughts of the people but with higher thoughts. Certain zealots who have not much knowledge despise them, notwithstanding the considerations which make them honoured by the wise, because they judge of them by a new light which piety gives them: but perfect Christians honour them by another superior light. Thus move opinions succeeding one another, for or against, according as light is given." The Catholic society of the middle age was essentially disposed to respect nobility. In the first place, because it paid more attention to the past than to the present time, in which it was greatly opposed to the modern nations, who like the Ionians of old, interest themselves more in the passing events of the day. This Catholic society listened to the songs of Charlemagne and Roland with such attention as to give rise to a new term in language, although the ancient rhapsodists were not to be surpassed, if we credit Maximus of Tyre: for many ages after Charlemagne his praises used to be sung in public places, and streets, and at all fairs, till at length the inventions of these bards passed into the reproachful term of Charletan: it loved to hear minstrels sing of Arthur and the early nobles of its history; it regarded these recollections as its most precious treasure, and cherished them with a kind of poetic madness: Alanus de Insulis, a writer of the twelfth century, says, that if any one were heard in Bretagne to deny that Arthur was yet alive he would be stoned: it listened to these narrations with as much fondness as the Spartans used to attend to Hippias of Elis speaking of the families of heroes, and men, the foundations of the ancient cities, and in general of what related to the olden time. In the second place, it respected no-

<sup>\*</sup> Reg. iii. 11.

bility in consequence of the example and instruction of its religious guides. The clergy of the first ages were men of singular refinement, practised in manners which had come down in the higher ranks from the old civilization; and often personally distinguished by a great nobleness of nature, which under the influence of Christianity gave birth to every conceivable tone and degree of intellectual and moral delicacy and perfection. This is even one reason why parts of the ceremonial of the Church seem so strange to the vulgar eyes and ears of the half-bred sophists in our societies: but it is in its relation with human and natural subjects that this characteristic of the holy fathers falls under our observation at present. "With him is extinct an ancient and illustrious race!" cries St. Basil in his letter to the wife of Nectaire. you perceive, reader, did not disdain these considerations which seem so contemptible to the men of our age. Even the austere St Jerome dwells upon them. Thus in the beginning of his eulogium on the venerable Paula, he says, "she was illustrious by the nobility of her origin, but the holiness of her life rendered her more illustrious. Descendant of the Gracchi and the Scipios, sprung from that famous Paulus-Emilius whose name she bore, worthy heir of that Martia Papyria, who was the mother of Scipio Africanus, she had the generosity to prefer the modest retreat of Bethlehem to proud Rome, and to quit golden palaces for a humble and wretched cell."\* Even in proclaiming the utter vanity of all wordly honour, he shews how nobility may be converted into a source of merit. Paula was married to Toxotius, whose birth, he says, was no less illustrious, he being descended from Æneas, and from the Julian family, whence his daughter Eustochium received the name of "But if I speak here," continues Jerome, "of this worldly nobility, it is not because this was precious in the eyes of her who possessed it, but on the contrary, because the contempt with which she had the courage to treat it cannot be too much admired. Men of the world are filled with veneration for those who have the useless advantage of being sprung from a celebrated and ancient family. As for us, we only praise those who know how to rise superior to it, when the chance of birth has conferred this vain honour. Those who enjoy it are but little in our eyes; but those who despise it become worthy of all our praise." St. Eucher writes in the same style to Valerien: "although the high birth of your father and father-in-law have raised you to the highest dignities, yet I desire for you an exaltation a thousand times more glorious than this of your family; for I desire for you not the glory and greatness of the world, which are vain and perishable, but the glory and greatness of heaven, which are immutable and eternal. Therefore it is not with the false wisdom of this world that I am about to entertain you; but on the contrary, with that profound wisdom, secret and unknown to the world, which God has resolved from all eternity, as the apostle says, to reveal to his elect, in order to conduct them to glory." St. Ambrose, again, writing to Demetriades, a holy virgin, says, that though she has many equals in purity, there are few to be compared to her in the magnificent honours of house, and the splendour of a most ancient family.† The recognition of a nobility of blood in France un-

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. ad Eustoch.

der the kings of the first race is proved by reference to the lives of the saints of the sixth and seventh centuries; for the holy men who composed them speak invariably of the noble extraction of such as were of the higher classes.\* And after all, however liable to abuse may be the possession of nobility, it is beneath the dignity of no moralist to recognize the utility of its principle as an assistant that may be given to virtue. There must be some foundation of truth in a respect so universal as is paid to all who resemble Camertus,

> Gui genus à proavis ingens, clarumque paternæ Nomen erat virtutis.+

Though Euripides may be thought to go too far in saying, that every thing seems fair and beautiful in their actions; yet history justifies a moderate presumption in their favour. It is possible that they may feel an additional force for a life of virtue, like Diagorus, whom Pindar describes as "walking constantly in the way opposed to violence, from knowing well what the just minds of noble ancestors have inspired in him."; St. Odo, Abbot of Cluni, in the eleventh century, states in the life which he has written of count Gerald, that modesty and religion had been transmitted as an hereditary treasure in that noble family, which was a race of men in successive generations seeking God. Even our days can furnish examples. It is the privilege of the family of the dukes of Altamira to proclaim the new king of Spain. On the renunciation of Charles IV., the duke proclaimed Ferdinand VII. the rightful heir, and not Joseph Buonaparte: for which he had to fly the kingdom, and his son, the count of Transtamara, to suffer a long imprisonment in the fortress of Fenestrelle. Honour and loyalty were hereditary in that family, in the same manner as the Spaniards said that the Guzmans were always good, and the Mendozas affable. one need be told of the respect with which the ancients regarded nobil-Dionysius says, that in his time there were remaining at Rome about fifty families descended from the most generous of the Trojan fugitives, who became the companions of Romulus, when he first built the city. This at least shews that antiquity of family was prized. Tacitus reckons among the dreadful evils of the most calamitous times of Rome, that "nobility and honours were considered as a crime:"\*\* and he furnishes a favourable testimony to nobility, in stating that when Regulus survived the cruelties of Nero, he owed his safety only to the circumstance that his nobility was not ancient, nor his wealth considerable.†† It was not till after the reign of Louis VII. that the famous institution of the twelve peers arose in France: six of whom were laymen, the dukes of Normandy, Guyenne, Burgundy, the counts of Champagne, Toulouse, and Flanders, and six ecclesiastics, furnished by the Churches of Laon, Langres, Noyou, Chalons, and Beauvais. the coronation of the kings of France the peers assisted, wearing crowns, and holding their naked swords, as may be seen represented in sculpture on the tomb of St. Remi, at Rheims. Such are a few of the observations that may be suggested with respect to the privileges of the feu-

<sup>†</sup> Æn. xiii. 225. \* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. xxxvii. 547. Bibliotheca Cluniacens. 68. # Olymp. vii. 87. § Antiquit. Rom. lib. i. c. 85. \*\* Hist, lib. i. 2.

dal nobility, and the principle upon which that rank depended. There are yet other circumstances to remark in proof that it furnished no insuperable obstacle to the exercise of meekness, and to the general happiness of society. We have before seen how this question must be determined with regard to the condition of the poor. "Vera nobilitas numquam superbit," says a monk of those days.\* Gernando, the king of Norway's son, the proudest knight who joined the crusade,

— who only vainly thought
That bliss in wealth and kingly power doth lie,
And in respect esteem'd all virtue nought,
Unless it were adorn'd with titles high,

is particularly designated by Tasso as a barbarian, ignorant of the manners of Christian nobility.† It should be remembered, that the sort of selfish and disdainful men, who now cover Europe, belonging to the middle and upper ranks of life, rich, or at least living like the rich, excepting that they may have no gate at which a Lazarus may place himself, full of contempt for the poor, and proud of their own superior knowledge, which consists in an acquaintance with a multitude of little minute despicable circumstances, connected in some way or other with luxury, are a race wholly unlike the feudal nobility: these men have. not any interests in common with the poor, of which fact they seem thoroughly convinced in conscience; whereas it was always the interest of the seigniors to promote the welfare of their vassals, and to prevent them from being oppressed and overcharged. It must be inferred from a letter of Peter the venerable to St. Bernard, that the peasants in Burgundy were then better fed, and consequently able to undergo greater fatigue, than the monks of Cluni, who were Benedictines, and under a most indulgent abbot, and many of whom had been great noblemen and princes. Sir John Fortescue, writing in the reign of Henry VI., bears testimony to the happy condition of the people of England at that time. "The men of this land are rich, having abundance of gold and silver, and other things necessary for the maintenance of man's life; they drink no water, unless it be so that some for devotion, and upon a zeal for penance, do abstain from other drink; they eat plentifully of all kinds of flesh and fish; they wear fine woollen cloth in all their apparel; they have great store of all husselments and implements of household; they are plentifully furnished with all implements of husbandry; and all other things that are requisite to the accomplishment of a quiet and wealthy life, according to their estates and degrees:" and though some would argue that this was owing to certain peculiar principles of civil freedom established in England, there is evidence to prove that in all countries of Christendom the same fruits were borne and brought forth in presence of the institution of the nobility under the Catholic governments, which were every where else, also, "politic and regal conjoined," and which, let it be remembered, excluded men of no rank from their counsels, since through the magistracy and the priesthood, persons of the lowest birth were frequently invested with

Bibliothec, Cluniacensis, 681.

<sup>\*</sup> Petri. abb. Cellens. Epist. ix. 7.

t Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, tom. xii. 23.

great influence, and virtually with a share in the administration. John Marot, in his descriptive poem of the voyage to Venice, represents the joy and peace which all classes of men in France, down to common labourers, enjoyed in the time of Louis XII.; he says, "you saw the peasants in their houses,"

. Sans crainte ou peur, plus fiers que gentilzhommes."

It was the pride of nobility to be the protector of the poor. Baldwin, count of Flanders, son of count Robert, was celebrated for his strict execution of justice upon all men of arms who dared to molest or plunder the rustic people. He inspired such terror among them, that no one would dare even to pick up a treasure on the way. However, one day a poor woman accosted him before the church of St. Peter, at Ghent, as he was hastening to vespers, to tell him that her cow had been stolen. The count begged that she would allow him time to hear vespers; but as she continued to speak, he threw off his mantle and gave it to her, saying, "by this sign you may know that I shall return to you after vespers; which he did, and satisfied the poor woman."\* Histories which relate such humble matter as this cannot be justly said to have overlooked altogether the interest of the poor. In the chant royal on the death of Duguesclin, it is not merely knights, and barons, and citizens, who are called upon to mourn, but it is said also,

Perdu ont ung vrai champion Li pouvre pastourel des champs.

Is there no other assignable motive but pride for that resolution of nobility, never to make war upon the poor? In a memorable combat, when revolted peasants presented themselves with enormous sticks and scythes, brilliant squadrons of knights of Hainaut, cased in iron, suffered themselves to be beaten down, rather than draw their swords upon peasants who had no regular arms. Moreover, whatever may be said by the admirers of the Jacquerie, it does not follow of logical necessity, that in every revolt of peasants the fault was on the side of the nobility. Though the modern historians of France, beginning with him who pretends to describe the conquest of the Normans, can dwell with pleasure upon only two heroes in English history, Jack Cade and Wat Tyler, the true champion of the principles of Wicklyf, there may have been some justice in the complaint of the strange knight, whom Gyron le Courtois overhears speaking to himself by night in a forest, condemning himself for having used ungrateful words against true love, the source of his honour and joy, and comparing himself to the serf, who is of such evil blood, that if his lord were to confer upon him a hundred thousand graces, and a hundred thousand honours, and then afterwards were, for once in his life, to fail in fulfilling his pleasure, all the good which he had before done to him would be forgotten, and this one little fault, which he remarked, would be for ever after on his tongue.† Pindar might have used in praise of many of the baronial castles of the middle ages the very words with which he celebrates the glory of the house of Xenophon of

† Gyron le Courtois. f. xxxv.

<sup>\*</sup> Chronicon S. Bertini apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. iii. cap. 39.

Corinth, a house which had thrice carried off the prize of honour; and besides this.

Olnov ausgov dστοίς, Ξένοισι δε θεράποντα. \*

But as he sings elsewhere, "neither can this delight the mind of the envious."† John Regnier, seigneur of Garchy, and counsellor of Philip the Good, left a remarkable testimony to the affection which he entertained for the poor peasants; for being a poet, and composing his will in the form of a poem, when in expectation of death, after specifying the place where he chose to be interred,

Aux Jacobins eslis la terre En laquelle veuil estre mis Pour ce qu' aux Jacobins d'Auxerre Gisent plusieurs de mes amys:

and even the most minute particulars of the funeral, as that chaplets should be strewed on his coffin, which was to be covered with a white pall, and that his mass of requiem should be chaunted in high note, he continues,

Item, au moustier je veuil estre Porté par quatre laboureurs Qui de vignes seront tins maistre; Car de telz gens suis amoureux.

With this affection for the peasants, these nobles were far from being courtiers when in the presence of kings. The emperor Frederick I. passing through the town of Thougue, the baron of Krenkingen, lord of the place, did not rise from his seat, but only touched his cap, "in token of courtesy." Wherever paganism had been completely extirpated, the baron would not have been treated with servility by the lowest of his own vassals. "Poverty is not a baseness," said the Spaniards, "but an inconvenience." καὶ το πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογείν τινι αίσxein, they might have added, in the words of Pericles in praise of their own countrymen. | Meschinot accounts for the title of his book, Les Lunettes des Princes, in which he instructs men of all conditions, by observing that it is appropriate, although he offers them to persons who are not princes or great temporal lords, but far removed from such an estate, pour ce que tout homme peut estre dict prince en tant qu' il a receu de Dieu gouvernement d' ame. & Thus one discovers in every point the trace of the same moral dignity which the Catholic religion had diffused throughout society with an equal hand; and, there are monuments still remaining in sufficient abundance to prove that by the action of the general feeling of the people, there was a strict and immediate fulfilment of the divine prophetic sentence, that "they who despise God shall be ignoble." It is a remarkable fact, that the sentiments respecting nobility, which were diffused through all classes of the state, during the meek ages of faith, though they did not give rise to hatred and division between different ranks, were yet far less favourable to the pride of birth or riches than those which now pervade our disdainful literature, and

<sup>\*</sup> Olymp. xiii. | Thucyd. ii. 40.

<sup>†</sup> Pyth. Od. ii. § Gouget, tom. ix.

<sup>†</sup> Gouget, tom. ix. 336. \*\* 1 Reg. ii. 36.

even our proud population. Witness the instructions of S. Odo, the second Abbot of Cluny in the eleventh century; and bear in mind who it is that speaks, that it is not a passionate orator and an obscure moralist, but a lover of peace and order, an abbot of a great monastery, and a companion of princes. "Worldly nobility," says this holy man, "is not the work of nature, but of ambition; for Eve was formed from Adam in commendation of unity; and he, though the greater, was formed without paradise, and she the inferior was made within it. And certainly, as St. Jerome saith, we are all made equal by grace, whom the second nativity hath regenerated, by which the noble and the ignoble are made sons of God, and earthly nobility is obscured by the splendour of celestial glory. Say, are the poor generated with more uncleanness, when even David lamented that he was conceived in sin? Are the nobles regenerated with greater lustre, when God hath chosen the poor rich in faith? Job reflected on equality when he did not disdain to undergo judgment with his servant, though he was a king; and lord Martin thought upon it when he waited upon his own servant and cleaned his shoes. Examine all the books of the ancients, and you will find that the most powerful were always the worst men; they were fattened by means of the labour of the poor; they had precious vestments and exotic meats prepared by the hands of the poor; but they only embraced the winds and trusted in vanity. There have been in times past men powerful, and proud, and voluptuous; but what have their immoderate joys, riches, and pleasures profited them? Where are those things, or where are they themselves? Go to their sepulchres, and what do you behold there but the fetid leavings of worms? They have passed as a vision of the night. And I wish that all the pomp of mortals were only to end in ashes and worms! but we must remember the horrible tribunal of the Judge, the burning river, the worm that dieth not, the fire of hell, the weeping and gnashing of teeth, and, what I believe is still greater than all these, the exclusion from the everlasting joys which are prepared for the saints. Let the nobles then be advised to consider carefully what is man, and before what Judge he will stand; let them behold their own power, and estimate their infirmity and the evils of their especial burden; that they may be prepared for appearing before that Judge, and that they may not be confounded at the last day in sight of the whole human race, and of all the host of angels and archangels." \* Perhaps after all, it might be a question whether the noble writers and orators of later times, who refer with such confidence to the spirit and sentiments of the middle ages, in order to condemn others for forgetting the natural equality of the human nature, might not return from consulting them under the impression that they were rather called upon to answer a little for themselves. Nothing is more difficult than to form a true idea of the character of the feudal nobility, if one consult only the writers of our own time, whose views and motives are so different from those of antiquity! With one, for instance, the mainspring which governs his pen is the love of aristocratic privileges, joined with that

<sup>\*</sup> S. Odonis Collationum, lib. iii. Bibliotheca Cluniacens, Vol. I.—35

indifference for religion which the policy of states and the spirit of society, since the sixteenth century, have been creating in the higher orders; with another it is a hatred of aristocratic privileges, joined with an ignorance and a hatred of religion; with another it is an extravagant respect for aristocratic privileges, joined with a religious but uninstructed zeal; it is only in writers who understand and respect religion that one finds aristocratic institutions spoken of with respect, but also with freedom and discernment; and yet assuredly it is not of little consequence whether a just or an unjust estimate be formed of an institution so deeply rooted in European manners, and so capable of producing great effects. The injury which must be done to society by a systematic design to cover it with contempt was not unknown to the ancients, who represented Æschylus objecting to Euripides, that by choosing to ridicule the lofty grandeur of the ancient tragic muse, and by representing kings in tatters as miserable men, not distinguished above the commonest in language or habit, presently there was found no great man in the state willing to fit out a tireme at his own expense, but wrapping himself round in a ragged cloak, every one wept and said that he was poor, though he might have under it a tunic of soft wool.\* If men are really impressed with a sense of the enormity of pride, and feel a desire to contribute to its defeat, it argues ignorance in the extreme to be continually singling out examples of its operation, and denying that blessed meekness was ever beheld in the manners of the ancient nobility. As Peter the venerable, Abbot of Cluni, said to Milo, "It is not a sufficient persuasion to avoid pride when examples are produced of pride, since it is rather by contrary examples of humility and of other virtues, that the disease of pride and of other evils is expelled from human breasts."† In fact, if men were only to consider the present interest of society, it would be necessary to form a just estimate of the real value of these modern objections advanced against the institutions and manners of ancient times; and the only means of arriving at a reasonable conclusion would be by the study of all classes of the contemporary writers, who would as it were place them in the presence of greatness, and enable them to converse with the men themselves. In this manner I propose that we should now approach the noble society of antique days; not indeed with any other intention but that of removing the objections which might be founded upon it against our views of the meekness of the ages of faith. To this retrospect then, reader, advance without alarm for the result. And as we cannot hope to find men wholly blessed, perhaps with peculiar justice I may invite thee to accompany me in the words of Sordello to Dante, when they were about to visit that second region in which the human spirit is purged from sinful blot, and for ascent to heaven prepares,

\_\_\_\_\_\_to the valley now,
(For it is time) let us descend: and hold
Conyerse with those great shadows; haply much
Their sight may please ye.\_\_\_\_\_

<sup>\*</sup> Aristoph. Ranæ, 1064.

<sup>†</sup> Epist, lib. iv. 8. Bibliothec. Cluniacens.

And here, passing by for the present men whom we shall hereafter meet with in the schools, in the cloisters, in the hospitals of the sick, in the hostels of the poor, in the peaceful walks of poetic and devout contemplation; walks that are with nobles of time past thronged as the ways of the rugged Appennine on an autumnal evening, when the crowd of holy pilgrims hastens to Alvernia;\* there will still be found many who will justify our conclusion, that in the middle ages, notwithstanding all the instances of disorder and abuse, there was nothing incompatible with meekness in the possession and privileges of nobility. Mark first that long line of princes, and even warriors, who are acknowledged by their contemporaries to have appeared as sincere disciples of our Lord; men who, as St. Odilo says of the holy Majolus, studied to become meek with the blessed meek, that with them they might possess the land of the living. They are the counts of Anjou. He who stands there is the representative of many: Odo is his name: one invested with much power, and yet a man of innocence; for so he is described, "At ille quoque ut erat vir innocens, licet potentissimus." Who is this that comes forward next in such pompous state, attended with every appendage of feudal splendour? Can you pretend to claim him? It is Herlembald, a nobleman of Milan, who in the eleventh age from Christ enjoyed the golden light of day. Erat nobilis coram sæculo quasi Dux in vestibus pretiosis, et in equitibus et armis, sed in abscondito Deo sicut eremita, agrestibus indutus erat lancis.† Who are these great promoters of commerce, these makers of roads and canals to benefit their country, to whom Troyes is still indebted? They are successive generations of the counts of Brie and Champagne. Who is this with such an authoritative air of majesty? It is John VI. duke of Bretagne. Perhaps to the proud too fierce; but as Meschenot says,

Aux bons doux en couraige, Prudent en faits, et benin en langaige Autant valloit qu'en scellé sa promesse: Oncques ne fist ung deshonneste ouvrage.

"The true father of nobility," concludes the poet, "may God grant him the inheritance of heaven."\*\* He who follows next in that train is Regnaud du-Gueselin, father of the constable: he was of Brittany, in the reign of Philip de Valois, and lord of la Mote de Bron, a strong castle, well placed at six leagues from Regnes. "Le chevalier," says the old chronicler, "fut preudons, loyal et droicturier envers dieu et le monde, renommé de grant prouesse et de hardement. Sur toutes riens aimoit l'eglise pour la reverence de nostre Seigneur, de qui tous biens viennent; confortoit les povres et leur faisoit aulmosnes: sa femme moult de saincte vie estoit et bien renommée en son païs." † Who is this with such a benignant look in death? Ah! you are already disarmed by their meek grandeur! It is Charles duc de Bourgogne: whose last words to his sons admonished them to love and serve God, from

<sup>\*</sup> The festival of the stigmati is in September.

<sup>+</sup> See the Gesta Consulum Andegavensium in Dacher. Spicileg. tom. x. 1 In tom. x. cap. 6. 

Voight's Hildebrand, 123.

<sup>§</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. xv. 69.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Gouget. tom. ix. 408.

<sup>††</sup> Chronique de du-Guesclin Bibliothèque choisie, iii. 8.

whom all good proceeds, and that they should take care never to grieve their subjects, but retain their love.\* And he, who stands next so humbly? Lewis, duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V. "Douls, paisible et très familier à ses amis et à privé: entre ses serviteurs, si très humble et tout humain que plaisir estoit de luy servir." Who is this, bearing mortal wounds, who has both palms joined, and raises them in praver? It is Drogon de Hauteville, who was assassinated before dawn, on the festival of St. Laurence, as he entered the church of that martyr in Montaglio. You may learn his character from the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno, "Fuit vir egregius, pius, strenuus atque famosus, qui propter animi mansuetudinem et justitiæ servatam equitatem omnibus dilectus erat." He who kneels at his side is Count Thibault of Champagne, who though sick when the Marechal Villehardouin arrived at Troyes, yet would needs mount his horse and join the crusade, but his sickness becoming more violent, he died a few days afterwards, and was buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors in the Church of St. Stephen at Troves. No one was ever more lamented by the poor. The monks said of him:

Terrenam quærens cælestem reperit urbem.

Who are these that cling to the cross and cast away their coronets as things worthless? They are some of many, who, with the English Howards, were in the first ranks of those who preferred the devout unanimity of the multitude to the proud obstinacy of a few; and well did it become the blanche Lion to be foremost in the warfare that was at once generous and holy: those who bear the red hand and the red cross are from Ireland, O'Donnel and O'Neil are they; chieftains loyal to heaven, who exiled in the persecutions of Elizabeth fled to Rome, and there left their bones, side by side, before the great altar of St. Peter's church, served by the Franciscans of Montorio. But we need look no longer, for enough is seen, and it is time to shake off the abstracted mood in which such visions would retain us. As one who, left alone in a hall of antique arms at the hour of advancing night, gazes with interest upon the shields, and helmets, and lances, glittering with pale splendour under the faint rising moon, and almost fancies that he sees the knightly forms that wore that steel panoply, thinks he beholds them pace across that vast hall or fall into lines to receive some high prince, or beauteous dame, so lost to the apprehension of present things must every thoughtful person who loves the meek and holy muse read these descriptions of the Catholic nobles of times gone by. Will you hearken now to the lessons which used to he addressed to these men in ages of faith? When you have heard father John de Avila you will have heard them all. "Remember," he says, in writing to a Spanish nobleman, "that in great lords who have authority over others, there are always two persons; many of these are good men in what relates to their consciences, but they fail in respect of being good seigneurs. But it is not sufficient for such men to be just as far as regards their private conduct; they must be just in their public capacity, they have need of double goodness because they have a double

<sup>\*</sup> Christine de Pisan, Livre des fais et bonnes mœurs du sage Roy Charles V. liv. ii. c. 13. + Id. ii. c. 11,

character to support. Beware, my lord, of not giving a good example. So great is the force of example, that I believe men of your rank will be found the chief cause of the ruin of souls. This should suffice to make lords live like saints. The more you will regard and imitate our Saviour Jesus Christ, the better seigneur will you prove yourself to those over whom you have authority?" But let us hasten on, for now I tire not as before. Can it be possible, that the mere grandeur of their feudal castles should be found a grave offence? Well then, let us turn aside, and perhaps a visit to one of these ancient houses will teach us to be more humble. The castle of these ages, as every one knows, was Homeric at least in situation, being like the house of the rustic Eumæus περισκέπτω ενί χώρω.† If one who studies the history of the earth were to trust his own associations, he might suppose that like the men of primitive times as described by Plato, these nobles lived on the summits of rocks and hills, as if still afraid to trust themselves in the low lands which seemed more exposed to the great catastrophes of nature; ‡ but without such speculations, it is clear that such a situation was agreeable and healthful, and moreover it interfered with no tastes or habits of life then prevalent, for Homer might have said of feudal nobles;

τοίσιν δ' εὐτ' άρος εί βευληφός ει, εὐτε θέμιστες,
- ἀλκ' εί γ' ὑψηλῶν ἐςξων νείευσι κάρηνα
εν σπίσσι γλαρυχοίσι, θεμιστεύει δε ἐκκότος
παίδων ἐδ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγευσιν.

It is not necessary to ascribe the choice of this situation to Cyclopean or predatory habits. In Tuscany and in other parts of Italy, all the ancient towns, like Fiesole and Subiaco, are placed upon the tops of high hills. In the times of material disorder consequent upon the fall of the Roman empire, the population of countries were often obliged to seek refuge on the tops of mountains and in places of difficult approach. Thus we read in the life of St. Nicet, bishop of Treves, written by Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, "In traversing these plains, Nicet, this apostolic man, this good pastor, constructed there a tutelary fold for his flock: he surrounded the hill with thirty towers, which enclosed it on all sides, and thus he raised an edifice where before there had been only a forest." Those who are acquainted with the moral elevation of the noble chivalry of these ages, may, perhaps, imagine that in that circumstance they have found a clue to explain the prevailing taste in respect of this choice of habitation, and, perhaps, in some instances, the building itself, if it could acquire a voice, as Æschylus says, would say this most clearly. Petrarch certainly observes that Scipio Africanus was so adverse to a life of pleasure, that he would never even look upon Baia, and for the same reason he says, "Marius, and Pompey, and Cæsar, and others, who were of lofty manners, are known to have built their houses upon mountains." The descendants indeed of those who led a eastle life have very different tastes in respect of locality. It is not likely that they should relish the site of the Gothic castle.

Enervés de mollesse
Ils se traînent à peine en leur vieille jeunesse,

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. xlvi. | Fortun. Carm. i. 3. 12.

<sup>†</sup> Od. xiv. 6.

<sup>†</sup> Plato de Legibus, lib. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Epist. lib. v. 4.

Courbés avant le temps, consumés de langueur, Enfants efféminés de pères sans vigueur.

They may shudder from their gilded barges, impelled by the force of vapour, as they pass along the coast of Northumbria, when they gaze upon those embattled mansions which the poet says were seen by the abbess of St. Hilda, as she sailed from high Whitby's cloistered pile to the holy island of St. Cuthbert.

Thy tower, proud Bamborough, mark'd they there, King Ida's castle, huge and square, From the tall rock, look grimly down, And on the swelling ocean frown,

But if their fathers were again to visit earth, they might hasten from these modern Baias to inhabit their ancient picturesque abodes, without its being necessary to conclude that they were impelled by sentiments contrary to meekness, or that theirs was the crime of Pazzo and Rinieri, whom Dante beheld tormented in the seething flood for having filled the ways with violence and war.\* Even the two houses of Pliny on the Larium lake indicate a nobleness of nature, of which the modern rustic villas present no indication: he built one upon the level shore, but the other was placed upon a rock looking down upon the water. This latter he called tragedy, sustained as if by buskins.† The former was comedy, like all the houses erected in our times, in which there is nothing solemn, to favour sweet melancholy, and no part lofty or painful of ascent, requiring force of soul; whereas the very rooms of the ancient mansions inspired thought and feelings of devotion, and were a defence to preserve the mind in purity. There were indeed many characteristics in the architecture of the middle ages which seemed to have a relation to their manners; and first its beauty and durability merit admiration. Men consulted almost a poetic taste, and worked for posterity: the ancient laws prescribed a certain thickness to the walls and beams of houses. The magnificent old baronial castle of Glammis, the hereditary seat of the earls of Strathmore, is described by Sir Walter Scott as bearing signs of great antiquity in the immense thickness of the walls, and the wild and straggling arrangement of the rooms. "I was conducted to my apartment," he says, "in a distant corner of the building. I must own, that as I heard door after door shut, after my conductor had retired, I began to consider myself too far from the living, and somewhat too near the dead;" and he also gives a description of the castle of Dunvegan, whose turrets standing upon a frowning rock, rise immediately above the waves of a lake. Except, perhaps, for some tapestry hangings, and the extreme thickness of the walls, nothing could have been more agreeable than the interior of the chamber; but if you looked from the windows, the view was such as to correspond with the highest tone. An autumnal blast, sometimes clear, sometimes driving mist before it, swept along the troubled billows of the lake. The waves rushed in wild disorder on the shore, and covered with foam the steep piles of rock, which rising from the sea in forms somewhat resembling the human figure have obtained the name of Macleod's maidens, and in such a night seemed no bad representative of the Norwegian "choosers

<sup>\*</sup> Hell, xii. † Epist. ix. 7. ‡ Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. iii. 253.

of the slain, or riders of the storm." But whether such was the situation of castles, or whether as at other times they rose from the dome of forests which resounded to the cry of solemn birds, or whether as at others they crowned the hill or rock that served as a citadel to towns from whose streets below a distant murmur ascended to the protecting battlements, their interior was always grave and spacious, and furnished many places favourable to retirement and meditation. Those vast chimnev recesses, which in the fifteenth century were adorned with that noble architecture which may still be seen in the castles of Fontainbleau, Vincennes, St. Germain and others, might be said to have a literature belonging to them, and a school of taste, in which, judging from genuine principles, we shall find nothing to disdain. We shall have occasion to recur to this when we consider the learning of these ages. decoration of these houses was thoroughly Christian, and this is a characteristic which deserves to be remarked. To this day the feudal science of heraldry rejects absolutely all immoralities, to a degree that would indicate the purest manners and the utmost spirituality of conception. Wherever to our eyes the principle of modesty might seem transgressed it arose from the simple reverence with which men read creation's holy book describing the innocence of the life of Paradise, and before the mysterious light of primal sanctity our ancestors thought that every polluted fire would be extinguished. In respect of its disposition to take a different view of this subject, our own age has no grounds for self-congratulation. Plato even says, that at no very distant time from that in which he wrote, it was deemed disgraceful by the Greeks as it still continued to be by the greatest part of the barbarians, (that is, nations who had no sophists,) to see the images of naked men, and that the Cretans first and then the Lacedemonians adopted the gymnastic discipline so contrary to this sentiment.\* Cicero quotes a verse of Ennius:

## Flagitii principium est nudare inter cives corpora.+

Naked statues were not seen in Rome till after the reign of Augustus. One may conceive that the Christian society would be rather favourable to the ancient taste; and accordingly the old mosaicks of our blessed Lady with the Child are always recognised by the circumstance of the infant Jesus being clothed. The crucifixes used in the time of Charlemagne represented our divine Saviour on the cross, not naked but clothed, and with a royal crown on his head, and nailed with four nails in the two feet separately, and in the two hands. The celebrated crucifix at Lucca and that in the cathedral of Amiens are in this form, as was that in the church of St. Cilinia, the nurse of St. Remy, at Rheims. The body, however, is not clothed in the crucifixes that were found in the catacombs, nor in those painted by Giotto and earlier masters, such as may be seen at Pisa and in other places. The chief decorations of the castle, representing the history of saints, differed not in this respect from the general tone of Christian modesty: those that were peculiar to its adornment were either carved representations of ancestral fame, as the silver tables in the palace of Dido:

<sup>\*</sup> De Repub. lib. v.

Fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum, Per tot ducta viros antiquæ ab origine gentis;\*

or else heraldic blazons which sometimes recalled ancient virtuc.

----Veterum decora alta parentum,

and at others were the symbolic expressions of the piety of the founder or possessor. In the superb castle of Ecouen, built by the grand Condé, in the forest of Montmorency, the floors of several of the rooms are paved with painted tiles representing in each compartment the monogram of our blessed lady, and the ceilings represent the sword of Condé, interlaced between the initial letters of the angel's salutation and the beloved mame. The walls of these castles contained beautiful recesses arched with rich tracery to hold the water that was blessed, and solemn tapestry flowed to the ground,

In whose glittering tissues bore emblazon'd Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love Recorded eminent.——

There is little wisdom, and not more of taste, in the man who would despise the ancient symbolic decoration, even when considered exclusively in its historic and ancestral character. It is a sensible appeal in our great poet, "Will you mock at an ancient tradition, begun upon an honourable respect, and worn as a memorable trophy of pre-deceased valour?" The Who could enumerate all the worthy deeds to which this imaginative science may have given rise, as in the instance of Perez de Vargas at the siege of Seville? Besides these decorations, the walls of a Gothic castle in these ages were covered with paintings, historical, theological, mythological, geographical, and so generally instructive, as to form almost an encyclopædia, in which every science and art was, at least, indicated. The ancient apartments and galleries of the Vatican were not singular instances of this mode of imparting knowledge. castle of king Robert, at Naples, contained numerous apartments to receive men celebrated for their learning and genius, and there was a correspondence between the decoration of each and the studies of the men whom it was to receive. The apartments of preachers and theologians were adorned with paintings of Paradise, those of poets with mythological devices, and so of the rest. In the halls of the castle of Meudon were painted the sessions of the Council of Trent. In the reign of Charles VI. the castle of Vincestre, near Paris, was adorned with portraits of Pope Clement VII. and all the cardinals of his College, with those also of the kings and princes of France, and the emperors of the East and West. t The deacon Paul collected the fashion of the dresses of the Lombard warriors from the paintings made by order of Teodolinda in the castle built by her at Monza. The return of Cosmo de Medicis to Florence was painted in the hall of the castle of Poggio Caiano; and Tasso only describes a common practice, when he says, speaking of Clorinda,

> Her prison was a chamber, painted round With goodly portraits and with stories old.§

In general the taste of men was directed towards grand and striking mat-

<sup>\*</sup> Æn. i. 641. † Hen. v. s. 1. † Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, x. 16. † Yaul. Diac. lib. iv. c. xx. † xii. 23.

ters, instead of being confined as at present to promote the invention of ten thousand little minute objects of fashionable manipulation, exquisite trifles which have neither beauty nor meaning nor use, excepting as some contrivance to facilitate the gratification of personal vanity. In our times men fear almost to traverse these mounlight halls of knightly state, so little in accordance with the desires of luxury and the habitations of the effeminate; their very decoration impels men too strongly to meditate; they may admire indeed with Wilfrid, that huge old hall in the castle of Rockeby, when

The moon through transom shefts of stone, Which cross'd the latticed oriels shone:

but they cannot disguise their impatience to pass on; for they feel as if

—By dim lights these pourtaits of the dead

Have something ghastly, desolate and dread.

"The pale smile of beauties in the grave, the charms of other days, glimmering on high in starlight gleams," all that would have excited such deep and tender emotions in the ancient possessors, are to these men only sources of gloom and regret, objects only that they think every eye would shun. But in all the parts of these ancient castles there was some aspersion of religion. Its high towers were generally under the protection of the holy martyr, St. Pancrace. Thus at Fontenay-le-Vicomte was the tower Pancrace.\* The very name was often that of a saint. Thus the magnificent eastle of Kenilworth was anciently Kenelmworth, so called from the Saxon saint whose name occurs so frequently among the students of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries. Often where we least expect it in visiting the interior of these castles we are compelled to fall upon our knees. Thus in the eleventh century, the castle of Harzburg, in the midst of the Harz, fortified by Henry, who placed in it the insignia and treasures of the kingdom, would hardly seem to have been a place to visit through devotion. It stood upon a high hill, and could only be approached by one way, and that was most difficult. The other sides of the mountain were covered with a vast forest which extended in one continued tract of solitude as far as the borders of Thuringia; yet in this castle were many holy reliques. The lords of castles were sometimes even troublesome to the churches of neighbouring villages, from desiring to transfer their reliques to the chapels within their own walls.† It must be remembered, however, that at others they came to the possession of such treasures in a way more honourable, as in the case of several noble families of Rome, such as the Mariscotti, Falconieri, Corsini, and others, having saints among their line whose bodies are preserved in their private chapels. The chapel was a constant appendage to the castle. At the time when Hugues Capet was only Count of Paris, Count Haymon, not content with having built the church of St. Spire close to his castle, on the translation of the body of St. Guenaul built also the church of St. Guenaul within the very walls of this castle, which stood close to the junction of the rivers Juine and the Seine, and there he founded four priests to celebrate the divine service. † The seigneur de Montmorenci having procured the reliques

<sup>\*</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xi. 104.

<sup>†</sup> Desguerrois Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes. † Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xi. 179.

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of St. Felix for the chapel of his castle, which was dedicated in 1174. such a multitude of devout people were attracted there annually on the day of his festival, that a fair was established for the time.\* Thibaud the fair-haired, forester of king Robert, built the castle of Montlhery in which were two churches, that of our Lady, and the collegiate church of St. Peter, of regular canons having an abbot at their head. At the same time his son Guy founded without its walls the monastery of

Longpont.

Louis Guibert, counsellor of state and Seigneur de Bussy in 1628. founded a chapel of St. Louis in the knightly castle of Bussy, assigning revenues for the chaplain, who was to celebrate mass every day in the week but one, and to teach the children of the village, and above all six of the poorest; and he was to lead them every evening to the church of the castle for night prayers. † The parish church of Andresel, in the diccese of Paris, under the invocation of St. John the baptist, is within the walls of the baronial castle, which was a rare example in country places; but the Abbé Lebeuf observes, that the name of the seigneur of Andresel at the time determined them in the choice of the patron, as was usual; and after all, the seigneurs were the founders of most of the parish churches. In short, no seigneur in these ages ever thought of building a castle without a chapel, and in some there were even two. In the vast castle of Marcoucies, built by John de Montaigu, on a steep rock which stood in a deep valley, there were two chapels in the dongeon court; one, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was built expressly for the Celestin monks, that they might serve it and be lodged in the adjoining tower, when war should oblige them to seek an asylum within the walls. At the same time the episcopal permission to found chapels within private walls was always indispensable, and never granted without assigning specific reasons, such generally as the great distance from a church, the danger of crossing rivers; or the event of sickness. in 1552, Anne Noblet, widow of Guerin de la Coustardiere, obtained leave to have a chapel at Cachant, on account of her advanced age: \*\* and in 1617 John Tronson, seigneur of Coudray, obtained permission to have a private chapel, from the bishop of Paris, on account of the distance of his eastle from any church. By the canons of the Council of Orleans, in the year 541, the possessors of chapels were forbidden to receive strange clerks without the consent of the bishop of the place. They excommunicate the possessors who should prevent the priests who serve their chapels from acquitting themselves of what they owe to the divine service. Indeed the Council of Chalons in the year 650 complained that some great men who had chapels withdrew their clerks from the jurisdiction of the ordinary. In the year 506, that of Agde found it necessary to make provisions against the danger of abuse, lest the priest might insensibly lose the spirit of his order, and the lord usurp ecclesiastical power. From this outline of a feudal castle in the middle ages, one may conceive that no great alteration was necessary in the structure, whenever the possessor through devotion thought proper, as was not unfrequently the case, to convert it into a house for persons of a

<sup>\*</sup> Id. tom. iii. 379. Id. tem. xv. 343.

<sup>+</sup> Id. tom. x. 157. . § Id. tom. ix. 271.

t Id. tom. xv. 34. \* \*\* Id. tom. x. 31.

religious order. Thus Anne de Bretagne, wife of king Charles VIII., converted the ancient country-house of the dukes of Chaillot into a convent of poor Clares: \* and Charlotte, queen of Portugal, in our age, has left in her will her superb castle of Guadras to the Dominican sisters, on condition that they are to maintain a house of refuge. In the year 962, S. Guibert, a nobleman of Lorraine, abandoned his arms to serve God alone in his castle of Gembly, in Brabant, which he offered to God, converting it into a monastery of Benedictines; † and the Comte de Rougemont, the fierce and terrible champion of Savov, being converted by St. Vincent de Paul, condemned himself to a life of austere penance, selling his estates to employ the price in charity, and changing the place of his residence, the eastle of Chaulnes, into a hospital for widows and orphans. From all this too we can understand why even holy writers did not disdain to borrow similitudes from the structure and parts of the feudal castle, as when St. Theresa compared the soul to a superb castle, of which prayer is the gate, and which has many courts, in the principal of which God dwells; of which castle the souls that enter not into themselves are as it were the sentinels, who only go the round of the walls without entering it; and of which in the first lower cloister, answering to the first step in the awakening of the soul, all is dark and tortuous, and full of danger and difficulty, and infested with phantoms and demons to scare one. F. Benedict also, an English capuchin, composed a book entitled "Le Chevalier Chrestien," containing a dialogue between a Christian and a Pagan, in which he teaches all the doctrines of the Christian religion, and inculcates all the lessons of a spiritual life by means of emblems furnished by his castle and tower, as well as his arms and equipage: indeed the castles of these ages being constructed on nearly the same plan in every part of Christendom, might serve in this way as a universal language. In Italy, however, it would meet with a new order of ideas, but even the palace of the Vatican, amidst the master-pieces of Greek and Roman art, contains the vast arched galleries, the solemn flights of stairs, the sombre Sestine chapel, the guards clothed in the striking and picturesque uniform of the middle ages, which all are in such harmony with the recollections of Charlemagne, who so long inhabited it after being crowned emperor by the Pope S. Leo III. In the fifteenth century, owing to the destructive policy of the government, many castles in wild parts of France were left uninhabited, excepting by some old porter who had care of it. Before the revolution, these castles were thickly scattered over France, and often within sight of each other. Eury-les-chateaux was so called from the number of castles which surrounded it.

> The huge old halls of knightly state, Dismantled seem'd and desolate:

but such was not the case with the castles or mansions in the middle ages, when the very word which expressed them implied the constant residence of the possessor. The Catholic religion kept families at

<sup>\*</sup>Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris. tom. iii. 54.

<sup>†</sup> Hist. des Evesques de Senlis, p. 360. 

† Monteil, Hist. des Français, iii. 126.

<sup>.</sup> H. Lebeuf. xiii. 206.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Coke says "Manerium dicitur à manendo."

home and prevented them from degenerating into a kind of nomadic tribe, ever wandering about with wives and children, like the Tartars, whether their journeys would be made in coaches or in carts. Here we may remark some particulars relative to the castle life which deserve attention. The feudal castle was Homeric, inasmuch as it deserved the title of "the well-inhabited house." Walstein in his castle of Prague entertained sixty pages, all children of ancient families, who were trained under the first masters kept expressly for the purpose. Froissart and other writers describe at length the immense households entertained by private noblemen of that age. Guizot affirms that a characteristic feature of the feudal system was the strange development of individual characters, such as might be expected, he adds, "from men who lived isolated; free to follow the originality of their nature and the caprice of their imaginations:" but immediately after he speaks as follows; "every one knows that the domestic life, the spirit of family connexion, and the high importance of women, were characteristic of the same state of society. The husband lived in the castle with his wife and children around him:" he observes also, that each castle became peopled with a crowd of pages and squires, who were sent there as to a school of chivalry. Thus the interior became animated; all these young sons of vassals became members of the house, and performed service of different kinds, and thus social movement and the communication of equals entered into these isolated habitations.\* There seems then to be no ground for supposing, as he savs, that this was "a solitary, sombre, or hard situation." In truth it is in our days, notwithstanding the multiplication of clubs and chambers of political debate, that men are doomed to the misery of an isolated existence. In no state of society were they possessed of more bonds of union, than in the ages of faith: no one was then condemned to a life of solitude, if he sought to be protected from the assembly of the malignant, and from the multitude of the workers of iniquity. The principle of association, so eminently Catholic, operated both in the highest as well as in the lower ranks of the state. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the morality of this societv: for the present, I would only entreat a suspension of judgment. Facts present themselves in every direction to warn us frem lending too entire an assent to the view taken by modern writers on this subject. . Leopold, archduke of Austria, used to examine his own pages respecting their manners, and he regarded more their innocence and piety, than the nobility of their birth. † St. Odo, the second abbot of Cluni, when a youth in the service of count William of Aquitaine, residing in his eastle, and an attendant on his hunting, used to retire, as he says himself, on the vigil of our Lord's nativity, to watch during the night, and pray before the public office in the chapel. ‡ The castle of these ages was not always as felonious as that of Nabon le Noir, in the history of Gyron, in which the good knight without fear was imprisoned in an iron-grated chamber, till after killing a giant who had been sent to dispatch him, he at length went mad,

<sup>\*</sup> Cours d' Hist. iv. 5, 6.

Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, p. 17.

<sup>†</sup> Avancin, Vie de Léopold d'Autriche,

Sometimes it was an asylum for the poor. The count de Tendilla during one period lived in the impregnable fortress of Alcala la Real, perched high among the mountains about six leagues from Grenada: this was a place of refuge for the Christian captives who used to escape by night from the Moorish dungeons of Grenada. Often, however; they missed their way in the defiles of the mountains, and wandering about bewildered, either repaired by mistake to some Moorish town, or were discovered and retaken at daylight by the enemy. To prevent these accidents, the count built a tower on one of the heights near Aleala, which commanded a view of the Vega, and of the whole country; and here he kept a light blazing throughout the night, as a beacon for all Christian fugitives to guide them to a place of safety. An amusing instance occurs in the old Fabbiaux, which is sufficient to show how generously the poor were admitted to hospitality by the lords of these castles. On a certain day, the story relates, count Henry invited all the world to an entertainment; rich and poor, nobles, knights, and peasants were all equally accustomed to receive his invitations; but he had a discourteous and niggardly seneschal, who took pains to insult the guests. A poor ploughman, named Raoul, became the object of his insolence, though the seneschal, fearing that the count might observe him, had at length provided a seat for the poor man. When the minstrels and jongleurs, who sat at the end of the banquet table, had exerted themselves to the utmost to amuse the count and the guests, Raoul advanced and kicked down the seneschal before the whole company. Then being called upon for an explanation, he related humbly to the noble count how his seneschal had treated him in a similar manner, on his first entry, though he came to the castle on the count's general invitation: The count was highly delighted, as were all the company, and to Raoul was adjudged the prize of a robe which was to be given to the jongleur that caused most merriment in the hall.\* Here is at once a great contrast to the gloomy pride of modern manners in the houses of the great. Sir Walter Scott takes notice, that "the union betwixt the nobles of La Vende? and the peasants was of the most intimate character; many of their employments, and even their amusements, were in common. Upon the evenings of Sundays and holydays, the young people of each village and farmhouse repaired to the court-yard of the chateau, as the natural and proper scene for their amusement, and the family of the baron often took part in the pastime." It is not beneath our notice to remark that the same customs and delights prevailed with the great and with the poor. Both reserved their gayest habits for the same days of common religious rejoicing; there was not that anxiety in the noble to avoid the simple practices of the people, and to abandon successively whatever exercise or dress they adopted: on ordinary occasions all were equally attired for the business of life. Montaigne says that he loves to imitate that cheerful carelessness of youth with respect to their dress, having their cleak only on one shoulder, their stockings torn, and many things about their person indicating a fierce disdain of art. A great deal of this

<sup>\*</sup> Bibliothèque Choisie, Recueil de Fabliaux.

may be ascribed to the circumstance, that there was no false or artificial state of social elevation in those days: of the arrogance and vanity of a timid grandeur we find some trace in Virgil, when he speaks of Drances:

genus huic materna superbum Nobilitas dabat.\*

There can be no doubt but that the higher classes in these ages sympathised far more with the people than that numerous race of men, who have of late been multiplied by the progress of luxury, who live by a thousand ignoble arts which tend to debase the mind and consign it to sensuality, while they yield a sufficient supply of maintenance to enable their possessors to appear in a rank above the poor. The feudal nobles encouraged agriculture, which in the fifteenth century had attained to the dignity of a science, and was studied as such.† The duke of Milan had magnificent stabling and sheds for 1800 cows and 14000 goats and sheep, as appears from the account of the voyage of Charles VIII. to Naples, by Pierre Desrey of Troycs. In the forest of Landea, the viscounts de Rohan supported a breed of wild horses: But to return to the hospitality of the castle. The zeal with which this virtue was exercised is sometimes amusing. Gyron le Courtois was thus invited by the knight of the tower. "Sire, il est bien heure de vespres, et scayes bien que vous avez huy trouve par cy devant si mauvaise voye que vous estes travaille, et apres le travail se doit chascun homme par raison reposer; et pour ce je vous prie pour la foy que vous devez a tous les chevaliers errans du monde que me faciez or endroit une courtoysie que assez petit vous coustera. Et saichez, sire, que je la triendray a moult grant bonte." "What would you have me to do?" said Gyron. "En nom Dieu," said the knight, "je vous prie que vous herbergiez ceste nuyt avecques moy dedans ceste tour, il mest avis certainement ce saichez vous que ce me sera moult grant honneur, si si preudhomme comme vous estes herberge a mon hostel, et pour ce, sire, je vous prie que vous y demourez cesluy soir, car certes ce sera une chose que bien me donnera moult grant confort."† Boniface, the pious marquis of Tuscany, might be chosen as an example of the magnificent spirit of these times; though every feudal castle, like that of the count de Foix, exhibited something similar. On his marriage with Beatrice, daughter of Frederick, duke of Lorraine, he kept a public table for three months, at which not only the noble foreigners who accompanied his bride into Lombardy were entertained, but also people of all descriptions. Gold and silver adorned the tables, to which the meats were carried on beasts of burden; there were wells of wine, where every one could quench his thirst out of pails of silver. In the same spirit of magnificence, Albert, viscount of Mantua, made a present of 300 horses and as many goshawks, to the emperor Henry III. when he came into Italy. Nor were holy observances neglected amidst the splendid triumph of the feast; as the minstrel of Branksome Hall bears witness, saying how-

> o'er the heron and the crane, And princely peacook's gilded train,

And o'er the boar-head garnish'd braye, And-cygnet from St. Mary's wave, O'er ptarmigan and venison The priest had spoke his benison.

The gaiety that reigned in these gothic halls was simple, and from the The chronicle of Alberic, speaking of the marriage in 1237, of Robert, brother of St. Louis, with Mathilda, daughter of the duke of Brabant, describes some of the amusing pageantry. At the four corners of the hall were minstrels mounted on oxen covered with scarlet, who blew trumpets at each service. Sometimes were introduced dancing dogs, apes on horseback, and goats playing upon the harp. with intervals of this occasional merriment, there was generally an ancient Christian discipline observed which is now only found in colleges or episcopal palaces. To the moderns alone was the sanctity of the Christian banquet a surprise. The custom of reading during repasts came from the ancients. Pliny never neglected it, and Juvenal inviting a friend to supper, promised that Homer and Virgil should be read. The Christians continued to observe it, only substituting holy lessons for profane. Charlemagne preferred hearing read at his repast the books of St. Augustin de Civitate Dei. Christine de Pisan, describing the table of the queen of Charles V., says, "durant son mangier, par ancienne coustume des roys, bien ordonnée pour obvyer à vaines et vagues parolles et pensées avoit un preudomme en estant au bout de la table qui sans cesser disoit gestes de meurs virtueux d'anciens bons trespassez.' This was the discipline to secure Tor direculatator eparer, a feast among men of ardent spirits, where at least there was no shoulder of Pelops to eat, where all was peaceable and well. With the ancients, indeed, there was often extravagance in their affectation of mixing pleasures with se-The father of history relates, that at the feasts of the rich, after the repast a bier used to be borne round the hall, on which was placed a wooden figure resembling a dead body; it was shown in turn to each of the guests, with these words, "Turn your eyes toward this man, whom you will resemble after your death. Now drink and divert yourself."\* The heroic chants, as with our own ancestors, were the ordinary accompaniment of the ancient repast, and certainly far more useful than would have been any reading from their more formal authors, or conversations philosophical, such as that of the guests in Athenaus. A voung sophist on being asked by his father, at supper, to take up the lyre and sing a song of Simonides, is represented as replying "that it was old fashioned to use the lyre in order to sing while drinking, like a woman grinding barley:"† these pedants were all for sophistical discourses. But though there was no pedantry, it cannot be denied that there was much solomnity in the customs of the baronial feast, which bore no resemblance to that of Agathoeles, the merry tyrant. The very hall was sometimes in a mystic form, as that of Tau in the archiepiscopal palace, at Rheims: the light from long flambeaux, held by varlets who stood round the table, harmonized with nothing trivial; when discourse was held, it was often learned and philosophic. St. Thomas Aquinas sitting silent in a musing posture at the table of the king of

<sup>\*</sup> Herod. lib. ii.

France, at last broke forth with these words: "Conclusum est contra Manichaeos:" their very dances were solemn, as when the king used to tlance between two flambeaux, which were held by two knights.\* And here I cannot help remarking, that in point of taste there were many features of the ancient castle to delight and exalt the devout poetic fancy, without having recourse to the fictions of any absurd pagan superstition. Was it nothing that corresponded with such an imagination. when the strange guest was told, as he was conducted to his chamber on some wild tempestuous night, that the faint glimmering which he observed in a distant turret proceeded from the lancet casement of a holy monk, who lived a recluse under the baron's roof? Did his collected steps across the gothic galleries awaken no solemn thought? when his spirit had passed from the earth, did the memory of him afterwards cast no halo of sanctity over the chamber which he used to occupy? Madame de Chantal, walking one day alone in the fields near her castle, had a vision in which she saw St. Francis de Sales: † and we have all heard how the old crucifix in the little chapel of the castle of Xavier, in Navarre, at the foot of the Pyrenees, had still a mysterious connexion with the great saint of that house when he was in the distant regions of India. When St. Theresa came to Madrid, she descended at the house of the Lady de Mascarengas, adjoining the convent of the nuns of St. Francis, which that lady had founded. There was in her house at this time a hermit, who was greatly venerated, to whom she had given a chamber in a retired part of the palace. The lady was overjoyed at this occasion of making two saints known to each other. This hermit's history was remarkable. Ambrose Marian, born at Bironta, in the kingdom of Naples, pursued his early studies with such success that he became doctor in the three faculties of letters, law, and theology; he was a great mathematician, and at the same time a master of Roman eloquence: being deputed to attend the council of Trent, he was employed in negociating several important matters relative to the Church in Flanders and Germany. The queen of Poland, who observed his merit, desired that he might be of her council, and he became intendant of her palace. Nevertheless the world had but few charms for him; he accordingly took the vows of a knight of Malta. but being falsely accused by two perjured witnesses of being accessary to a murder, he was thrown into prison, and there he took the final resolution that, in the event of his innecence being manifested, he would leave the world for ever. The examination disclosed the crime of his enemies, for whom he entreated mercy; and on being set at liberty, after accomplishing certain orders of the king of Spain, he retired to the house of the Jesuits of Cordova to follow the spiritual exercises. One day as he was looking from his window he saw a venerable hermit enter the church: he sent down to entreat him to come to his chamber. The holy man obeyed. He was the superiour of the hermits of Tardon, and renowned for his sanctity. Ambrose questioned him respecting their manner of life, and resolved to visit their desert; here he was so moved by the example of these devout men, that he finally took their

<sup>\*</sup> Mémoires de La Marche, liv. i. chap. vii. an. 1442. + Marsollier, Vie de M. de Chantal, tom. i.

habit in 1562, and being obliged by their rule to support themselves, he learned to spin, as affording the most humble occupation, and as at the greatest variance with his former glory. He was now at Madrid on the affairs of his order, being deputed to seek permission from the court for a new establishment. In some places, as at Ormove, in the diocese of Paris, the curate used to be lodged in the castle of the seigneurs.\* In the houses in England of the old Catholic gentry, the chambers, and even the concealed retreat of the priest, during the times of persecution, are always found. One of the latter having been lately discovered in an old mansion, after remaining unknown for many years, there was found in it a table, on which lay a copy of the Imitation of Christ, curiously bound with old clasps of iron. But in the castles of the nobility, in ages of faith, saints and persons of holy order were generally most eagerly received. Thus when it was known that St. Theresa was to come to Salamanca, the count and countess of Monterei obtained permission from the superiors that she might be lodged in their palace. An old chronicle, speaking of St. Victor, a holy recluse, who lived in a solitary wood near St. Saturnin, in Champagne, records another beautiful instance. "It was a wonderful gift of God to this holy recluse and austere anchorite, that he should be so greatly loved, respected, feared, and revered, by the great men of his time, who were all happy whenever they could enjoy his presence. There was one gentleman, allied to the crown of France, whom he had held on the holy baptismal font, who resided at Cupigny, and who desired him earnestly to come to his castle to bless his family. After many pressing invitations the holy man at last consented, and set out on his journey thither. All the castle was overjoyed, and the nobles of the neighbourhood hastened there to meet him, thinking that they would be in paradise to be visited by such a saint. On his approach, lords and ladies, sons and daughters, servants, old and young, hastened out to meet him, receiving him into their halls as an angel of God. 'There was nothing but rejoicing in the castle, and they wanted to feast him well, but the saint would eat nothing till late, employing all his time in instructing them in what tended to their salvation. After taking a slight repast, as usual, he retired to rest for a time, but at midnight he rose up, and sung his matins, and then meditated till break of day. 'This was a Sunday, so that a vast number of persons hearing of his being there came up to the castle to receive some heavenly instruction in the Catholic faith, to have the fear of God imprinted in their hearts: he made a long discourse to them, insisting, above all things, upon the love which we ought to cherish for our Lord the Son of God. After mass, to oblige and gratify them all, he ate and drank in their company, and then remained the whole day instructing them in holy things, and speaking of God. The next day, very early in the morning, he departed from the castle, leaving them much more sound in their souls than they were before his visit." The castle life was a life in the world, and many a dark and sanguinary deed has stained the feudal towers. I know it; but still, methinks, we have already wherewithal to support the opinion, that it was not necessarily ολέθειον βιστών, a life causing death, t but that it was compatible with the

<sup>\*</sup> Lebeuf, xiii. † Desguerrois Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 123. † Medea, 991. Vol. I.—37

character of men who sought to recommend themselves by meckness to the Divine mercy, knowing that it is only the humble of heart who shall be saved. Faith might have had her residence even within the embattled courts of nobles, and holy lessons may have found within them soft, obedient hearts; but if sad intervals did follow, when all was lost and all forgotten, if the knight who but yesterday at evening had listened to the benign recluse, who taught him "the way for man to win eternity," and had given proof how he did prize the lesson, by moistening the pavement of that recluse's chapel with his tears, if he, as soon as the warden's trumpet announced the beacon blaze of war, lost in an instant all remembrance of that dear paternal image, when

The blast alarm'd the festal hall,
And started forth the warriors all;
When downward in the castle yard,
Full many a torch and cresset glared:
And helms and plumes, confusedly toss'd,
Were in the blaze half seen, half lost,

is it for the men whose days now glide luxuriously in undisturbed repose from without, to congratulate themselves on their superior consistency? These would do better to imitate that recluse, who had as profound a sense as they can possess of what it is to prevaricate with God. Far from breaking forth in disdainful reproaches, he only smote his breast, and silently mounted again to his lonely turret, to weep before his altar, and to pray.

But let us proceed to speak of the manners of the castle life. The

But let us proceed to speak of the manners of the castle life. The pompous equestrian exercises which belonged to it, and the passions to which they led, may seem to furnish ground for the accusation of

the moderns. We are told how

Thirty steeds, both fleet and wight, Stood saddled in stable day and night;

that many, like the ancient Spaniards, prized a good horse more than their own blood! that, in the case of Earl Morton, who claimed the horse of his bold vassal Gilbert,

The valley of Eske, from the mouth to the source, Was lost and won for that bonny white horse.

There is a worse tale still than this, which we shall hear on a future occasion; but after all that can be advanced and conceded on this head, there is no necessity for concluding that pride was inherent and essential in the habits which belonged to men, whose fondness for horses was their characteristic. They may have loved their horses, and thought them all worthy of being shod by St. Eloi; but he who is conversant with the noble muse has heard before of men lovers of horses, and possessing souls better than treasures.

The horse was not always saddled to bear his seigneur to the battle, or the tournament; it was often his companion to the monastery, to the

cottage of the poor, or to the deep wood, whither he might repair, like Count Thibaut, of Champagne, to cultivate a sweet poetic fancy.

J'aloie l'autre jour, errant Sans compaignon Sur mon palefroi pensant.

The Church availed herself of this love of horses, and contrived to make it minister to goodness; for under her direction men sacrificed it during many intervals of the year, when in proof of penitence and humility they refused to mount on horseback; and for some capital offences the prescribed penance consisted in never mounting on a horse during the rest of their lives. This was the ecclesiastical penalty for some deeds of violence, and it was virtually a forfeiture of nobility, and of all its interests.\* The immoderate passion for hunting is advanced as an objection against the feudal life, and no doubt it was one of its peculiar temptations. St. Odo says, that when a young servant in the castle of Count William of Aquitaine, after continued days devoted to laborious hunting, he used to be frightened at night with dreams that indicated remorse.† If we are to credit the Saxon chronicle, King William "loved the tall deer as if he were their father." John of Salisbury is delighted with the text that saith that "hunters be not holy men."-"Venatores omnes," saith he, "adhuc institutionem redolent Centaurorum. Raro invenitur quisquam eorum modestus, aut gravis, raro continens, et ut credo sobrius nunquam. From their centauric banquets no one returns without spiritual wounds." 1 Justice, however, would oblige us to make some allowance here, in consideration of the title of the work in which this sentence occurs, which is on the follies of the great. There were sober hunters, and many modest and humble men hunted, and so far from being only second Chirons, the master of Achilles, whom Homer calls the most just of the centaurs, some of them were saints, and rode through the forests with a thoughtful heart, and attended by smiling angels, winnowing the air with their eternal plumes. Romuald, a young nobleman of the family of the dukes of Ravenna, when he went a hunting, if he found an agreeable solitary place in the woods, used to stop in it to pray, and used to cry out, "How happy were the ancient hermits who had such habitations! with what tranquillity could they serve God, free from the tumult of the world!" Religion never sanctions an extravagant censure that is without reason or moderation. It is to be remembered that hunting in these ages was not always an illiberal, sybaritic, cruel amusement. It was not like the sport of him, alluded to by Dante, "who throws away his days in idle chase of the diminutive birds." The Athenian, in Plato, prays that the love of destroying winged animals, ob σφοδεα έλευθέριος, may never possess any of their youth; but as in many countries of Europe at this day, hunting was then a noble service rendered to the country, and one which was attended with danger. Tancred de Hauteville owed his first advancement as a youth to an act of courage and address in

<sup>\*</sup> The synodial statutes, published at Verdun, in 1534.

<sup>†</sup> Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 16. † De Nugis Curialium, lib. i. cap. 4. † De Legibus. lib. vii.

hunting the wild boar, whereby he saved the life of the Duke of Normandy. The noble,

Who had more joy to raunge the forest wyde, And chase the salvage beaste with busic payne, Then serve his ladies love, and waste in pleasures vayne,\*

the youth who chose to remain at home and fight the wolves and bears, as Bayard's father said to his son George, who preferred this mode of life, may have been real benefactors to men, like the heroes of the ancient world: and though John Le Blond, in his poem on the chase, may go too for in ascribing to the temple of hunters all the parts of a church, yet for such hunters wisdom herself might deign to order the consolations of those Herculean Laths, mentioned by Pindar, which the nymphs made to issue out of the earth, by order of Minerva, to refresh Hercules, when he returned from his expedition into Spain against Gerion. The knights of Calatrava, in Spain, originally of the Cistercian order, living chiefly amidst great woods and mountains, were allowed to hunt and eat of the game. † "Omnia innoxiæ remissionis genera breviter amplectar," says Pliny, "homo sum." And though we may smile at Xenophon when he says, that "hunting was the invention of the gods," | yet one must admit that it was a very happy combination when even amusements were a service rendered to society: they may, indeed, have been too eagerly pursued, as when the boy Ascanius used to wish that the fearning boar, or the yellow lien, might descend from the mountains, § but as a general exercise of the younger men, I do not think that even Momus himself would have inclination to condemn it. There was a literature belonging to hunters, as every one knows. Oppian, in his poem on hunting, speaks of the excellence of the British dogs. Ælian, in the second century, speaks of falconry which had been long practised in Upper Asia, though at that time unknown in Europe. It need only be observed here, in conclusion, that certainly, notwithstanding the inventions to diffuse a taste for literature, the lovers of hunting at present would be greatly at a loss if called upon to justify their contempt for their ancestors by composing a book upon their favourite science, which would have equal merit, as a literary composition, wi h a number of treatises written during the middle ages by various members of the feudal nobility. "Life was not gross and barbarous in these castles and Gothic towers, as we might suppose," says a modern French critic. "Many books of the time breathe a kind of delicate urbanity and generosity worthy of the most civilized age. It seems that almost in every period of the middle ages, whether by a tradition preserved from the old Roman society, or by the effect of a happy nature," (for religion is not taken into account by these philosophers) "some minds did attain to a high degree of moral cultivation." Of this we shall hereafter see abundant evidence. It would be foreign from the design of this enquiry to speak at length of the general manners of the castle life, but a few instances may be produced illustrative of their tendency to assume a mild and humble because a holy tone. The owners of these castles, however barbarous we may think them, at least did not

<sup>\*</sup> Spenser, i. 6.

Cynegetici, cap. i.

<sup>+</sup> Chronicon S. Bertini, cap. xli.

<sup>‡</sup> Lib. v. Epist. 3. § Æneid iv. 150.

always virtually admonish their guests conversely in the words of St. Bernard, that they should leave their souls without the house and enter only with their bodies. Over the door of the great tower of the eastle of Savre there were inscribed in marble these words belonging to the arms of Longueil, "Animas colentium to Deus rem et domum tuetur."\* In the histories of the saints we are often presented with very interesting views of the interior life of great families in the middle ages. Thus we read that St. Theresa being an invalid in her father's house, he resolved to take her to the country house of his daughter who was lately married. On the road they stopped at the castle of Don Sancho de Pépide, brother of Don Alphonso, and uncle of our saint. Don Sancho kept them in his house, and would not hear of their leaving him. gentleman was a widower; he had retired to one of his estates, where the love of solitude and the desire of his salvation enabled him to derive the greatest consolations. Holy readings, the delights of prayer, the innocent occupations of raral life, divided his time. It was the reading of some books on the spiritual life, which this old knight put into the hands of his niece, that first inspired her with the thoughts which afterwards enabled her to rise to such a high degree of sublime contemplation. The very announcement of the domestic offices of these houses breathes a tone of devotion. Thus we read, that it was the duty of the porter of the castle to sound the bell of benedicite for dinner and supper, to keep clean the niches of the saints of the gate, and to keep their lamp carefully lighted. In his examination of conscience it was a distinct article whether he had ever closed the door against the poor, or against monks, or clerks, or brothers of hospitals who sought alms, or whether he had opened it to lewd singers and dancers, or to receive improper letters, or to persons of evil intention.† But there is no occasion for our delaying any longer amidst these scenes of feudal life, compatible indeed, as we hope to have proved, with the character of the meek, but certainly not the most congenial with the loves of those whose eyes have been opened on the difference between things temporal and eternal. Perhaps we have already halted there too long: there was no Diomedian necessity that we should undertake to dwell upon the praise of nobility; we were not driven to it with hands bound, and the edge of a sword laid upon our shoulders, as was Ulysses when he was driven back to the Greeks without having gained the Palladium from Troy; but it was right to produce some features of its institution and manners in ages of faith, in order to show that men might have been meek Christians, and have had the Centurian's faith, though they had vassals under them who came and went at their command, and that there was no insurmountable obstacles in the circumstances of each inhabitant of the embattled towers, to prevent his being able to say with truth in the presence of God, "Nou est exaltatum cor meum:" it was right to meet an objection upon which men at present lay such great stress, for they produce their arguments founded on the pride of nobility, like a tower which they keep constantly in view, xian πυργείε χάριν, as the Greek poet says; t and after all, it is much to have seen that poverty was not then a crime in the eyes of the rich. We are incessantly told that some

<sup>\*</sup> Lebeuf, viii.

<sup>†</sup> Monteil, Hist. des Français, iii. 120.

feudal towers were in the hands of nobles who pillaged travellers, and it is satisfactory to be able to answer that the roads and villages were secure and open for the wandering poor, whom no haughty baron ever thought of consigning to a prison for the general interest of society. The feudal noble, on the contrary, exercised that Homeric hospitality shewn by Nestor who received the two strangers with such kindness, although he thought in his mind that they might be robbers who passed over the watery ways bearing evil to men of other nations.\* He was revered and even sacred whoever came wandering:

## מעלפבע פסדוב ואחדמו מאשוניסב. ד

It least of all becomes the men of our age to declaim upon the pride of feudal nobility. But, indeed, as for those who stand near the sweet mountain to inhale the celestial air which descends thence in the refreshing of ambrosial shower, the present retrospect may have been wearisome and tasteless: for how little seems to them all that belongs to the plain which they have left below? To those whose eyes are ever turned upon the eternal throne of Him who has dissolved the crowns of many cities, and who will still dissolve more, for His is the surpassing strength, t what is nobility of race, what is feudal splendour? why dwell, they may ask us, upon that piety which would have passed unnoticed with the poor? Why describe these brief distinctions which pass like a shadow on the mountain's side, or like a messenger who runs on his way? "Transierunt omnia illa tanquam umbra et tanquam nuncians percurrens." || Nothing was more dreaded by the early Greeks than the extinction of a family and the destruction of a house, by which the dead lost their religious honour, the household gods their sacrifices, the hearth its flame, and the ancestors their name among the living; but is it for Christians to return to these shadows of past things when all things are made new? Is it for them to search for glories which even this earth has ceased to recognise? It is a voice in Paradise which cried:

How they are gone; and after them how go Chiusi and Sinigaglia; and 'twill seem No longer new or strange to thee, to hear That families fail when cities have their end. All things that appertain to ye, like yourselves Are mortal; but mortality in some Ye mark not; they endure so long, and you Pass by so suddenly.

What remains of the families sung by Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Pindar? What of the race of Charlemagne, of Alfred, of so many families that shed such a lustre upon our heroic age, which gave imperishable themes to minstrelsy and knighthood to illustrious kings? Our age has beheld the extinction not alone of families, but of monarchies; it has beheld the principles themselves that give permanence to civilized society, and a value to the promise of offspring, erased from the constitution of a great people; it has beheld, and if only for one day there would have been matter for the tears of angels, indifference to

religion, that universal solvent of all social harmonics, that fearful representative of atheism, that last heresy which is to precede the tremendous advent, not alone in the shop of the mechanic, not alone on the tongue of creeping sophists, but reigning in principle on the throne of Saint Louis.

We began by dreading to approach this subject of nobility: we only expected deliverance from the sea of this discourse, as Plato says, either by means of some dolphin coming up to us or by some other unexpected deliverer. Reader! thou wert aware how perilous was the passage; how only by yielding much we could avoid the shock of its proud billows. But say has the great difficulty been overcome? Have we shewn that it was possible to reconcile these institutions and manners with meekness? We only sought a chance for these men, and is this now granted? I am of opinion that we have escaped, and indeed it was a formidable danger. So now then I think we may glide on cheerfully, and hope "o'er better waves to speed."

## CHAPTER VII.

THE last development of the principle of meekness which the present view of history will propose to our consideration is seen in the rise of associations among the lower ranks of the Catholic state, and this will lead us at the same time to observe what were the characteristic features and employments of that class of men during the ages of faith, when the people shewed forth the wisdom of the saints, while the Church declared their praise. The modern writers acknowledge that the Catholic religion has been the origin of associations.\* "Ecclesia in commune orat," says S. Ambrose, "et in commune operatur."† The spirit of the Church is eminently social, and opposed essentially to that isolation which appears now equally as the source and fruits of misanthropy in men and nations. Wherever the modern philosophy triumphs all associations dissolve before it, and the state becomes only a nation of individuals, of wretched men, who have recourse to a system of desolating fatalism, in order to account for their position in regard to life, and to justify their hatred of mankind. Lo! where stands solitary a sublime unhappy spirit that has lately passed upon the earth; he will instruct us if we hearken. "I found myself alone," it cries, "on entering the world, alone in my house, and I shall die alone. I am a being essentially solitary, not from choice, but from necessity." In the ages of faith, it would not have been so with him. We have seen that the spirit of association entered virtually into the courts of nobles, and we shall hereafter observe it in fuller action in the

<sup>\*</sup> De Laborde sur l'Esprit d'Association.

great religious institutions which then covered Europe. It is pride which has dissolved the Catholic associations of the middle ages; it is pride which renders men isolated in the modern states; for each man disdains to be regarded as a member of any body which does not immediately of itself minister to pride by conveying a title to some material advantage, such as the reputation of science, learning, rank, or To associate together to honour God would be a thing in their eyes ridiculous to the last degree, and yet to associate together with any object which does not include this, is only preparing a fresh link to that long chain of disappointed hopes which men drag after them to their graves. There is no alternative between the society of the saints, and the solitude of sin; an age of pride must be also an age of isolation. The middle ages understood that man is born for society; they knew, as Bonald says, "that such is the general law, that men receive from one another physical existence by generation, moral existence by language, and religious knowledge by communication, according to the apostolic words, Fides ex auditu." Human intelligence was therefore employed in directing the creative and associating spirit of charity to form those numerous colleges, universities, orders, congregations, and brotherhoods, which opened an asylum for every want, and a prospect of fulfilment for every desire of the human soul. It is with the latter we shall be now occupied. Tertullian is an evidence that these different fraternities were as old as the first days of Christianity with which they arose. They were instituted to facilitate the salvation of souls, and to edify the Church, in order that under the fraternal crown of the martyrs the meek might rejoice, and obtain for their faith increase of virtues, and might be consoled by multiplied suffrages. Such was that institute at Paris in the year 1168, called the Confrèrie de Nétre-Dame, composed of thirty-six priests and thirty-six laymen, in memory of the seventytwo disciples of Jesus Christ. In the year 1224 women were admitted into it. Such were also the fraternities of the blessed sacrament, of the holy name of Jesus, of the blessed Virgin, and others. There were others whose specific object was to assist the poor, to tend the sick, to bury the dead. Others had their origin in pilgrimages; those who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to Compostella, or to mount St. Michel, entered into their respective fraternity in Paris. Others were established by merchants to draw down the blessing of Heaven upon their commerce; such was the Confrèrie des Marchands de l'eau at Paris, in the year 1170, of those who conducted the trade on the Seine. There were also fraternities instituted by officers of justice, notaries and artisans, all of whom had their respective patrons, churches, statutes, and banners.† Great seigneurs in Flanders used to consider it an honour to be received into a corporation, or fraternity of merchants or artisans. At Paris the community of brethren shoemakers was formed in the year 1645, by the charity of the Baron de Rentè. He had already procured instruction for the poor inmates of the hospital of St. Gervais, and he wished to extend this benefit to the artisans, who were in danger of profaning the Sundays and festivals through ignorance and the corrupt habits of life which were then commencing. With this view he asso-

<sup>\*</sup> Législat. Prim. iii. 34.

<sup>†</sup> De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. i. 564.

ciated himself with a shoemaker, whose virtue was so well known that he was generally called le bon Henri. This poor man being thus encouraged, assembled some people of his condition; and a doctor of the Sorbonne gave them rules, and they commenced their exercises. worked and ate in common, recited certain prayers and psalms, and gave the surplus of their profits to the poor.\* Similar associations existed in every country of Christendom, and in none were they more numerous than in our own. Machiavel describes the citizens of Florence as divided into numerous bodies of trades, each having rules and banners peculiar to it. A number of Lombards, particularly Milanese, being banished into Germany by Henry I., in the year 1014, in order to console themselves, joined in a devout society, which, as a sign of Christian humiliation, they called the humbled, umiliati. Professing to live by the work of their own hands, they applied to various trades, and particularly to the wool trade, and to the making of cloth. Returning to their country in 1019 they preserved their manner of living; they assembled on particular days in houses purchased at the common expense, afterwards united together in convents, where they worked conjointly. Down to the year 1140 they were all laymen; but at that time an order of religious priests was formed who did not work, but directed the labour of the laymen. The lamb was their emblem. Their rule was approved of by Innocent III., and by other pontiffs. They acquired riches, while their diligence and honesty caused them to be sought for by the government for various offices. In Como charge was given them of the weights and measures; in Florence they had various public duties. They furnished preachers and authors, of whom a long list may be seen in Tiraboschi.† Unhappily they did not escape the degeneracy which accompanied the rise of the Lutheran heresy, and as they resisted the reform which the cardinal Boromeo endeavoured to effect, they were suppressed by Pius V. in 1571. In the eighth century these mutual societies and anniversaries in commendation of the living and the dead had been greatly multiplied. A remarkable instance is furnished by Bede, who, as a reward for the life which he has written of St. Cuthbert, asks in the prologue addressed to Eadfrid the monk and bishop of Lindisfarn, that he would inscribe his name among those of that society for whose souls after death the holy sacrifice was offered, that in testimony of this future aid he would give orders that his name might appear from that time in the album of their holy congregation. Many other examples occur in the epistles of St. Boniface. Briefs used to be sent from one place to another, containing the names of the persons who desired to be united. in the suffrages, and the lai'y of all ranks, as well as the clergy, were in habits of desiring this grace. Persons thus inscribed were entitled Fratres Conscripti, as appears from Goldasta on the monastery of St. Gall. The fraternity of the Holy Trinity was founded in the year 1373, in the reign of Edward III. The members were bound to maintain thirteen wax lights burning about the sepulchre in the church of St. Botolph Aldersgate, in the Easter time, and they were to make their . offerings and hear mass on Trinity day. They had a common hall;

<sup>\*</sup> Idem, tom. iii. ii. 616.

<sup>†</sup> Humiliat. Hist.

their chaplain was to say mass every day in the year, winter and summer, by 5 o'clock. A dirge was to be sung on the Sunday night after All Souls' day, and on the morrow a requiem for the dead brothers and sisters. One statute of the order says, "gif eny of the bretherhode be a losed of env theft, or he be an comm' contellaur, or com'n hasardour, or of eny oth' wycked fame, it is orderned that their ben vputte out of the breth'hode." Taillepied says, "the people of Rouen are so devout towards God and his saints, that to encourage and excite each other to live virtuously, and to recommend themselves to the prayers of the saints of paradise, they have instituted such a number of fraternities that there is not a trade or condition which has not one belonging to it.\* Some are common to all persons, as that of the blessed sacrament, and that of St. Romain. The singers have their fraternity of St. Cecilia, the notaries theirs of St. Mark, the lawyers theirs of St. Yves, the boys and children of the town have theirs in the church of mount St. Catherine, the jewellers theirs in that of St Eloy, the poets and orators, the merchants, the butchers, the brewers, the cooks, and the tailors, have all their fraternities. The carters celebrate their fraternity on the day of the three kings. The mariners, masons, painters, fruiterers, shoemakers, dyers, bakers, porters, fullers, arquebuss-makers, surgeons and barbers, soap-makers, mercers and carders, have all their particular fraternity dedicated under the invocation of some saint, on whose festival they have a high mass, celebrated with a sermon and procession, and a banquet afterwards; besides every week they have one mass celebrated for them; and when any brother dies the rest assist at his funeral with lighted tapers, and the fraternity bears the expense; and besides this there is one fraternity for all the dead. The members of all these fragernities are commanded to do works of charity, to visit hospitals, to assist widows and orphans, to visit the sick and the prisoners, to bury the dead, to found sermons for the instruction of the ignorant. There is extant," continues Taillepied, "a letter of St. Paulin, bishop of Nola, in praise of St. Victrice archbishop of Rouen, in the time of St. Martin of Tours, in which he says that St. Victrice had announced the name of Jesus Christ with such success that the city of Rouen was celebrated throughout the world, and that in the West it was as much venerated for its holiness as was Jerusalem in the East; for as many came to Jerusalem to contemplate the holy places, so do multitudes repair to Rouen to contemplate the holiness of St. Victrice, and to see its magnificent monasteries and churches."

These fraternities were even encouragers of literature. In the time of William the Conqueror, that of the Conception, in the church of the Carmelites at Rouen, used to give every year a prize to those who would make the best hymn, ode, sonnet, royal song, rondeau, ballad, or other laudatory poem, in praise of the blessed Virgin. A similar custom was observed by the fraternity of St. Cecilia in the church of our Lady, and the citizens of Dieppe followed this example. Taillepied gives specimens of the successful pieces in the year in which he wrote his Antiquities. Charity and piety were, however, the chief objects of these institutions. The silversmiths sent a large sum every year to the

Hotel-Dicu at Paris, to assist the poor workmen of their body, and in 1399 they built a separate hospital, with a chapel, to receive such as were aged or infirm, and also widows.\* In every trade by the statutes of the fraternity, masters were bound to assist their workmen when they were in distress. If sick they were to be taken care of, if dead to be buried, if they left widows and orphans these were to be supported and educated, and portioned and enabled to marry.† In the year 1830 it was stated in London that the Ironmongers' fraternity were then in possession of 104,000l., and of 3,000l. per annum, accumulated in their hands from ancient donations, which had been destined for the redemption of Christian slaves on the Barbary coast. It was stated that they could not find objects for their bounty. The laws of these fraternities of artisans were also directed to watch over the morality of the members; they were forbidden to live in sin. Luxury was prohibited, the necessity for which restraint is sufficiently remarkable, and the expense of their banquet on the reception of a master was not to exceed ten sous; but the members of these fraternities were to invite each other to their family banquets on occasion of a marriage or christening.t Any act of dishonesty caused a forfeiture of all the privileges of the fraternity. Apprentices in every trade were only such as were born of legal marriage. The bastard of Arminhae holding his baton of marechal of France, the bastard of Burgundy seated on his high daice, the bastard of Orleans proclaimed the deliverer of France, unless the statutes of every fraternity were changed, could not be received in any one of them. This is the observation of Monteil. There were guardians to watch that the workmen took their rest, and did not labour on days of festival, or during the hours of repast, or too early, or too late. If any master or apprentice was suspected of having any immoral connection he was to be expelled the fraternity, losing all the rights and privileges and claims attached to it. | . If Catholic artisans lived among Pagans, or among the Moors, no consideration of profit or esteem of neighbours was admitted as a justification for their exposing goods to sale upon a festival, an example which may startle some of London who now drive their traffic, though within Geneva's walls, where the quick flight of wanderers would furnish more excuse, it can be witnessed still. No master, or apprentice, or servant, was to receive or work under any one that was excommunicated. If any one were known to play at dice, or even at an honest game on the vigil of Christmas, or of the Epiphany, he was to forfeit his privileges for a year. In some places these fraternities chose a patron peculiar to themselves only within that neighbourhood. This was the case in the town of St. Denis, where the masons adopted St. Betesus as their patron, and assembled to celebrate his festival solemnly in the church of St. Marcel, which contained his reliques, for this saint had been a common mason of the town. § In all solemn processions artisans walked under the respective banners of their trades, representing the patron of the fraternity. Thus in

<sup>\*</sup> St. Victor, i. 627, Tableau de Paris.

<sup>†</sup> Monteil, Hist des Français, tom. iii. 315. 

† Monteil, Hettres des rois relatives à l'homologation des statuts des differens corps Lebeuf, Hist. du diocèse de Paris, tom. iii. 219. de métier.

the banner of St. Eloy, masons and stone-cutters that of St. Blaise, potters and tile-makers that of St. Fiaere, carpenters that of St. Joseph, glaziers that of St. Mark, barbers that of St. Cosma, brewers that of St. Amand, bakers that of St. Honoré, wax chandlers that of St. Nicholas, farriers that of St. John the Baptist, shoe-makers that of St. Crispin, drapers that of the Annunciation, weavers that of St. Arregonde, clothiers that of our Lady, silk-mercers that of our Lady-the-rich, dyers that of St. Maurice, tailors that of St. Lucy, makers of amesses, which were long hoods covering the head worn by women, and clerks and solemn laymen,\* that of St. Severus, embroiderers that of St. Clair, weavers of tapestry to cover the walls of churches and eastles that of St. Francis, rope-makers that of St. Paul, paper-makers and book-binders that of St. John-port-Latin. The fraternity of each trade, wherever there was an abbey of their patron in their neighbourhood, used to dine there on their festival. Thus at Rouen the master brewers used to dine in the refectory of the abbey of St. Amand on their festival. Each fraternity had devotional exercises, and a church assigned to it, where the obsequies of every member were solemnized with great lights at the expense of all the members. These details may be deemed trifling, and an evidence of nothing substantial, but yet what a beautiful, picture do they furnish of the harmony prevailing between the different orders of the state during ages of faith, of the consolations provided for the laborious poor, and of the restraints imposed upon the avarice of mas-From this picture of society we can understand how in a Catholic city the most utter stranger never felt himself isolated: there were so many beautiful harmonies, so many affecting relations in which he found a bond of union with all the persons around him, who all seemed to walk in love as most dear children of Jesus Christ, and followers of With the young and old he might instantly have been united in some pious association, in the exercises of which he recognized their tender love for all that was dear and venerable to him from his days of sinless youth. How could be feel himself a stranger among such men? he could serve at mass in their common temples, he could walk with their children in their solemn processions, he could repair every evening to their pious assemblies round the divine altars, where like one . family they adored their Saviour, and heard the exhortation of some meek man of God, who seemed like a common father to them all, who every day offered up the oblation of their lowliness, praying that it . might be pleasing to Almighty God in honour of his saints, and that it might purify them in body and mind through Christ their Lord. Another very striking characteristic of the Catholic society was the

religious and even poetic character which the most ordinary and vulgar employments of the lower ranks acquired by their association with some sublime affecting mystery, the memory of which would bring every high thought into captivity, and dissolve the soul in a transport of a naze and love seraphic. These poor mechanical and rustic trades, which the ancients held in such contempt, assumed quite a new character; for besides that the Catholic religion, from being eminently

averse to all singularity, while it respected the privileges of the great, left the affections on the side of the people, whose employments became therefore estimable even to the imagination, it furnished also particular motives for viewing them with especial regard. The trades of the people had been exercised by Christ and by his apostles: in the poor carpenter men would behold St. Joseph; and perhaps from some person of tender susceptibility the sight of his apprentice would cause a tear to fall, a sweet tear of gratitude and devout amaze. A soft hallowed light was shed round every pathway of life, however humble. In simple shepherds were seen those who hastened to the stable on the blessed night, to give faith to Mary; \* in fishermen were beheld companions of those who were obedient to the call of Christ. Ah! let the modern sophists blush for their own report, if no pity move them for us. They may now compose as many treatises, as they have ruins made, on the utility of associations and friendly societies among the labouring classes; they will never confer a benefit on men as great as that which their predecessors took from them. These poor meek banners of St. Joseph of the Annunciation and of St. Paul, these airy unsubstantial things, as they appear to some, were worth more than thousands of their pompous books, and libraries that are styled of useful knowledge! With respect to the employments themselves, there are some observations still to offer. The primitive Christians, in following different trades, chose such as were the most innocent and most favourable to retreat and humility; and these were always subordinate to religion, which was the principal and, as it were, only business of their lives. Their profession was simply to be Christians: they avoided as far as possible all professions which engross and dissipate the mind too much. Fleury's description might stand for that of the middle ages. Can we doubt of it when we read the modern books so full of disdain for what they term the depressing power of superstition, which acted upon them? It was deemed imprudent in public penitents to return to the mercantile profession, for, says Pope St. Leo to Rustieus of Narbonne, "It is more advantageous to the penitent to suffer some temporal loss, than to expose himself to the perils of commerce, for it is difficult to prevent sin from gliding into this reciprocal office of buying and selling." Deguignes speaks of religion being made a pretence for the pursuit of commerce; but it would be more correct to say that commerce was made an instrument for furthering the interests of religion. It was the merchants at Paris who facilitated the correspondence between St. Geneviève and St. Symeon-Stylites at Antioch: tit was they who furnished St. Eloy withthe precious materials which he was to employ in shrines: it was the traders of the Levant, who, under the direction of Popes, founded schools for the oriental languages which were to be employed in the conversion of the infidels: St. Gregory of Tours speaks of merchants of Syria who brought the relics of saints into France; of others who supplied hermits during Lent with roots of Egypt; and others were unceasingly employed in redeeming captives. We shall continue to meet with proofs that the vices of the middle and commercial ranks, during

<sup>\*</sup> St. Ambrose.

<sup>1</sup> Ball, Vie de St. Geneviève, c. vi.

the middle ages, were at least not connected with the detestable love of sordid gain. The noble reply of Hegio to the captives in the old Roman play, spoke the sentiments which belonged not exclusively to heroic youths but to merchants and mechanics in Christian ages.

Non ego cimino lucrum omne esse utile homini existimo. Scio ego, multos jam lucrum luculentos homines reddidit. Est etiam, ubi profecto damnum præstet facere quam lucrum. Odi ego aurum: multa multis sæpe suasit perperam.

The old poet Charles Fontaine ascribes to his father these sentiments, joined with a love for literature.

Loyal marchand; tel estoit son renom. Des son jeune âge avoit science acquise, Qu'il estimoit plus que sa marchandise. Toujour hautoit les lettres et lettrez. Non les grand gens richement accoutrez.

But with this noble spirit, discoveries in the arts, the dexala occhomada, of which Pindar speaks t as being taught by time, and to which Æschylus also applies the same word, were cultivated with a diligence and a success of which, as I remarked in the introduction to the first book, no other period of the world can furnish an example. Still, these discoveries had also a connection with some liberal noble and even religious end; they were all Promethean, not for the injury but for the immediate benefit of men. Far different was their spirit from that of these modern mechanics so cunning with their hands, like Sisyphus, πυμνότατον παλάμαις: " "fools," cries an English writer, " who account themselves honoured with the shameful title of being the inventors of evil things, endeavouring to out-infinite God's kindness with their cruelty." The list of trades as set forth in a charter of Philip Augustus shews a great predominance of the liberal arts. Thus at that time the principal trades which formed privileged corporations and had kings of arms, were silver-smiths, workers of sacred ornaments in gold, coral, shell, jet, and amber, cutters of crystal and precious stones, silk-weavers, founders and carvers of brass, makers of lamps and chandeliers, weavers of tapestry, makers of crucifixes and images of the saints, makers of chaplets of flowers and feathers of peacocks, and along with these there appear only bakers, tavern keepers, makers of halberts and locks, carpenters, stone-masons, dyers of cloth, makers of bows and arrows, and those who ernament the guards of swords, fishermen, and saddlers, the last of whom, at least, Homer would have commemorated as worthy of the same praise which he bestows upon Menestheus.

> τωδ' ούπω τις όμοιος έπιχ θύνιων γένετ' ανήρ, ποσμήσαι ίππους τε παί ανέρας ασπιδιώτας. §-

In the common estimation of men, the members of these different trades were persons entitled to respect, and many of them were even exercised by the companions of nobles. In the fifteenth century it was deemed no derogation to a scholar, bachelor, master of arts, or one entitled "honourable" to be a printer and bookseller.\*\* Every thing rela-

tive to men was raised in dignity by the principles of the Catholic religion; for meekness in manners was not an hypocrisy, but the manly expression of a sincere conviction. To these various professions I shall only add, as forming a curious and truly Homeric personage of the middle ages, the office of a messenger, to which Monteil has done full jus-There was the messenger of the university, the flying messenger, who could speak Latin, and who used to sing his hours as he rode along, "par monts et par vaux." Even gentlemen used to charge themselves with messages and letters, travelling night and day to serve great lords and others. There was the feudal messenger, the messenger of men of arms who had to ride from castle to castle; there were foot messengers, town messengers, and church messengers. In 1464 posts were established in France, which proved fatal to this profession. Before that time the conveyance of letters and pacquets belonged almost every where to the universities. That of Paris had at least 100 messengers under its orders. But on the whole it is to be remembered, that the religious and poetical character of these ages was unfavourable to many branches of industry which now may appear to flourish, even under the circumstances of a state of continued concealed or open war between the masters and their labourers. The race of men who seem to have no conception of moral and social perfection beyond what is implied in the smoke of a steam engine, did not then exist. Men exercised themselves in honest and useful employments, but not with an insatiable thirst for gold and a heart hardened against the harmonies of life, against the associations of poetry, against the movement of humanity, and the inspirations of religion. Neither in their intellectual nor bodily discipline did they resemble the heretical race who, as they inquire for the sake of inquiry, so do they seem to labour for the sake of labour. "We are called to liberty," they might have said, "and we desire not to sacrifice the whole of our time about interests of money, in which there is no companionship: we require intervals of leisure for our reli-. gious exercises, for the festivals of the Church, for the recreation of our minds, for the improvement of our various intellectual powers. In this we give no just cause of offence for any one to condemn our faith, if he also respects it; but if he will only hearken to arguments drawn from natural reason he must admit that this is a question of which, as far as respects ourselves, we are the best judges, and we will therefore give him his dismissal in the words of Plato: อบิธียา วุธ ธิยายัง พอเมื่อและ, หลูเทองพระ พอเม 'Απολλω και τα του 'Απολλωνος δερανα πεο Μαεσύου τε και τιν εκείνου (ερανων."\*.

The various civil dignitaries of the social order during the ages of faith have now passed before us in all their relations; we have beheld the ancient magistrates, counsellors, nobles, and kings; it would be unjust to pass on without taking notice of the humble members of a Catholic state, upon whose character the history of Christian associations has already thrown such light, and in whose manners there will be found so much to interest the historian and the philosophic observer of mankind; but as it would be difficult to make a selection from such a multitude of examples as present themselves incidentally in history to the mind of accurate and reflecting readers, it will, perhaps, be sufficient

to choose one of whose life we have the most curious details given by a very ancient writer, himself a saint, and in whose manners we can behold not only the singular merit which has entitled him to the veneration of the Church, but also the general tone and habits which belonged during these ages, in some degree or other, to a multitude of persons who trod the same paths with him. Eligius or Elov, says his contemporary St. Ouen, born of devout parents, at Limages, was placed as an apprentice to "an honourable man, by name Abbo, who was a silversmith and kept a public shop! He was a pious youth and very skilful in whatever he undertook; he used diligently to assist at the divine offices in the churches, and whatever he heard there used to be the subject of his meditation when he returned home. He became known to king Clotaire, who gave him abundance of employment; and on the death of this king, his son and successor, king Dagobert, treated Eligius with no less kindness. His integrity and diligence, his piety and meekness, his charity and mortification, were beyond all description. While at work, he had always some holy page open before him, that his mind as well as his hands might be well employed. His fame was so spread that whenever strangers from Italy or Gothland came to the royal palace, they would first pay a visit to Eligius; and also holy men and poor people and monks used to come to him in crowds. His great desire was to redeem captives" (we have seen what zeal was evinced in this respect by the fraternity in London of Ironmongers,) "and sometimes he used to deliver at once as many as thirty, and fifty, and even one hundred; for ships used often to arrive with that number on board of Romans, or Gauls, or Britons, or even of Moors, but especially of Saxons, who at that time used to be carried off from their country in whole droves like cattle;" (for paganism had still great power, and the inhabitants of the sea coast were for the most part pagans) "and if his money failed. he would give his clothes, or his food, his belt, or his shoes to redeem them. He used to give these redeemed captives the choice of three things. If they wished to return to their own country, he would sup ply them with means to regain it. If they wished to remain where they were, he undertook to provide for them, so that they should live, not as slaves, but as his own brethren. If he could persuade them to engage in the monastic life, he treated them as his lords, and supplied them with what was necessary. He had many holy laymen living with him in his house. When any stranger asked for his house, 'go into such a street,' he would be told, 'and where you will see a number of poor people there you will find his door.' He used to send out his servant to seek for poor strangers to invite them to hospitality, and he used to serve them with his own hands. The king and rich men used often to send him bread and other necessaries, which he used to distribute to the poor. He used to pray and sing Psalms during the night, keeping vigils, and if the king would send for him suddenly he would never go until he had fulfilled his service to Christ. Being sent on a journey into Britain, he gave large alms on his way, for his thoughts always rested on the sentence of the apostle, 'Habentes victum et vestitum, his contenti simus; nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem et laqueum diaboli.' Having obtained a villa from the king, he built a monastery on it, and whatever property was given to him he destined to support it. Here

were many religious who were skilled in arts. It was a fertile and agreeable spot, so beautiful that when any one tarried there, finding himself among gardens and groves of apple, he might exclaim, 'quam bonæ domus tuæ, Jacob,' et 'quam pulchra tabernacula tua Israel!' like the shadowy woods, like the cedar near the waters, like a Paradise on the river's bank. 'Habitacula justorum benedicentur.' It is surrounded with a ditch and a hedge, and comprises a space of ten stadia, by the side of a river, with a mountain crowning it, covered with wood and breaking out into steep rocks, while the whole space is full of fruit trees. Thus the mind is refreshed, and may congratulate itself in enjoving in some measure the sweets of Paradise, Moreover, he built a Xenodochium in the city of Paris for poor maidens: he built also and restored several churches, and covered them with lead. Thus was he bountiful in alms, sedulous in watching, devout in prayer, perfect in charity, profound in humility, excellent in doctrine, ready in speech, most holy in conversation, bound by no chains to the world, active in ministering to the servants of God, solicitous to redeem captives, brave in suffering hardships, cheerful in good works, generous in hospitality. Nothing could be more clement than his mind, nothing sweeter than his severity, 'Nihil risu gravius, nihil prorsus tristia suavius.' Under a laic habit he had a mellifluous doctrine from God filled with the Holy Spirit, with the desire of Christ, and of eternal happiness, and being forgetful of secular dignities, he had all his conversation with the poor, and with monks, 'omne consortium cum egenis haberet et monachis.' Though monks used to flock to him, yet he was never satiated with their conversation, so that he would often repair to divers solemn monasteries. Who could describe with what devotion, with what humility he would enter the monastery and walk among the brethren! It was his custom on a journey, if he knew that the same night he could visit a monastery or a church, or any religious man, he would never take food till he arrived there, and the last three or four miles he would go on foot, and then would be cat their eulogia fasting. This blessed man among other good works made a great number of rich shrines composed of gold, and silver, and precious stones; as those of Germanus, Severinus, Quintinus, Genoveva, Columban, Maximian, and above all of the blessed Martin of Tours: king Dagobert was at the expense of the materials. Also he made the mausoleum of St. Dennis, at Paris, and adorned the altars and the doors with silver metal. This was the time when heresy afflicted the empire, and many heretics came into Gaul. Eligius reclaimed several of them, 'crat enim ipse in studio Scripturarum subtilissimus,' and being himself sufficiently instructed he went about among the people with evangelical exhortations, teaching them to persevere irrevocably in the faith of Christ, and to beware of the contagion of the heretics: he was subject to the king, and devout to Christ; he prayed frequently, according to the apostle, for kings and for those who are in high station, that men might lead a quiet and tranquil life in all piety and charity. So that under the laic habit he possessed the priestly grace, an indication of his future destiny. O what a perfect layman, whom priests themselves might desire to imitate! O mind worthy of being celebrated by all to whom to live was only Christ, only to fear him with love, and to love him with fear! O happy foe 2 1 2 Vol. I .- 39

to this world, to whom the world was crucified, as was he to the world!" Here concludes that part of the life of this saintly man which was spent in the exercise of his humble trade: henceforth he goes on to greater blessedness, but as occasion is not given us now to view the graces of his ecclesiastical life, we shall take leave of him for the present with submissive reverence, although with the earnest hope

that we shall meet again in the cloisters of Novon.

Such then are a few of the leading facts presented in this history, of the associations and employments of the middle and lowest ranks of society during the ages of faith. Perhaps the prospect held out to the reader in the commencement of this path was not inviting, but it seems indeed to have supplied much that may give us pause if pondered fittingly. It was impossible to impart dignity to such a subject, and to speak of the most ordinary trades in a manner that would prove agreeable seemed difficult; but although Callimachus might turn away in contempt, our offering is, as it were, a Cyclic rhapsody which can omit mention of nothing however little or common, and it appears as if in this instance it has made us acquainted with circumstances and with personages, such as no one meekly wise can reasonably disdain. truth is, that the Catholic religion enjoys that privilege which belongs, in a lower degree, to genius, of ennobling what to us without it appears common, and beautiful is every path on which its light has shone. But henceforth, reader, be assured my theme will rise, for this humble pathway has conducted us to the confines of that happy earth, the pledge and earnest of eternal peace which the meek do now inherit. We from this stage of our course proceed like those who journey over a plain, gazing intent through the evening sky upon some noble mountains crowned with holy towers, the object of their vow, which stretch in purple splendour against the bright vespertine ray. But here must we pause awhile and gather strength as wearied men halt when they first gain sight of home. A short space separates us from the realm of joy; if no interruption should occur to our remaining enterprise, I shall in the next book endeavour to trace its shadowed form, and set it forth to view.

<sup>\*</sup> Vita Sancti Eligii Episcop. S. Audæni auct. apud Dacher. Spicilegium, tom. v.

## THE THIRD BOOK.

## CHAPTER I.

That the meek were blessed has already been seen incidentally in surveying the development of the mild and humble spirit in the reciprocal relations of political order, but in what manner they truly inherited the earth remains to be shown; and the attempt to explain this in reference to the history of the ages of faith, will constitute the subject of

the present book.

"Beati mites," has been hitherto our theme, but now we must attend to the conclusion of that sentence, "quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram," and mark well the saintly commentators' distinction, who add with St. Jerome, "not the land of Juda," nor the land of this world "whose base affection many a spirit soils;" not the cursed deceitful land which beareth thorns and briars, which the cruelest warrior rather may possess, but the land which the Psalmist desired, saving, "Credo videre bona domini in terra viventium:" "for no one can possess the former land by meekness, but by pride." "Besti mites: quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram," "that earth I believe," continues St. Augustine, of which it is said in the Psalm, "Spes mea es tu, portio mea in terra viventium:" for it signifies a certain solidity and stability of perpetual inheritance where the soul by a good affection rests in its place as the body rests upon the earth; this is the rest and life of the saints; of the meek who vield to improbity and resist not evil, but overcome evil by good. † "What then are the riches that the earth will offer to them? They shall be delighted in the multitude of peace. The proud are delighted in the multitude of gold, in the multitude of slaves, in the multitude of luxurious banquets; but what will be the riches and the delights of the meek? The multitude of peace. Their gold will be peace, their possessions peace, their life peace; they will love and desire it in their houses, in their business, in their wives, in their children, in their servants, in their friends, in their enemies: whatever they possess or desire will be peace to them; for God will be their peace for ever."; Nevertheless, though it was promised that the meek should inherit the earth, yet the redeemed children of the holy discipline were not like the Jews to be always looking for a temporal reward and blessing which would often be interrupted by that necessary sword which Christ came to send, or by that more ancient trial imposed in the command "Egredere de terra tua et de cognatione tua." They were not to possess the earth according to the conception of those who are immersed in matter and inextricably entangled in the net of the senses. The Israelites themselves were not to possess it like the Philistians, of whom we are

<sup>\*</sup> St. Hieron. Comment. in Matt. v. † St. August. lib. i. de Serm. Dom. in Monte. † Id. Tractat. in Ps. xxxvi. et in Ps. cxlvii.

told, that they had fat beeves and abundance of store, and of all that could gratify mere animal life. The first that sought to live on this earth like an inhabitant thereof, being indeed but a stranger and pilgrim, was Cain, and that the reprobate race may in a certain sense gain possession of the earth, is an evident fact, which must not be denied through that reckless love of antithesis in which some writers indulge according to the license of those associated with Nicole, who says, "it is the condition of man to have God or nothing:" on the contrary, we read that the devil would have given our blessed Lord all the kingdoms that he showed him from the pinnacle of the temple, if he would have worshipped him; and until God will arise to judgment that he may save all the meek upon earth, that adversary has beyond all doubt permission to bestow gifts on such men as consent to serve him, of which power, without recurring to fable, the world has in different ages beheld wendrous and fearful examples. Yet, on the other hand, the lofty and inspiring doctrines of the bright school must not be forgotten, which affirm that the real possession of the earth, and of its genuine good, can never be obtained by any excepting by these to whem that possession is premised; for not to insist upon the explanation of St. Cvril of Jerusalem, who supposes that Satan lied when he said he would give all that to our Saviour, as if it had been at his disposal,\* is it not clear to the dullest apprehension, that in order to enjoy the fruits of a real possession, something more is required than the bare material, and external gift, or the mere nominal right? for that these do not always of necessity cenfer the real personal good, may be witnessed in a thousand families and unquestionable instances; so that strictly speaking, not only according to the deepest conceptions of philosophical truth, but from the observation of the undeniable facts in human life, it may be said, that the proud or wicked can possess nothing, since every thing is evil to them, which is itself nothing. Sin and evil cannot have a substantial existence, "There is no substance of evil," says St. Basil, "for malice is not any thing subsisting." And St. Gregory Nazianzen says, "there is no essence of evil, nor does it subsist by itself, nor was it created by God;" and St. Epiphanius says, "there is no evil by itself subsisting." St. Augustin also says, "iniquity of itself is no substance, for iniquity is not the nature which God formed, but it is the perversity which man made; all natures are made by God: iniquity has not been made by itself, because iniquity has not been made." The meek Hildegard expresses this with scholastic brevity, in writing to Eberhard, Bishop of Bamberg, "All things are made by God, and without him is nothing made, and this nothing is pride," t which the wicked alone possess. So that in fine to convey an idea of the possessions of the proud, one might borrow a similitude from those popular fables which represent the splendour and beauty of the elfin elysium, in which to the eve of a seer, the illusion vanishes at the first glance, the young knights and beautiful damsels showing themselves as wrinkled carles and edious hags, their wealth turning into slate stones, their splendid plate into pieces of clay, fantastically twisted, and their stately halls changing into miserable damp caverns; an emblem, if rightly understood, teaching the real and inevit-

<sup>\*</sup> Cateches, viii.

able condition which awaits the ambition of the proud; for as Cardan says, "Human things are rather shadows in the imagination, than essences of real subsistence."\*

On the other hand, it would be easy to show that the meek preservers of the interior life, can impart reality to earthly things by connecting them with what essentially exists in God; and not only that, but by faithfully continuing in obedience to the will of their Creator, beholding him in all creatures, and praising him in all their actions, besides really enjoying the positive material advantages which flow to them from all creatures, they are enabled to draw even higher and spiritual treasures of consolation, and rapture, from possessing somewhat of the very essence by which these creatures subsist. The world which the little flock was not to love, is not the beautiful creation of God, which with such multifarious excellence declares his wisdom, his beneficence, and his glory; it was by conquering himself, as the holy Columban said, that man was to trample upon the world "in se enim solo mundum aut diligit aut odit." † The world which he was to detest, had no more a material existence than the vice and evil which are a shadow in the embraces of the wicked: but as for the innocent, the admirable, and lovely creatures of God, they were to be hallowed and received with thanksgiving. The moderns, indeed, entertain such erroneous notions of spirituality in their theoretical contempt for matter, that not only would these sentiments be inadmissible to them, if they were with themselves consistent, but, according to their principles, it would be impossible to account for the creation of the material universe: but in Catholic philosophy there is no contradiction of the wisdom of nature, and the consequences of the Manichaan opinion are, therefore, excluded. In a Catholic country every thing to the eye of faith, seems to acquire a new and supernatural value, being sanctified to the holy end of supplying the spiritual necessities of redeemed men, and of glorifying God, both as Creator and Restorer. Harmony and innocence seem to reign there amidst creatures, as if they were no longer subject to vanity, and as if man were again placed like Adam in some other paradise of pleasure. The marble and gold of the mountain, the cedar and oak of the forest, and the flowers of the enamelled meadow, seem all to have a reference to the divine temples, and to the mystic beauty of holiness, and to have acquired in some sense an eternal duration. They who have minds capable of feeling the charm of beauty in material form, on descending into Italy perceive at once that it is the religion of the meek which has created in it such a multitude of lovely objects, and given men the means of really possessing the earth, changing its stones into magnificent churches, its metals into gorgeous altars, its minerals into exquisite paintings, crowning its hills with noble convents, and sprinkling its verdant plains with chapels and oratories; and, accordingly, we find that while the moderns ascribe their external prosperity, which by the way is always attended with the deformity that accompanies moral disorder, to their industry, to their superior skill and higher spirit, to the influence of their chosen system of philosophy, or to something arising from themselves, the faithful multitude in Catholic countries,

<sup>\*</sup> Prudentia Civilis, cap. 91,

ascribe all their possessions to God, and believe devoutly, that whatever smiles upon them, in the beauties or in the sweet enjoyments of the present existence, is always "because of truth, and meekness, and justice." In short, if we consider how much of what is thought possession from its consisting of matter, has no real existence, but arises from the merest delusion and vanity, and how much of reality though esteemed imagination, because it is spirit, is often sacrificed to the regret of losing what is only imaginary, it appears evident that the innocent playful carelessness of youth, which, in a certain sense, the meek carried with them into all the occupations of life, enabling them to endure with the utmost cheerfulness, the vexations and losses which overwhelm the proud worldly race, must have imparted a large portion of that earthly enjoyment which is described as their peculiar inheritance. To behold how Christians inherit the earth, we have only to visit any Catholic country, like the Tyrol or the small Cantons of Switzerland, or any of the great kingdoms, where the institutions and spirit of the ages of faith have not been destroyed: there men seem to live in a terrestrial paradise; while property is respected, every thing seems in common as far as relates to its enjoyment; the arts do not minister to the pleasures of the rich alone; they have no exclusive consolations; the poorest possess similar corresponding with their desires, whether arising from the same ravishing spectacle of beauteous nature, or from the same benignant exchange of kind and courteous greeting, or from entering the same sublime temples hallowed by common and most saered rites, or from hearing alike the sweet and solemn tenes of merning and evening bells which seem to blend earth with heaven, and to spiritualize the very material elements which they possess through every sense. To their meek and innocent hearts the earth is a garden of pleasure; and no storm of foul and bitter passions ever disturbs the serene composure with which they receive and enjoy the wonderful gifts of God. "Donum et pax est electis Dei." A Catholic state is wholly a supernatural condition in respect of happiness and abundance; it verifies the divine sentence. "Mansueti hæreditabunt terram: et de-· lectabuntur in multitudine pacis."\*

The blessedness of the meek in faithful ages may be considered in relation both to the material, external, and to the spiritual and interior possession of the earth which is their inheritance. With regard to the former, we shall survey the monuments erected by faith, and the various institutions which were directed to the development of temporal advantages: and in relation to the latter I shall attempt to show in what manner the earth and all things proceeding from it were made to minister to intellectual good, and to assist the cultivation of the spiritual nature; so that as in the last book our principal object was to prove how widely the spirit of meekness pervaded the society of Catholic states, in the present we shall be chiefly occupied with demonstrating how that spirit received even literally its recompense in the fulfilment of the divine

sentence.

In attempting to develope this view of the beatitude of the meek, our course to some may seem retrograde; but even for those fledged

Ps, xxxvi.

souls who desire to soar upon the eagle wings of heavenly meditation, it is well, from time to time, Antæus like, to rest upon the earth. I may perhaps be drawn into a variety of details, which will appear to some minds irrelevant and frivolous; for there are many who conceive that every idea relating to theological truth should be involved in a certain tone of severe and reserved language, and others profess to feel alarmed at whatever wears, in modern literature, the semblance of novelty; but after making every due allowance for the influence of the circumstances in which such persons are placed—for their opinions seem to be only the result of circumstance—there would remain sufficient encouragement for pursuing this argument, if one possessed but the ability to do it justice, in the single sentence of St. Augustin, where he says, "Utile est libros plurimos a pluribus fieri diverso stylo, etiam de quæstionibus eisdem; ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat ad alios sic, ad alios sic."\*

The monuments with which faith covered the soil of Europe, belong to the history, not only of ecclesiastical; but also of civil architecture. Churches, monasteries, hospitals, oratories, crosses, and isolated towers, proclaim more obviously indeed the creative spirit of the religion of the meek ages; but these are not the only examples of its power.

Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem, Tot congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis.

The Catholic Church fulfilled the poet's prediction-

Populosque feroces Contundet, moresque viris et mænia ponet.

As in missionary countries at the present day where the Catholic religion is preached, so in the first ages of the Church, the inhabitants of towns became Christians before the country peasants; and hence, for a long while, the term Pagani was used as synonymous with heathens. In proportion as the faith spread, the multiplication of towns proceeded; for the Christian religion is essentially social, and converts were excited, both by faith and charity, to congregate, as much as possible, for the worship of God in common, and for the exercise of beneficence, just as other men are induced to separate and disperse through infidelity and selfishness. Oratories and cells of retirement for devout persons, became therefore the kernel, as it were, of future communities, and many of the towns, and even cities of Europe, have no other origin.

Shortly after the death of saints it was usual to build an oratory or chapel, under their invocation, to which some devout men had brought their relics, or the garments which had touched their tombs. In time, houses were built round the chapel; and thus, gradually, a village was formed, bearing the name of that saint. The chapel then became a church, and a town was the final result. Thus arose in France the towns of St. Martin, St. Hilaire, St. Germain d'Auxerre, St. Remi, St. Medard, St. Sulpice, St. Brie; and similar instances in England must be familiar to every one.† When the monks of Lindisfarne first brought St. Cuthbert's body to Durham, it was a barbarous and rude place, with

<sup>\*</sup> St. August. de Trinitate, lib. i. c. 3. n. 5.

<sup>†</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du diocèse de Paris, tom. iv. 253.

nothing but thorns and thick woods, where they first built a little church of wands and branches, wherein they did lay his body; whence the said church was afterwards called Bough Church.\* In the thirteenth century, before the angelic visit, Loretto was a mountain covered with thick wood, and uninhabited. Saint-Merry is a village in the diccese of Paris, so called from a chapel which was built on the spot where St. Merry was detained for one day, either by sickness or fatigue, as he travelled from Autun to Paris, about the year 695; so that the village is a memorial of the event. † In the third century, Æcnius, an evangelical missionary, having been martyred and buried on the mountain called St. Ion, in the diocese of Paris, the faithful erected an oratory on the spot, where, in course of time, such a number of devout people resorted, that a village was formed; and as this belonged to a certain rich knight, he fortified it on the top of the mountain, that the people might be secure from the attacks of the barbarians. Lebeuf thus explains the situation of St. Ion, on the mountain of that name. † Mabillon shows, that in this manner the Benedictine monks in Germany were the founders of cities, as well as the cultivators of the soil. Not only did the great monastery and town of Fulda rise up in the midst of forests that had been before pathless, but also Saxony beheld Corby and Brema. Thus too commenced Hersfeld and Fritislaria in Thuringia, Saltzburg, Frisinga and Eisted in Bavaria, St. Gall and Campidona in Helvetia, and numerous other towns throughout all Germany, as well as in other kingdoms where the Benedictine family extended.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the propagation of Christianity in Prussia and Livonia was immediately followed by the erection of walled towns and cities, in places which had before been horrible deserts, or where the only habitations had been some wretched buts on the banks of rivers, composed of boughs and sods of earth. \ Holm. Riga, Thorn, Elbing, Kulm, Christburg, Marienwerd, and Marienburg, were founded and built with stone by holy missionaries, and by the Teutonic order.\*\* The last was built so late as in the year 1274. In the thirtcenth century, Bishop Henry of Ermland, besides other works for the good of Prussia, founded Frauenburg, and gave it privileges. Bishop Siegfried of Samland, and Bishop Eberhard of Ermland, converted barren wastes into fruitful fields. In one year the left bank of the Weichsel saw the rise of three new cities. †† Lithuania, which had been a vast wilderness of wood and marsh, over which wandered a wild and ferocious population, became now covered with towns and villages. Prussia itself possessed no city before the arrival of the Teutonic knights. The manners of a city life were wholly unknown to the ancient inhabitants: as in Germany of old, these savage sons of nature had neither walls nor towers. It was the desire of living under the just and free government of the 'Teutonic order, which was wholly ecclesiastical, that induced multitudes of Germans, in the thirteenth century, during a season of scarcity, to pass into Prussia to inhabit the new cities, which had been founded there in the desert. The bishops of

<sup>\*</sup> The Ancient Rites and Monuments of Durham, p. 111.

<sup>†</sup> Lebeuf, tom. xv. 362. † Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. x. 252. ¶ Præfat. in ii. Sæcul. Benedict. § 5. § Procop. Riga Histor. Goth. 339.

Præfat. in ii. Sæcul. Benedict. § 5. § Procop. Riga Histor. Goth. 339. \*\* Voigt. Geschichte Preussens. †† Voigt. iv. 138.

Prussia testified to the college of cardinals, that the Teutonic brothers administered the public affairs with such justice, discipline, and peace, that innumerable people, from diverse nations, passed into their colonies, desiring to live under their rule.\* Parish Churches were generally to villages what monasteries and cathedrals were to great cities—the centre and bond of their rise and progress. The ancient capitals, indeed, were generally allowed to convey the right of pre-eminence to their churches; and in the great council of Nice, which regulated the rights and jurisdiction of the chief bishopricks of Christendom, these ancient and primitive customs were strictly maintained.† But after the overthrow of the Roman empire, and in the multiplied divisions of territory which ensued, it was the state which looked to the church for the site of capitals; and the residence of a bishop or the existence of a great monastery, were often the preservation of the rights of the ancient cities, to which they owed their being chosen as the seats of the new government. The social elements which existed in every converted nation were highly favourable to the increase, not only of towns, but even of capitals; for, independent of the political circumstances of the world, it was natural that cities which acquired such extreme importance from the devotion of the people, should be invested with a corresponding dignity in relation to the civil power. However, perhaps it would be more correct to say, that the capitals were not allowed then to assume that exclusive importance which they at present possess. The influence of religion was too universal for any one city to become like Rome, in heathen, or like Paris or London, in our times. 'The church was the attraction and point of union; and therefore Canterbury, and York, and Winchester, and Salisbury, and many other cities of England, were as much desired as places of residence as the metropolis itself, although the presence of the court drew there the attendance of a certain number of persons, whose duties connected them with it. Had Rome been Christian at the fall of Veii, she would not have deemed the subsistence of that city, even if it were inhabited by Romans, and possessing elective magistrates of its own, as endangering the unity of the republic. In point of construction too, as well as in their customs and government, the provincial towns of Christendom did not resemble those of modern times, nor the old Roman colonies, miniature likenesses of the capital. ‡ Each had often a style of architecture, as well as municipal laws, peculiar to it; and thus the charm of variety was added to the advantages of a maternal administration.

It has been remarked by Baron Cuvier, in his Lectures on the History of Natural Philosophy, as a circumstance of the middle ages which was favourable to learning and to the cultivation of minds, that centres of government were then multiplied; for in the vast number of small states which then existed, each capital became a source of real civilization, the influence of which was concentrated within moderate limits. In vast empires, letters and sciences are necessarily drawn to one seat of government, and the distant provinces are left in comparative destitution. The modern systems of empire, are, in fact, in this respect,

<sup>\*\*</sup> Voigt. iv. 270.

<sup>‡</sup> Aul. Gellius, xvi. 13.

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<sup>†</sup> Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. v. c. 5.

heathen, in the same manner as those of the middle ages indicated the influence of the philosophy and of the manners of Christians. I am aware, indeed, that an exclusive acquaintance with the religion of the modern sects may render the whole of this statement an extraordinary and untenable proposition to the ears of many; these opinions, it is true, tend to separate men, instead of to unite them, or at the most, they leave them free to fellow the caprice of their disposition, or the condition of their birth. A life in community or in towns is not required where religious worship, to which no obligation is attached, consists in attendance only on the Sunday, and at an advanced hour of the day; but the Catholic religion, by the celebration of its consoling mysteries, both attractive and obligatory, draws men together in multitudes, who, merely for the sake of fulfilling the duties or desires of their super-natural life, are induced to establish themselves in places that furnish the means; and hence, no argument can be drawn against this view of the rise and progress of Christian cities, from observing the wants and manners of the present age. Indeed, that this was the process in the rise or augmentation of the Christian towns, is a fact which is attested by history. Paris, in the beginning of the third dynasty, being confined to the island in the Seine, and there being four abbeys on both sides, at equal distances from it, these of St. Laurence, St. Geneviève, St. Germain-des-Près, and St. Germain l'Auxerrois, each surrounded with the houses of persons who sought the neighbourhood of the abbey, the junction of these four villages formed the future enclosure of the capital.\* The suburbs of most cities were formed by the devotion of people who chose to fix their habitations near the convents and hospitals, which stood originally without the gates. The great abbey of St. Claude in Franche-Comte, gave rise to a considerable town built about it. In the fifth century, St. Briget, having chiefly resided in her monastery at Kildare, the reputation of her sanctity and miracles made that place so renowned, and so much frequented, that the many buildings erected about the convent, during her life, formed a town, which in process of time grew to be so considerable, as to have the episcopal see placed there.

Religion had always first possession. Freyburg in Switzerland was built in the twelfth century, by Bertholde Duke of Zaehringen; but before his time there was there a solitary castle with a chapel on the rock over the Sarine, in the midst of a vast forest. A multitude of towns and villages retained the name of what had originally given them birth. Such as Lachapelle, Abbeville, Monasteriolum, Little Monastery, which became Montreuil, of which there are so many in France, and one in Ireland, Monastereven; and even when the origin was different, the piety of these ages desired that the very name of cities should be a homage to religion. When it was proposed that the new city which was built on the ruins of the Christian camp before the walls of Grenada, should be called by the name of Isabella, so dear to the army and to the nation, that devout princess, calling to mind the holy cause to which it was erected, gave it the name of Santa Fé, or the city of the holy faith; and it remains to this day a monument of the piety and glory of the Catholic sovereigns. The custom began in the East with the religious order

<sup>\*</sup> De St. Victor Tableau de Paris, tom. i. 83.

of knighthood, and it was extended to the north by the Teutonic order, of giving holy names to cities newly crected: \* thus as the clergy and people celebrated a devout festival, and deposited a shrine of relies in a chapel, was the town newly recovered from the Lithuanians solemnly named Christmemel, in honour of the holy Saviour.† From these, then, and many other similar facts, which the reading and observation of each person will easily suggest, it will be seen with what justice we may apply to the Catholic religion those celebrated words of the Roman orator, which were only true on his tongue so long as they referred merely to the great original traditions and revealed principles, of which the full development was reserved for Christian ages. "O vitæ dux! o virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum! tu urbes peperisti; tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitæ cenvocasti; tu magistra morum et disciplinæ fuisti: ad te confugimus; à te opem petimus; tibi nos, ut antea magna ex parte, sic nunc penitus, totosque tradimus. Est autem unus dies bene et ex præceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati anteponendus. Cujus igitur potius opibus utamur quam tuis? quæ et vitæ tranquillitatem largita nobis es, et terrorem mortis sustulisti.'

The Catholic religion not only founded and preserved cities and towns, but also gave a new importance to those which she found existing, and to many imparted a renown which from henceforth cannot be separated from her own eternal destiny: for although wherever the Catholic religion has been withdrawn, the material glory, unless preserved by very extraordinary local circumstances, has passed away, and often been followed by utter ruin and desolation, still to many the fame, grandeur, and interest cannot be said to have perished; since even in those streets which are now deserted, as those we read about in ancient times, of Gabii and Fidenæ, their intellectual greatness stands like a monument for everlasting ages and books, and the solemn offices of the universal church will make it in some sense even to the eye of men as durable as the world. But this refers only to those whom learning makes conversant with the past. To the generality of men, nothing is more certain than that these cities are not what they once were: if any one should retain that superstitious scruple that restrained the ancients from ever affirming that any thing had perished, he may adopt, with regard to them, Virgil's expression, and say,

Gloria Teucrorum!

To seek proof of this, we have not to look to a distance. Witness any of our great ecclesiastical cities; for example, Canterbury, and compare its former with its present condition. In the ages of faith, men of learning, artists, saints, and kings used to repair thither with a multitude of devout pilgrims from all parts of the world: and without an inducement from recollection or from observation of the past, who would now travel from a distance to visit it, unless some farmer, who desired to sell the produce of his hop ground? If any others there should be, anxious to repair thither, methinks they are so few that we might say of them with Dante, "a little stuff would furnish out their cloaks."

<sup>\*</sup> Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, ii. 583.

Formerly, the men of learning and sanctity, and of intellectual greatness, all over Europe, felt an interest in what passed at Canterbury. Under St. Theodore, and for many ages afterwards, it gave penitential laws to almost all the churches of the West. The site of its various monuments was known, studied, and explained by scholars in Italy. Spain, and France. Chardon, a Benedictine in France speaks of the situation of a little humble church of St. Martin in the suburbs, as if he were describing the most familiar monument in his native town. What could be said of Canterbury at present, excepting that it resembles every other provincial city in England? and assuredly that is not a description which is calculated to sanction the idea that it is intimately connected with the fine arts, with learning, with sanctity, and with every kind of intellectual interest which should endear it to the most distant members of the Christian family. Had England continued in communion with the Catholic church, it is possible that Birmingham and Manchester might not have attained to their present character, for merciless inhuman industry would not have been tolerated; but York, and Winchester, and Canterbury, and Exeter, and Salisbury, and other cities of the same type, would have possessed some degree of the interest attached to Milan, Verona, Bologna, and even Florence. In another way also religion gave celebrity to places, for the meekness which left men of the greatest genius and learning without any other distinction but that of the place of their birth or residence, the name of which was attached to that which they had received in baptism, was an occasion of rendering almost every little town celebrated. Thus Malmesbury triumphed in her William; Tours in her Gregory; Blois in her Louis; St. Denis in her nameless Monk; Verona in her Zeno; Pisa in her Peter; Exeter in her Joseph; Ramsey in her Monk; Huntingdon in her Henry; Salisbury in her John:

Anquetil says in the Introduction to his History of Rheims, that "the history of some cities may be as curious as that of great states." Poncius Cato, one of the most learned of the Romans, collected accurately the origin of the Italian cities, as did Terentius Varro, and Antiochus, the Syracusan, and many others. Their motives in collecting such materials were different indeed from those which made Christian writers feel so deep an interest in the antiquity of their cities, but yet there were some grounds in common between them. Dionysius Halicarnassus says of the reasons which induced him to write upon the antiquities of Rome, "It seemed right that so illustrious a history should not be left to silence; for the importance of such a work would be great; since by these means brave men, who have fulfilled their fate, will gain an immortal glory, and the men of this age and of all future times will be led to imitate the example of these god-like men in adopting, not the sweetest and most easy, but the most generous and honourable life, resolving to think highly of themselves on account of such a noble origin. and never to commit any action unworthy of their ancestors."\* The old French histories of the different cities of France, form a department of literature highly curious, and in every respect remarkable; and, indeed if on general grounds, as the wise critic of heathen antiquities ob-

<sup>\*</sup> Antiquit. Rom. lib. i.

serves, the histories of illustrious cities ought not to be written hastily and rashly, but with the utmost diligence and caution,\* they ought to be more peculiarly studied in our own times, because cities and churches are now described in books elaborately executed, but composed by the most audacious triflers, who write, as the present holy father of the faithful says, "what they find, not what they understand," and by the most inveterate enemies of the religion of truth. With respect to the old local historians, we find that they generally passed over the heathen antiquities of their cities, though, like Lyons, they may have been successively Celtic, Greek, and Roman: they confine their researches to the commencement of the Christian annals, as it was to them they referred when they wished to exhibit their trophies of truly honourable renown. The cities of Italy and France could boast of the names of apostolic men, who had preached the faith in the first century, and founded episcopal sees in which the regular succession of pontiffs had never been interrupted. Thus St. Apollinare, was revered at Ravenna; St. Savinian, at Sens; St. Sixtus, at Rheims; St. Potentian, at Troyes; St. Martial, at Limoges; St. Trophime, at Arles; St. Julien, at Mans; St. Crescens, at Vienne; St. Memme, at Chalons; St. Ursin, at Bourges; St. Austremoine, at Clermont in Auvergne; St. Eutropius, at Xaintes; St. Frout, at Perigueux; St. Irenœus, at Lyons. It was considered the highest glory of a city or of a province to have produced a number of saints. Thus the chronicle of St. Riquier says, "while all the world rejoices in being redeemed by the descent and incarnation of the only Son of God, and the common deliverance gives rise to a common exultation, it is known to be the peculiar joy of some places that they possessed men who, from their sanctity and learning deserved the title of Fathers, and with this privilege our province is indeed richly endowed." Even little villages by the way side acquired sometimes great celebrity and importance from having given birth to saints. Witness Nanterre, which produced St. Geneviève, and Nogent in Champagne, where St. Vinebauld was born.

The Prologue to the Life of St. Marcellin, Bishop of Embrun in the sixth century, contains the following passage: "By the liberality of Christ, the combats of illustrious martyrs, and the praises of blessed confessors have filled the world to such a degree, that almost every city can boast of having for patrons martyrs born within its walls."-"I take a pleasure," continues that ancient writer, "in seeking every where the palms of these glorious champions; and I often travel about with this design, enquiring of the inhabitants respecting them, and addressing myself to the oldest men, who are often unanimous in their accounts: with such materials I then transmit their memory to future ages." St. Ceraune, Bishop of Paris in the seventh century, devoted his life to this employment: he wrote to all the clerks whom he supposed were instructed in the traditions of their country, praying them to collect for him this kind of information. Many similar examples may be found in Gaul, from the fourth to the tenth century. These were often the materials used in the great collections of the Bollandists, The spirit of

<sup>\*</sup> Dionysii Halicar. Antiquit. Rom. lib. i.

<sup>†</sup> Chronicon Centulensis sive Richarii, lib. iv. c. 1. apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. iv.

all this traditionary lore is well expressed in the inscription which has been placed over the gate of the subterranean church in Cremona's Cathedral, which is to this effect: "Your holy fellow-citizens here have altars for tombs. Enter and revere the ashes of those whose examples you will imitate." But in speaking of the new interest which the ancient cities of the world acquired with their adoption of the Christian faith, who has not already been transported in imagination to Rome-to that city, justly called eternal, not because her heathen glories have been perpetuated, but on account of her saintly lustre and divine pre-eminence, which, by a mysterious law of heaven has been associated inseparably with the interests and the destiny of souls, which are themselves immortal. It is not to Rome, triumphant, to Rome, queen of the world, that our mind would now revert, but, as Torquato Tasso says, in his reply to Plutarch, it is to Rome restored by the virtue of one and of many most holy Pontiffs, to Rome become humble from being proud, pacific from being warlike, and as it were celestial from being earthly, to Rome, boasting not so much of her former greatness as of the present things which inspire her with joy.\* Let us go back to the age of this wondrous transition, and behold a scene nobly described by the author of the Martyrs. "Whence come these immense armies? who are these people, hastening from the four regions of the earth? the scourge of God conducts them: their horses are lighter than leopards: they gather troops of captives as mountains of sand. What mean these kings clothed in the skins of beasts, who slay their prisoners round the cities which they have besieged? All come from the desert of a fearful land: all march towards the new Babylon. Art thou fallen, queen of cities? Is thy capitol buried in the dust? How desert are thy plains! what a solitude around thee! But, O astonishing prodigy! the cross appears in the midst of this whirlwind of dust! it rises over Rome risen from ruins; it marks all its edifices; the children of the Apostles occupy the ruins of the palace of the Casars: the pertices where the death of the Christians was vowed, are changed into pious cloisters, and penitence now dwells where before reigned triumphant crime." † "I also love Rome," says St. Chrysostom, "and though I might praise it for its greatness, its antiquity, its beauty, its multitude of inhabitants, its empire, its riches, its warlike fame; yet emitting all these things, on this account alone I proclaim it blessed, because Paul, while alive, was so affectionate towards it, preached to it, and lastly ended his life within it, whose holy body it possesses; and therefore is this city illustrious more than all others. The sun shines not with such splendour in the heavens as this city of the Romans casting forth beams from these resplendent bodies of Peter and Paul. Consider it, and shudder at the spectacle which Rome will behold; namely, Paul suddenly from that shrine, with Peter, rising to meet the Lord in the air! What a rose will Rome then send to Christ; with what two crowns is this city adorned: truly I admire this city, not on account of the abundance of gold, not on account of columns, nor any other object of beauty, but on account of these columns of the Church." t

<sup>\*</sup> Torquato Tasso Risposta di Roma a Plutarco.

In a lower degree some associations of a kindred nature belonged to almost every city, for there was hardly one which could not boast of having some martyr or holy confessor connected with its history. Vienna rejoiced in her St. Stephen, Brussels in her St. Gudule, Madrid in her St. Isidore, Paris in her St. Denis, St. Germain, and St. Geneviève, Lyons in her St. Irenæus, Poitiers in her St. Hilary, Limoges in her St. Martial, Sens in her St. Savinien, St. Columbus, St. Loup, Milan in her St. Ambrose, Tours in her St. Martin, Arles in her St. Cesareus. The circumstance of any person of eminent sanctity residing within a city was enough to make it celebrated; his death was in one sense a public calamity, though in another, religion converted it into a higher consolation, as in the instance when St. John of God was dying in Granada, and he gave the city his dying benediction by order of the archbishop; or as when their bodies were preserved as treasures, and their prayers invoked as affectionate intercessors for their fellow-citizens. At other places, though men could refer to saints among their own citizens, yet they chose to invoke the prayers of blessed spirits who had earlier passed upon the earth. Such were Florence and Genoa, of the former of which Dante says,

> "In that city I dwelt, Which for the Baptist her first patron chang'd."

Such too was Parma, which chose St. Thomas for one of its protectors on account of having been delivered from its enemies on his festival. Lawful, useful, and laudable was known to be this invocation of holy patrons. Lot prayed to the angels, and obtained that the city of Segor should not be destroyed by fire from heaven.\* Jacob asked and obtained a blessing from the angel.† Moses besought God to remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, his servants.‡ The three children in the furnace implored his mercy for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Israel; and God declared He would protect that city, and would save it, for the sake of David his servant.§

With respect to the new character assumed by cities, it is worthy of remark that Petrarch, though speaking with the pride of an old Roman, yet in contrasting the ancient with the actual state of Cologne, is obliged to give the preference to the latter. "I have beheld the capitol," he says, "an image of our own, excepting that instead of the senate assembling there to take counsel upon peace and war, there are inhabiting it beautiful youths and holy virgins, who sing nocturnal lauds to God with eternal concord. There one heard the noise of wheels and arms, and the groans of captives; here one finds rest and joy, and the voices of the cheerful; there, in short, moves a warlike, and here a pacific conqueror."\*\*

To religion must be ascribed not only the rise and preservation of cities, but also many peculiarities of their structure, and by far the greatest portion of their beauty. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that in three things he chiefly beheld the magnificence of Rome, in the aqueducts, the great roads, and the sewers; all monuments designed to promote material interest, none connected with mind and with spirit for

<sup>- \*</sup> Gen. xxxiii + Id. xiviii. † Exod. xxxiii. † Dan. iii, § Reg. xix. \* \* Epist. Fam. lib. i. 4.

the benefit of the soul. In Christian Rome, and in a catholic city, the cloaca maxima are but little regarded: which circumstance ought not to be a surprise to the moderns, since even the heathen philosophers themselves acknowledged that, as Pliny says, "Oportet mortalibus utilitatibus æternas anteferre."\* It was not merely public utility, as he says, that was to be preferred to private, but eternal to temporal, and therefore it ought not to be an offence to philosophers when they find that churches and monasteries had pre-eminence over docks and sewers. The unhappy heathens, indeed, found within their cities more objects to proclaim national glory, or the power of a selfish superstition than resources even against their temporal calamities. In that celebrated forum they had three arches of triumph, temples to Fortune, and columns to princes, but they had never heard there of the via della consolazione. If with modern cities there should be any poetry connected, it is only as with the city of the Phænicians, on entering which Ulysses wondered at the harbours, docks, and ships, the market places and public halls, the long walls and lofty bulwarks of defence, wondrous to behold. † The modern philosophy has in this manner paganized the very structure of cities; though, indeed, Juvenal pays a compliment to the Romans at the period of their greatest corruption, which could not be extended to ourselves, for he tells them that they had erected no temples to money. But in the middle ages some image or emblem of religion was always the first and most striking object to excite the admiration of a stranger. In the fourteenth century men could not begin to build, even that lofty tower at the public palace of Sienna, without placing a marble chapel at its base; and even the material monuments of cities were spiritualized, and in some way or other connected with the intellectual and immortal nature. A striking instance of this may be witnessed in a certain town of the Tyrol, where one sees a fountain surmounted by an image of our Saviour; the stream of water issues from the wound in his adorable side, and at the foot is this inscription, "O all ye who thirst, come to the fountain of life," at once supplying the temporal wants of the people, and under this beautiful emblem affording a most instructive Christian lesson. So again the author of the "Calendrier des Bergeres," which was printed in 1499, in enumerating the praises of the city of Paris, begins with its schools of theology and arts:

> O Paris, souveraine et digne Source de science divine Comme saincte théologie.

And he says that its material grandeur consists in its beautiful churches, its vast cemetery of the Holy Innocents, its great bridge, Notre Dame,

and its Hostel Dieu.‡

In fact, in the cities of the middle ages, there were no monuments of decoration to be seen which corresponded with the heathen philosophy, no pantheons, columns, statues of kings, or triumphal arches; or, as at Rome, such remains of pagan grandeur were sanctified and converted into Christian monuments, for purposes analogous to the truths of the holy wisdom. Thus at Rome, the monuments of Egyptian superstition

<sup>\*</sup> Epist, lib. vii. 18.

<sup>†</sup> Od. vii. 43.

<sup>†</sup> Gouget, Bibliotheque Française, tom. x. p. 189.

are made to pay homage to the Christian church. The solar obelisk erected at Heliopolis by Psammiticus I., king of Egypt, which had been brought to Rome by Augustus, is now near the church of St. Lorenzo, in Lucina. The immense obelisk transported from the ruins of Thebes, in High Egypt, stands in the place of St. John Lateran. That which was transported to Rome by Caligula, and described by Pliny, is in the front of St. Peter's and bears an inscription on the base, which

fills with tears of admiration the eyes of the devout stranger. Wonderfully is the power of religion developed there in converting the most loathsome monuments of crime and error into objects that are gazed upon with devout reverence. Such is that stair-case of the Hall of Pilate, which every Christian on visiting the Basilica of St. John Lateran ascends upon his knees; such that colosseum that once used to flow with the blood of martyrs, which is now a place of prayer and holy contemplation; such that pagan portico, which now leads to some church of the living God; such are those columns erected to commemorate the triumph of worldly conquerors, which are now surmounted with images of apostles; such those obelisks once dedicated to an impure superstition, which now sustain the cross of Christ; such that Mamertine and Tullian prison in the forum, built by Ancus Martius and Servius Tullius, which heard the expiring groans of Jugurtha, and which is now a sanctuary, crowded incessantly by faithful Christians, who go there to venerate the prison which confined St. Peter and St. Paul.

At Aosta again, the triumphal arch which was built by Augustus on subduing the inhabitants of that valley, is surmounted with a crucifix, which is said to have been there ever since the first conversion of the city to christianity; but in no instance did Christians in the ages of faith erect such monuments. When Pope Adrian VI., indeed, entered Rome, a triumphal arch was constructing at Porta Portuense for his reception, but he ordered the work to be interrupted, saying, "These were the pomps of heathenism." The only trophies in Christian cities were suitable to the victory which overcometh the world, and, like that colossal image at Arona, in honour of the best sort of conquerors. The first triumphal arches in Paris to commemorate temporal conquests were erected in 1670, when the walls were demolished.\*

The first statue erected to a king of France was that of Henry IV. on the Pont-neuf; and Portugal had erected no statue of any of her monarchs, until the Sophist Pombal awarded this honour to King Joseph the First, when he placed a portrait of himself in bronze on the front of the pedestal. During the middle ages, if a statue of a king were made it was to be placed upon his tomb, or on the portal of some church, or over the gates of some hospital or college, which he had founded. Even the ancients never formed a statue for a public square, like that of Louis XIV. in the Place of Victory, which seems a personification of frivolity and egotism. The statue of himself which Constantine erected in Rome, after his victory over Maxentius, was in fact a trophy of religion, for it represented him holding a cross in his right hand; and the inscription which was placed under it testified that by

<sup>\*</sup> De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. iii. 439.

that salutary sign he had delivered the ancient city from the yoke of a tyrant, and had restored the senate and people of Rome to their former dignity and greatness. The columns of modern cities date from the protestant scholars commemorating, in language worthy of a nobler cause, the fanaticism of heresy in England; those of France have been

erected in days subsequent to the revolution.

Thus our very buildings and monuments bear witness to that tendency towards pagan opinions relative to the motives of human action, which has been constantly on the increase since the sixteenth century, till we have lived to see it arrive at a complete and open profession of idolatry, in the establishment of a pantheon in the frivolous and guilty city. It was indeed natural that the honour of Apotheosis should be first revived in that land where there would be always a supply of men vain enough to desire it. St. Jerome said long ago, in writing to a heretic of Gaul, "The world is full of Centaurs and Sirens, Ululas and Onocrataluses, Leviathans and Behemoths. There is the Erimanthian boar and the Nemean lion, the Cacus of Virgil, and the Gorgon of Spain. Gaul alone has no monsters, but abounds with eloquent and brave men." But if Christian cities wanted these impure ornaments of worldly triumph, they were not without objects of a meek and admira-

ble beauty peculiary their own.

Theodoret, in his life of St. Simeon Stylites, testifies that every where in Rome before the entrance of shops stood an image of that saint whom they invoked as a guardian; and the fathers of the second Council of Nice recommended the erection of holy images and paintings on the public ways, according, as they said, to the ancient pious custom. In all cities, at the corners of streets, and in the markets amidst the busy crowd and piles of objects for sale, you beheld the gracious image of our blessed Lady, holding the divine child enfolded in her arms. The laborious people occupied amidst these tumultuous scenes, from time to time, would turn their eyes to this benignant form, and feel fresh strength to support their various trials. The sweetest flowers of the season are placed, from time to time, by pious hands at its feet, while garlands of every hue are suspended over it and across the public ways. The same image smiled upon the poor from the portals of palaces, and seemed to encourage the timid to pass beyond the proud threshold of the more powerful citizens. Thus, in the court of the old Hotel of Harcourt, in the street of La Harpe, at Paris, as also in that of the Hotel de Cluny, in the street of the Mathurins, you see over the small gothic door which led to the principal apartments, a niche richly decorated to contain the image of our Lady. Monteil reckons among the multitude of little services daily rendered by the people of Paris to one another, "the indication of images in the streets or of the signs of houses, for almost every private house was then distinguished by a sign which generally represented the patron of the family."† At the present day a walk through Oxford or Gloucester, if the eyes be kept fixed upon the buildings of ancient times, is like reading an old book full of majesty and holiness. Under the images of our Lady, which are in nearly every corner of the solemn and almost cloistral streets of Bologna, you

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. xxxviii.

<sup>†</sup> Monteil, Hist. des France, tom. iv. 377.

observe sentences inscribed from the holy Scriptures, teaching the way of a blessed life and death. Upon a wall at Padua, which contains the monument of Rolando de Placiola, you read these divine lines:—

Præter amare Deum, cum cætera deleat ætas, Hic sere, quod plena postmodo falce metas.

Entering Stia, a small town among the Apennines, with the ruins of an old castle above it, I saw a little chapel at the end of the bridge, on which was an inscription to this effect: "Here is the bridge to enter Stia, and here is the chapel of our blesed Lady. May it prove to us a bridge to heaven." At Lucern, there is a little chapel in which is a lamp ever burning over that pier of the bridge, which one might fear every moment was going to be swept away by the fury of the flood which swells and rages round it, in a remarkable manner. At St. Maurice, there is an oratory on the great arch over the Rhone; at Dresden, the bridge is lined with images of saints; and at Prague the Moldau still beholds its martyr as if looking down gratefully upon the waters which had given him the blessed palm. Walking one night in Florence, I saw a great light upon a bridge over the Arno: it was from a little oratory of our Lady where three priests and some children were singing nocturns before an illuminated altar. Then, in order that passengers in the night may be reminded of heavenly things, and our blessed Lady honoured in the night, you behold the lamps before her image which are lighted as the sun goes down. In fact, the streets of cities derived their light from the number of these lamps which burned before the images of our Lady, or the paintings of saints.\* Tiek beautifully avails himself of these in representing one who has overheard a horrible plot arranged in a street at midnight before an image of our Lady; when the wretches had moved away, this person comes forth from the dark niche, shuddering and lifts his looks to the image and says, "Before thine eyes, thou mild and blessed one, are these miscreants audaciously holding their market and trafficking in their infernal drugs. But as thou embracest thy child with thy love, so doth heavenly love encircle us all with its protecting arms; we feel their touch; and our poor hearts beat joyously and tremulously toward a greater heart that will never forsake us." The whole of the fronts of houses exhibited beautiful carvings of some sacred subjects, of some symbolical device, or interesting local tradition, or else of grotesque figures, to inspire gaiety. The windows were richly ornamented, and the patron of the family appeared every where. On the houses in Sarnen you see painted the history of the holy hermit Nicholas of the Rock, whose prayers once saved that town from the flames. At Paris, the celebrated Nicolas Flamel only followed the custom of that age in adorning the exterior walls of his house with images of devotion, and with pious inscriptions.† custom is still observed in many Catholic countries, where you read continually, "Glory be to God alone. Blessed be God." The inmost thought of the possessor seems to be often expressed by an inscription. Over the door of one house, on which a crucifixion was painted, I read, "Jesus amor meus crucifixus est." Sometimes the inscription and de-

Monteil. + Hist. Critique de Nicolas Flamel et de Pernelle sa Femme, p. 11.

vice were mysterious, like that dove with an olive branch represented on the gate of Marengo at Pavia, under which a treble woe is denounced against its enemies.\* At others, they were intended to impart to men some important counsel respecting the affairs of life. Catholic sentiment was most ingenious in this respect. In the year 1445, a citizen of Milan, Thomas de Caponago, placed an inscription at the foot of the staircase which leads to the tribunals of justice to warn the passengers from law suits. "In controversiis causarum corporales inimicitiæ oriuntur, fit amissio expensarum, labor animi exercetur, corpus quotidie fatigatur, multa et inhonesta crimina inde consequentur, bona et utilia opera postponuntur." Such was the inscription. On approaching Italy from every side, we find the exterior walls of the inns and other houses adorned with frescos representing generally the Annunciation or the Nativity, executed in the style of the miniatures in the old illuminated prayer books, from which one might suppose they had been copied, having caught all that delicate grace and simplicity which captivate us in the works of the middle ages. Antiquity admired those paintings, with which the Athenians decorated the walls of their porticos. Pausanius relates that the exploits of that people were represented on the Pœcilia at Athens; and the moderns speak of the moral advantage resulting from the erection of monuments to great men that have been ornaments to their country; but how much lovelier, and cheering, and instructive to the eye of humanity are these peaceful trophies on the walls of Christian cities in which the barbarous principle of national glory is excluded, and nothing commemorated but what should be dear to the affections and inestimable in the judgment of the universal race of men? It must be admitted that devotion and reverence of the olden time contributed to irregularity of structure. Streets were made to bend to the position of churches, and as churches were generally built in the direction of east and west, the continuity of streets was often broken by their erection; for no one ever thought then that temples should be made to bend to the convenience of a mechanic's warehouse. The site and direction of churches were never determined by any obstacle from profane buildings.† In the year 846, while the Cathedral of Rheims was rebuilding, Charles-le-Chauve gave permission to Archbishop Hincmar to change, and to suppress the adjacent streets which might interfere with its convenience or decoration. † It may be observed that these crooked winding streets of our ancient cities are more favourable to picturesque effect than the regularity of the ancient Thurian or Ionian streets, mathematically arranged at right angles to each other like those of some modern cities. The bends and windings contributed even to the convenience of the passengers; for they broke the rays of the sun, and force of the wind, and served as a protection against both heat and cold. When the crookedness and narrowness of the streets of Rome had been remedied after the fire under Nero, it was found that the broad straight streets were injurious to health, | and Niebuhr remarks that the quarter of the city which was erected in the middle ages with the same disre-

<sup>\*</sup> Flavia Papia Sacra del P. Ghisoni Prolog.

<sup>†</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. i. chap. 4.

<sup>‡</sup> Anquetil, Hist. de Rheim, lib. i. p. 115.

gard of regularity as at the rebuilding after the departure of the Gauls, is at the present day, much more healthy than those which have wide regular streets running through them; and he considers the contrary opinion of Aristotle respecting the cities of Greece to be a mere theoretical assumption.\* Viewed from a distance the appearance of the ancient Christian cities was full of indescribable majesty. . How grand is the effect produced by those stupendous towers at Florence, raised by Giotto and Arnolpho di Lapo, the former encrusted with coloured marbles to the summit, the masterpiece of that famous architect and painter, as he is styled on his epitaph which is within the church, composed by Angelus Politian, the latter gothic, and from its height and proportion, a prodigy of art! The tall and slender towers which rise above the gothic palaces of Sienna, and those of Asinelli and Garisendi at Bologna, leaning in such strange disorder, which have furnished images to Dante,† are the admiration of every beholder. Benjamin of Navarre reckoned ten thousand towers in Pisa. On one occasion one hundred and forty towers were demolished in Rome. Asti could boast of one hundred. Writers of the twelfth century speak with admiration of the towers of Pavia, which, according to Breventano, amounted in all to five hundred and twenty-five. One of these, erected in honour of the learned Giasone del Maino, stood reversed upon the cone; and was destroyed through stupid timidity, in the last century, when it was too late discovered that it had been built with such skill that it might have stood for many ages. The towers of Ravenna are round, and remind one forcibly of those so celebrated in Ireland, with the exception of the huge Torre del Publico, which now stoops as if from age, and of which no one knows the origin and founder. According to Bettinelli it was in the eleventh century that the rage for building towers in cities prevailed; those over private houses were generally for ornament and pomp; on those of churches and palaces of justice were placed those curious clocks, like that on the tower of the palace of Padua in the year 1344, which were the work of men who were philosophers and astronomers, like John and James Dondi, with whom Petrarch corresponded, of a family so renowned for these works, that it took the surname of "degli orologi." But to return to the towers, what a contrast now is here to the dull uniform and unbroken line over the cities of the moderns! In London one can distinguish the Catholic and the protestant city by the number of beautiful towers in the former, and the almost total absence of them in the latter, or the substitution of shapeless deformed masses: as in Genoa, where you behold the hideous forts built by Napoleon in the age of revolutions rising out of the midst of the beautiful palaces raised by the noble Genoese in the ages of meekness and faith. The situation, too, was often more favourable to devotion, and to the natural enjoyment of life, than to the desires of vanity or the wants of the effeminate. Towns were often called castles, being, like those which we see upon the Rhine, dependants upon a castle, and enclosed within its walls. Thus we have still Château-Thierri, Château-Goutier, Château-Landon, Château-Roux, and others. One might sometimes

<sup>\*</sup> Polit, vii. 2. † Infer. xxxi. ‡ La Torre del Pizzo in Giu. Pavia. 1832. ¶ Risorgimento d'Italia et Muratori, tom. ii. Antiquit. Ital.

suppose that these Christian cities were built among wild rocks and mountains, from some religious and mysterious motive, suggested by the situation of Jerusalem, for the holy city was raised in a savage spot that it might be insulated on the mountains, to be free from the contagion of the earthly nations; and such a supposition would not be altogether groundless, if we bear in mind that as at Saltzbourg, monks were frequently the founders, and that a monastery had originally determined their site. But, be this as it may, our ancestors are to be admired for their choice of situation in the foundation of towns. Those picturesque cities encircled with crags, with their Emimonal, such as Freybourg, Sion, and others, or those Etrurian bourgs which strike the pilgrim's eye at every step as he travels on between Florence and Sienna, and which have exactly the appearance of great castles rising over the woods, and crowning the summits of hills, may be a terror to the speculator in the transport of effects, but to a natural taste they are beyond all comparison preferable to those modern cities, extending beyond their original pleasant site upon the bank of rivers to spread over uniform plains, to which, perhaps, the beams of the sun can never penetrate through the clouds in which their innumerable manufactories envelope them, as the people and city of the Cimmerians are described.

κέρι καὶ νεφέλη κεκαλυμικένοι.\*

A city of this description is, to one accustomed to a city of the middle ages, what the gloomy forest was to Dante:

Which to remember only, his dismay Renews, in bitterness not far from death.†

He would describe leaving it in the words of the same poet, where he speaks of "emerging from a dead vapour which had saddened his eyes and heart." Such were not the cities which the Catholic religion founded and inspired, which seemed almost to have been raised expressly for poets or for saints; for those who love meditation, and beauty, and peace. Such, to name but one, is Pisa, with its towers of white marble, its silent gothic streets, and its holy field of the dead. But where are there not examples, notwithstanding the rage of modern destroyers? When I had visited the churches of Genoa, many of which present an interior like a vision of paradise, as far as mind at the sight of material beauty can conceive primeval things, and then in the sweet hour of twilight, when the sun had set upon

Those tall piles and sea-girt palaces, Whose porphyry pillars, and whose costly front, Fraught with the orient spoils of many marbles, Seem each a trophy of some mighty deed;

and I had ascended one of the towers of that noble city, and looked down upon it in quiet contemplation, (aspect indescribable, which filled my eyes with "pleasant tears,") and then when I heard the sweet chiming of the Angelus break forth, and observed suddenly how innumerable lights began to cast their beams, burning before images of our blessed Lady,—there was in all this so planet-like a music, an order, and variety,—there was over the whole such a sky of poetry, such beauty

to inhale in the very forms of man's creation,—that I felt as if suddenly presented with a new view of the wonders of the human course; and it occurred to me, that a great and important problem remained to be solved connected with the destinies of our nature: for how are we to explain this fact, of which I have here the evidence before me, that a religion which proposes only a future recompence, should yet put men in possession of so much that has affinity with supernal bliss? explanation is not difficult if we take into account the morality of the Catholic Church and its influence upon intelligences. When men are left to themselves and to their own miserable philosophy, all the energies of their noble natures are then directed to base ends, either to gratify their appetites, their love of sensual pleasure, their selfish pride, or love of personal and exclusive distinction. Abandoned to the pleasures of sense, they find in that dishonourable servitude a temporary source of satisfaction, sufficient, not indeed to give them peace, but to paralyze every generous and heroic effort. The active or creative spirit is either destroyed or misdirected to base and selfish ends; but when the principle of self-denial has once begun to operate, when the mind is restored and resuscitated by the vivifying spirit of Catholicism, all these energies, besides being strengthened, are employed in giving expression to their infinite desires, which have relation to beauty in its highest perfection. They seek no longer life to support

By earth, nor its base metals, but by love, Wisdom, and virtue,—

and therefore their works resemble those of the Divine Architect, and bear testimony to the sublime and amazing record, that man was created after his image and endowed with capacities analogous. Their temples are each like a world coming forth from his plastic hand, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Their cities are so rich in beauteous forms, that they seem like the wondrous works of the Eternal Master, and the ancients would have believed that, as was affirmed of Athens, the gods themselves contended for their possession; or at least, that they were worthy of those who sought but one employment,—to celebrate them with a perpetual song.\* In Rome, the utmost expression of beauty is seen at every step. 'The exquisite taste which is displayed in the disposition of works of art is no where else to be found. Rome, independent of all associations, is doubtless the most splendid city in the world. Her churches, porticos, fountains, palaces, obelisks, and palmy villas, make her like some ideal city in the fancy of a poet. It is right, and unquestionably it is of necessary consequence, that the city of spirits, under the dominion of Intelligence and of the heavenly life, should be also that in which bodies and material forms approach the nearest to the essence of beauty, and are the farthest removed from all imperfection. Petrarch, in a letter to the Genoese, describes that state as it appeared in his youth. "Your country appeared a celestial paradise: such surely were the Elysian fields! What a beautiful object towards the sea! those towers which rose to heaven, those palaces where art excelled nature! those hills covered with cedars, vines, and olives! those houses of marble built under the rocks! those delicious retreats on the shore, where sand shines like gold, on which the foaming waves, dashing their crystal heads, attract the eyes of the pilot, and stop the motion of the rowers! Can we behold without admiration the more than mortal figures that inhabited your city? Those who entered it, thought they were in the temple of felicity and joy." Milton borrows one of his most beautiful similitudes from the appearance of such a city at the rising of the sun:—

As when a scout
Through dark and desert ways, with peril gone
All night, at last by break of cheerful dawn
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land
First seen, or some renown'd metropolis,
With glittering spires and pinnacles adorn'd,
Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams.

A modern French writer (in a book of which I would conceal the title, as a man doth of some horrible thing,) offers one admirable passage, in which he contrasts ancient Gothic Paris with the present capital, and shows the superior beauty of the former, appealing to all who have ever seen a gothic city-entire, complete, homogeneous-such as Nuremberg in Bavaria, Vittoria in Spain, or even the little specimens of Vitré in Bretagne and of Nordhausen in Prussia. "After all," he says, "since the time of Louis XI. Paris has not increased much more than by a third part. It has certainly lost much more in beauty than it has gained in extent. Let one imagine himself looking down from the towers of Notre Dame upon Paris as it was formerly. The eye was at first confused with the mass of roofs, streets, bridges, spires, and belfreys. There was the lofty sharp gable, the turrets suspended at the angles of walls, the round walled tower of the dungeon, the square and decorated tower of the church; the great, the little, the massive, the aerial. The eyes were lost for a long time in the depths of this labyrinth, where was nothing which had not its originality, its reason, its genius, its beauty; nothing which did not owe somewhat to art, from the least house, painted and carved as to its external wood-work, and with its arched door and sloped stories, to the royal Louvre, which had then a colonnade of towers." After describing the multitude of beautiful and sublime edifices, churches, convents, colleges, palaces, hotels, and halls, which were distinguishable out of this mass of buildings, he concludes with observing, "This is nevertheless the city of which Voltaire has said, that 'before Louis XIV. it possessed only four fine monuments;' a sentence which proves, that a man may have a great genius, and comprehend nothing of an art in which he has not been initiated. Thus Moliere thought to pay a high compliment to Raphael and Michael Angelo, in calling them those Mignards of their age. Gothic Paris became first disfigured by the architectural paganism which was contemporary with Luther; then followed a succession of other styles till the Revolution, when a taste arose, Greek and Roman, which produced monuments that bore as much resemblance to the Coliseum or to the Parthenon, as the constitution of the year four did to the laws of Minos. This he calls the style Messidor. Then followed the style Napoleon, with its columns of bronze made with cannon, and, he might

have added, with the bells of churches. In the modern styles, there is a total want of that presiding judgment which knew how to adapt the architecture of an edifice to its particular destination, and to the climate of the country. Thus an exchange is shown which might be a royal palace, a chamber of parliament, a town house, a college, a ridingschool, an academy, a museum, a barrack, a sepulchre, a temple, a theatre; and it has a flat Eastern roof, so that it must be swept and scraped in time of snow, as if it entered into the design of a roof, that it ought to be swept and scraped. Returning to the Gothic city of the four-teenth century, behold that surprising hedge of needles, of towers, and of belfrevs, rising over the midst of the immense city, excepting where it is broken at the point of islands, and interrupted by the winding river. Cover it with the shades of night, and mark the strange play of light and shadow in this sombre labyrinth of edifices; cast over it a beam of moonlight, which may vaguely sketch and bring out the vast crown of towers with the thousand sharp angles of spires and turrets,and then compare. And if you wish to receive an impression from the old city which the modern cannot give you, ascend some elevated point which commands the entire city, at the hour of sun-rise, on the morning of some festival, and assist at the awakening of the bells. At the same moment these thousand churches vibrate. At first it is a scattered sound, passing from one church to another, as when musicians give signs of being about to commence. Then suddenly see-for sometimes it would seem that the ear has also its sight-see rising at the same moment, as it were a column of noise, like a smoke of harmony. At first the vibrations of each bell rises straight, pure, and as if isolated from one another in the splendid sky of the morning; then by degrees increasing, they melt into one, and are mixed and amalgamated in a magnificent concert. It is now only one mass of sonorous vibrations, disengaged unceasingly from innumerable towers, which floats, undulates, rebounds, and thunders over the city, and prolongs, far beyond the horizon, the deafening circle of its oscillations. And yet this sea of harmony is not a chaos. Vast and profound as it is, still it has not lost its transparency; you see winding apart each group of notes which escapes from the belfreys; you can follow the dialogue alternately grave and piercing, from the chime to the great bell; you see the octaves jump from one tower to another; you see them dart forth, winged, light and hissing from the silver bell, and fall broken and heavy from that of baser materials; you see the rich gammut which descends and remounts unceasingly from the seven bells of one tower; you see dart through it the clear and rapid notes which make three or four luminous zigzag lines, and vanish like the lightning; below, it is the sharp and glassy chime of the abbey of St. Martin; on that side it is the deep low murmur of the Louvre, and on the other it is the royal volley of the palace, while from time to time, at equal intervals, the heavy tone of the belfrey of Notre Dame makes them all sparkle like the anvil under the hammer. Through the whole mass of sublime noise you see pass at intervals sounds of every form, from the low indistinct murmur to the sharp note of the Ave Maria, which explodes and sparkles like a shower of stars. Certes, this is an opera which deserves to be heard. The city seems to sing, as during the stillness of the night it had seemed to 2 c 2 Vol. I .- 42

breathe. Lend an ear then to this chorus, which rises over the murmur of half a million of men, which mingles with the eternal lamentation of the stream, the infinite sighings of the wind wafted over the surrounding forests, which blend and soften what might have been too rough and piercing, and then say whether you know any thing in the world more rich, more joyous, more golden, more resplendent than this tumult of chiming and tolling bells, than this furnace of music, than these ten thousand voices of brass, chaunting altogether within flutes of stone of the length of three hundred feet, than this city, which is only one orches-

tra, than this symphony, which is as loud as a tempest."

Of the churches and monasteries, which were the noblest, and generally, as at Paris, the most ancient of the Christian monuments in cities,\* I shall speak hereafter: but besides these, the learned stranger was sure to meet with objects in most cities connected with ancient heroic or saintly fame; for religion stimulated men to preserve them with more than merely human care. Nothing is older in the history of men than the indications of a similar inclination to revere ancestral associations; so that the monuments have existed even where the fame had perished,—like those walls at the villa of Mecanas at Tivoli, of which antiquarians can only say, that they are an astonishment and an uncertain work, opus incertum. Dionysius says that down to his time the Romans preserved one of the original houses of the companions of Romulus, when he lived among the swine-herds and cow-herds on the mountains, where their huts used to be made of wood and rushes, without any joining: he says that this one, which was preserved sacred, used to be called the House of Romulus; there were persons appointed to take care of it, and to see that nothing should be added to it for the sake of ornament, but if any part were destroyed by the injury of time or weather, it used to be carefully repaired and restored, as far as possible, to its original appearance.† Before the time of the Dorians, at Mycenæ were to be seen the Cyclopian Hall of Eurystheus, and the sumptuous palace of Agamemnon. Nevertheless Cicero was a witness that the most noble city of Greece, and once the most learned, knew not the monument of one of its most acute citizens until it was shown to them by a man of Arpinum.† But the old monuments in Christian cities were chiefly venerable from a pious sentiment, which made men revere whatever was connected with the friends of God in former times, and there were more certain grounds than the ancients possessed for determining their authenticity, because the ecclesiastical records had been constantly preserved from the first ages in the capitals of each diocese and in the monasteries. When the Abbé Lebeuf was employed in composing his history of the diocese of Paris, he found that the country curates were able to supply him with much local antiquarian information that was highly interesting. It appears that in the very first ages the Christians adorned cities with memorials of the grace of heaven. Eusebius relates, that when he was at Cæsarea Philippi, he saw at the door of one house a bronze image of a woman on a stone column kneeling and with hands outstretched as a suppliant, and opposite to it stood, in the same

<sup>\*</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. xvin. † Antiq. Rome. lib. i. cap. 79. † Tuscul. v. 23.

metal, the image of a man, standing holding out his hand to her. These represented Jesus Christ and the woman who touched his garment to be healed. On entering the city, adds the historian, we beheld these statues.\* These images were afterwards destroyed by Julian, but the fragments were collected by the Christians, and placed in the church, as Sozomen relates. † Many streets of Christian cities became distinguished by some venerable name or memorial of faith. What stranger is not now moved with indescribable sensations of devout pleasure when, for example, in that pious and faithful city which the Rhone devastates and the Saone caresses, he finds himself unexpectedly in the street of St. Polycarp, or in the streets and churches of St. Irenæus, of St. Just and of St. Pothin? or when at Rome, though I can now only hint at the sacred memorials of that amazing and holy city, he enters the way of St. Nicholas in Carcere, and the way of St. Peter's Chains, and beholds the prison where the blessed apostles were confined, and that Pyramid by the Ostian road which saw the blessed Paul go to martyrdom. Rome flocks to the chambers of a retired student in the Roman College. when the Church commemorates St. Alovsius Gonzaga. In the Gesu are preserved the small humble rooms which St. Ignatius occupied, his little study, and the small low chamber floored with tiles in which he died. Here is now an altar, at which St. Charles Borromeo said his first mass. The same chamber was inhabited also by St. Francis Borgio. Here you see the old family painting of St. Ignatius, as a young knight, clad in complete steel, possessing a fair and engaging countenance. How solemn are the emotions on finding oneself in these rooms, where such an intercourse passed between earth and heaven! Who can depart from them without kissing the ground! In the house of the novices, adjoining the Church of St. Andrew, on Monte Cavallo, is shown the chamber in which St. Stanislaus Kostka died. It is now a chapel, and on the spot where he expired a most lovely figure of the little saint is represented as on his bed, in black and white marble. The sculptor, from being a heretic, was converted by the work of his own hands. What a tender mystery of grace! These are the doors which open not for gold, but only to the symbolum or sacred sign of Catholics. In the convent of the oratory at Rome, you see the chamber of St. Philip Neri, with the furniture as it stood in his time. What stranger can be insensible to the influence of local associations as he passes through the streets of Florence, when in a lane near the Cathedral, which enters the Piazza at the spot where Dante used to sit, he is shown the house in which St. Antoninus, the sainted archbishop, was born and educated? or when at Milan his attention is arrested in a street near the Basilica of St. Ambrose by an inscription, stating that in that house was baptized St. Augustin by St. Ambrose? or when he sees there the halls of the Palatine schools, and the statue of St. Augustine, under which is written "Augustinus hic humana docens, Divina didicit?" With what reverence does one enter that cell at Padua, built by the very hands of the seraphic father, inhabited at various times by five saints, and where Jesus Christ himself appeared in a visible form to the dying Antony. From this spot was that blessed soul conducted to heaven, attended by

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 18.

a choir of exulting angels. Ah! well may the inscription over the entrance be "supplex ingredere." In Sienna, the city which boasts the two holy advocates, is that cell of St. Catharine, in the house where she was born, which was originally a little room at the far end of the shop of her father, who was a dver. In this cell she slept, and wrote her celebrated Epistles, and studied the holy Scriptures and the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas. The hole in the wall is seen through which she daily gave alms to the poor. In this cell she performed her penitential exercises: in this cell she had the vision of angels: in this cell did she remain in an exstacy during three days after the festival of the conversion of St. Paul. At Paris, in the street de la Calendre, the fifth house on the right hand, on entering from the street de la Juiverie, was believed by tradition to have been that in which St. Marcel, Bishop of Paris, was born, whose image was over the door. The clergy of Notre Dame used to make a station before this house on the day of the Ascension.\* At Rheims, on the eastern side, was a gate called of the Prison, because there was a tower there in which Archbishop Tilpin confined Oger le Danois, and where Archbishop Vulfar retained some Saxons, whom Charlemagne had confided to him."†

The first bishops of Rheims were St. Sixtus and St. Siniceus, among whose converts fifty martyrs sealed their faith with their blood, at a spot called La Pompelle, one league from the city on the great Roman road, which was shown by constant tradition. That Troyes there was a house which bore the sign of the tower of St. Mastie, to commemorate the tower of the house which had formerly stood there, in which that holy virgin lived with her parents in the fifth century, where her family received the first Christian missionaries, and were converted by them. In the wall of the house before which St. Loup stopped Attila, when he passed by Troves, was a piece of sculpture, representing the holy Bishop with his mitre and crosier, and a great soldier followed by others of a lower stature, and under it was an inscription, stating that in that spot did St. Loup, Bishop of Troyes, stop Attila. It would be

endless to enumerate similar instances.

The streets of the cities of Italy are immortalized, not merely by the fountains that have been sung by Dante, but by the miraculous graces of heaven commemorated by solemn pillars, as that column near the Baptistery in the Piazza del Duomo at Florence, which attests the miracle connected with the body of St. Zenobio, and that stone cross in the square at Aosta, which commemorates the flight of Calvin from that city on his return from Italy. In these cities are bridges containing houses in which were born canonized saints, and palaces, from the balconies of which most holy pontiffs have given their benediction.\*\* At Florence there is that bridge of graces with its little oratory of our Lady, and the house still stands in which was born the blessed Thomas de Belacci, of the order of St. Francis. Some of these ancient Christian cities were a grave and melancholy aspect, which announced the city of recollections and of the past. Witness Arles, with its hotels

<sup>\*</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Pars, tom. ii. chap. 2. † Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, liv. xix. † De-guerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 18. ± Id. liv. i. 28. & That of Sienna. \*\* From the Palace Pitti Pius vii., in 1804, gave his benediction to the Florentines.

and castles whose mysterious inhabitants have long since disappeared, and with its images that have an undefinable air of strangeness, which startles the beholder. Witness Pisa, with its palaces, that contain mysterious inscriptions over the gates, enigmatical, and full of ancient and forgotten lore. On the palace Lanfreducci are the words "alla giornata," under which hangs a captive's chain; the origin of which is no less a mystery than the inscription, though one feels that there is some connexion between them, and that they refer to the secret of some forgotten history. Into what meditation does the pilgrim fall when he reads over the gate of an ancient palace in Ravenna, the city which received the banished Dante, these words, which seem to refer to that event: "Deesse nobis terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non potest:" or when, over the door of another house in the same city, he reads, "Amicis et ne paucis pateat etiam fictis?" These palaces, erected in the middle ages, have a solemn and tragic aspect, and they astonish us by their number as well as by their vastness. The verses of Horace do not seem to have cooled the ardour of our ancestors for building, although they did not require to be reminded of their tombs. The interior of these majestic hotels, as we observed of the castles of chivalry, announced any thing but an effeminate and trifling taste. It is impossible not to be struck with awe on ascending those majestic staircases in the palaces of Genoa, or on entering that terrible Hall of the Giants in the palace of Tau at Mantua, in which, when once entered, you see no means of exit; but you are surrounded with rocks, which fall upon giants wounded and flying, and defending themselves in vain on ground which is covered with ruins, while the distance is involved in clouds and thunder. Even the windows of shops in Catholic cities correspond with the spirituality of the inhabitants, and present more beautiful objects of piety for the use and decoration of churches and oratories than instruments of luxury and secular pomp. Jewels and gold are displayed there in subservience to religious reverence, and not to the vanity of the rich. The profession of the silversmiths of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was connected with all the arts of design, and formed an apprenticeship and a school of sculpture; so that from their shops came forth such men as Brunellesco, Donatello, and Ghiberti.

As he who kneeling gazes on the relicks of the saintly dead within the walls of Vallombrosa, feels his eyes drawn on every side, and knows not where to stay his looks, so doth the pilgrim feel his sense confused on entering an ancient city of the Christians, which on every side contains some wondrous monument of sanctity, beneficence, and zeal. The streets of cities in the middle ages, as indeed those of Italy and Spain at present, were not a scene of constant commotion and bewildering activity, from the din and dust of wheels, like those of mod-

ern luxurious cities

——where the noise Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers, And injury and outrage.

Men were taught, as in the time of St. Chrysostom, to walk through the streets of cities with the utmost modesty, having their eyes rather cast upon the ground than directing them from side to side, lest their enemy should take occasion to wound their soul. The inhabitants

seemed employed but not dissipated. Every thing indicated that they had heard the holy warning, "potes citò fugare Jesum, et gratiam ejus perdere si volucris ad exteriora declinare." The streets were not disturbed by that confusion of hideous discords which pervade the towns of France and England, where the liaste of those who have deserted the place of virtue to become the restless slaves of sordid gain, gives rise to a multitude of sounds distracting and ignoble: they were not a stage of continued agony for poor animals, sinking under the blows of merciless tormentors, who seemed in every stroke to think of their political enemies. The streets from the thirteenth century, as at Rome till lately, and as at Florence to this day, were flagged across like the pavement of a church, being less designed for wheeled carriages than for passengers on foot or on horseback. The latter were sufficiently numerous, for nobles used to pay their visits on horseback, judges to proceed to the courts, and even the clergy to go about on horseback; monks used sometimes to preach from horseback; kings went to be crowned on horseback; and it is even recorded that the constable of St. Pol went on horseback from the Bastile to the Place de Grêve to be beheaded.\* It was not necessary to be rich and to have a vast palace in order to sleep in the city;† the sweet refreshment of the first rest was not excluded there. Guillaume de Champagne, Archbishop of Rheims, gave to that city the ground called "culturam" in the suburbs, in order to build upon it houses for the cartwrights, carpenters, coopers, and all who exercised a noisy trade, that the streets of the city might be tranquil. Their silence was only broken by the cheerful sound of human voices, or by the sweet tinkling of innumerable bells, for such was the number of clocks that struck minute divisions of every hour, from churches, convents, palaces, and portals, that it was like a constant shower of hours and beautiful harmony, or else it was by the chaunt of the solemn litanee, begun within a church, and then continued in the adjoining street by the kneeling crowd. In the south of France, at the present day, as we read was the case in Avignon in the time of Petrarch, the stone benches at the doors of the houses are occupied every evening by persons of all classes, not excepting even the noblest, conversing familiarly together, as if members of one family, while children play in the centre of the streets, and poets recite their verses to the plaintive melody of a guitar. Such seats are found outside the house of Ariosto, in the street of Mirasole at Ferrara.

To account for the different character which architecture, customs, hours, and all things relative to life in cities assume with the moderns, and with those who followed the Christian philosophy, would not be difficult. The moderns are only pleased by distraction, and their cities are expressly required to supply them with this ingredient, so essential to their enjoyment. Each house seems to proclaim the character of its inhabitant; the whole man drawn out to things external, and resting on things without.

His hours fill'd up with riots, banquets, sports, And never noted in him any study,

<sup>\*</sup> Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. iv. 301. Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, ii. 341.

Any retirement, any sequestration From open haunts and populanty.

Γαστήρ όλον το σωμα, πανταχή βλέπαν 'Οφθαλμός.

And, as Messenio jests in the old play, every city under their influence might have been called Epidamnus, even by themselves; for they never left one without suffering loss;\* whereas our Catholic ancestors were most cheerful when the interior life was not injured by things external, but rather assisted; and therefore even the form of their cities was calculated to favour meditation and peace, insomuch that as St. Benedict prescribes to the abbots of his order, "All things seem to have been purposely tempered and disposed, so that souls might be saved." It was clear that a meek placid feeling was diffused through the state. narrow modest streets, in which the people seem to live as one family, and to walk as dear children before God, with their eyes continually presented with gracious images of the saints and of our blessed Lady, however disagreeable in the judgment of those who seek to live well by means of horses and chariots, who are accustomed to cities where both nature and Christianity are banished, in which the public ways seem so expressly designed for the purposes of dress and display, that men are afraid to speak or move there, excepting with an air which denotes that they are rich, seem expressly made to favour a form of life for men who rather shun than love distraction. In Christian ages, the poet might traverse Rome from the Quirinal to Mount Aventine without meeting any obstacle to his meditation, and the chorus of writers was not obliged, as Horace says, to fly from cities and confine its affection to the groves.† Wherever streets were necessarily disturbed, it was usual, until two centuries ago, to build houses with their gable ends turned towards it, so that the front was removed from the distraction, being towards some court or garden. In fact, in Catholic cities, the laity could always lead somewhat of a monastic life, while inhabiting their paternal or their hired house. They have other resources there, besides flying from place to place, like hawks or vultures, wherever the smell of meat rises to their nostrils, indicating the preparation for a feast. In a modern city, men in the evening leave their houses for a banquet: in a a Catholic city they go out for the benediction. The offices of the Church, morning and evening, and even the night instruction were not wanting to those who were still living in the world; and, if the intervals were past in study, or other intellectual exercise, it was a life scholastic and almost monastical. The number of churches always open, the frequent processions, and the repeated instructions of the clergy, made the whole city like a holy place, and were, without doubt, the means of making multitudes to choose the strait entrance, and to walk in the narrow way. There are many who have no idea of the perfection in which great numbers, in every rank of society, pass their lives in Catholic cities, not excepting even that capital which has of late been made the nurse of so much ill. But wherever the modern philosophy has created, as it were, an atmosphere, that which is spiritual is so confined, closed, and isolated, that its existence is hardly felt or known. The world appears to reign with undisputed possession, and that too as if it had authority to reign. And yet there are tender and passionate souls who have need of being unceasingly preserved in the path of virtue by the rein of religious exercises, who when deprived of the power of approaching at the hour their inclinations may suggest to the sources of grace, are exposed to great perils, and who, perhaps, sometimes incur in consequence eternal death.

Ay me, how many perils doe enfold, The righteous man, to make him daily fall!

House of prayer why close thy gates? Is there an hour in all nature when the heart should be weary of prayer? when man, whom highest God doth deign to hear in thee as his temple, should have no incense

to offer before thy altar, no tear to confide to thee?\*

In Catholic cities there are always some young persons who lead a life like that of St. Basil and his friend, while students together, who knew the way to two places only of the great city in which they resided,-to the church and to the schools. And yet there even the most frequented ways are safe for innocence, breathing rather an air of poesy than of diabolic contagion. The poor beggars in the streets of Rome, instead of telling a tale of feigned distress, are heard chaunting the prose for the dead or some hymn to blessed Mary. Homer is represented saying, that he prefers wandering over the world, though weak and poor, to leading an idle life in the sacred streets of Cyme; but in a Catholic city there is no condition which may not possess sanctity and joy. No hostile banner is there hoisted to draw men from the ranks of virtue. The Florentines, indeed, may not at present dress in the simple style which seemed so admirable to Dante, but visit a sea-port like Genoa, and see what innocent and holy manners prevail. It is no longer the nautic crowd whose dissolute insolence is the theme of the Athenian poets. Here angels might pass, and not drop a tear. Mark the manners even of the multitude that loiters in the public ways of every frequented town. See how it meekly kneels to receive a benediction from the bishop who happens to pass by; and when the dusk comes on, and the lamp of the sanctuary begins to shine brighter, and to arrest the eye of the passenger through the opened doors of churches, hearken to the sweet sound of innumerable bells which rises from all sides, and see what a change of movement takes place among this joyous and innocent people; the old men break off their conversation on the benches at the doors and take out their rosaries, the children snatch up their books and jackets from the green in token that play is over, the women rise from their labour of the distaff, and altogether proceed into the church, when the solemn litance soon rises with its abrupt and crashing peal, till the bells all toll out their last and loudest tone, and the adorable victim is raised over the prostrate people, who then issue forth and retire to their respective homes in sweet peace, and with an expression of the utmost thankfulness and joy. The moderns in vain attempt to account for the difference of manners in these Catholic cities. and in their own, by referring to their present prosperity and accumulation of wealth; these cities in point of magnificence incomparably sur-

<sup>\*</sup> Lamartine.

passed theirs, and with respect to riches they were not inferior: for peace was in their strength, and abundance in their towers. An able writer has shown that the commercial prosperity of Christian nations was owing to that universal church which broke down the barriers between different nations, developed and assisted the spirit of proselvtism by withdrawing religion from national and political forms, and by means of that spirit, opened new channels to maritime commerce and to the intercourse of men. St. Louis, in his establishments, laid down the principle of free exportation as the simple dictate of universal charity. It is true men had not for sole motive of activity the desire of making a fortune, tempered by the fear of the executioner; but riches flowed into the Catholic states, as they had been promised in the Gospel, in the way of a surplus; and temporal prosperity was added unto those who sought first the kingdom of heaven and its justice. In 1764, the Abbe Intieri, founded at Naples the first chair of political economy, and the author who remarks this fact, establishes his proposition that Catholicism comprizes in its practical consequences the most admirable system of social economy that has ever been given to the world. In fact, from the tenth century, a multitude of free cities had risen in Flanders and on the Baltic, the ancient territory of the Germans, which rivalled Venice and Genoa in riches. It is admitted that in the fifteenth century, Florence, Venice, and Genoa, possessed as much wealth as is now found in London, and without the desolation of its poor. Two millions of florins in gold, in effective money, circulated at that time in the former city, while it was the centre of learning and the arts. Boniface VIII. said to Charles of Valois, who was going to Florence, "I send you to the fountain of gold." Nevertheless Pignotti remarks that the merchants there still lived even in the midst of riches, far removed from the parade of ostentation. They would not have ventured to put either gold or silver upon their garments, nor make use of silver plate at their tables; and it would have been accounted a shame for a citizen to make use of it.\* "For this disposition and greatness of mind" was inherent in a Catholic community, to which these words of Cicero are strictly applicable, "that while in their private affairs and domestic expenses, being content with the least, they lived on the most slender allowance, in the empire and in public dignity they referred all things to grandeur and magnificence." "Quæritur enim in re domestica continentiæ laus, in publica dignitatis."† Pignotti says, that in the course of a few years many sumptuous edifices had been erected in Florence, and that generosity appeared to go hand in hand with religious charity in embellishing that city. In the year 1288, a Florentine citizen, Falco Portinari, better known on account of his daughter Beatrice, who is immortalized by Dante, than by the pious and useful work he began, founded the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, one of the first in Tuscany. Five years afterwards, the genius of Calimala was employed in adorning the church of St. John with white and black marble. In the preceding year, on the day of the holy cross, the church of this name was begun with that magnificence which we now admire; and in September a beginning was made with all possible splendour to the superb cathedral of Santa

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. of Tuscany, iii.

<sup>+</sup> Pro L. Flacco.

Maria del Fiore. It was to these holy edifices that merchants voluntarily devoted a part of their gains. The same men built also two towns in the upper valley of the Arno, peopled them, and gave privileges to the inhabitants. These were the castles of St. John upon the left bank of the Arno, and that of Castel Franco on the right. It was the genius of the Catholic religion which inspired Cosmo de Medicis, when he applied his immense riches to embellishing the city and the country with sacred and profane buildings. The hill of Fiesole still boasts of his superb edifices; those of St. Jerome, the magnificent abbey, the splendid villa at the summit of Careggi, Cafaggiolo, and Trebbio, are all works of Cosmo. In Florence, the sumptuous palace in Via Larga, the churches of St. Laurence, St. Mark, and St. Verdiana, owe their origin to him. In Magello, too, he erected the church of the minor friars in the midst of a delightful grove, and he even erected hospitals in Jerusalem: in such works the operation of religion is seen as clearly as if they were enjoined by the very letter of its text. Since the ages of faith, and the revival of the epicurean philosophy, the only monuments erected in towns have been fortresses and prisons, theatres, ex-

changes, and triumphal arches.

"Laudantur urbes similiter atque homines," says Quinctilian. "The virtues and vices of each are the same." Amidst the general character of faith which belonged to Christian cities, there were moral features peculiar to particular places discernible in each. Thus an old writer says, that the city of Rouen assumed a lamb for its arms, to signify that this city was always mild and gentle, insomuch that the blood of no martyr was ever shed within its walls; the first messenger of God who came there having been received with honour, and all strangers being sure in all ages, to meet there with kind and hospitable treatment. † At Peronne, such attention was paid to innocence of language, that fines used to be levied upon all who offended against it, and these fines were applied to the expense of the walls. + Some cities could beast of enjoying the special favour of holy advocates; others, like Ravenna, seemed to enjoy privileges from heaven. At Lyons, the church had a custom of always expecting a revelation from God before it elected an archbishop. In the sixth century, this custom prevailed there, as appears from the life of St. Eucher; for we read that on occasion of his predecessor's death, a child had a vision of an angel, who indicated to him St. Eucher, who led a hermit's life in a cavern on the Durance. Upon hearing this, the people and clergy, after a fast of three days. sent the archdeacon with some others to the hermit, whom they brought back with them, and recognised him unanimously as their pastor. Cities exulted in their ancient exploits of saintly warfare, as a family in those of its ancestors. Thus, in the hall of the palace of the Republic, at Sienna, you are triumphantly shewn a painting which represents the departure of the two thousand Siennese crusaders, who were sent to the Holy Land in the year 1098. Cicero says, "that for discipline and

<sup>\*</sup> Hist Orat. lib. iii. 7.

<sup>†</sup> Théod. Liquet, Recherches sur l'Hist. Religieuse et Litteraire de Rouen depuis les premiers temps jusqu'à Rollon, p. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Lettres du Roi, 28 Janv. 1368, relative to the town of Peronne.
Mabillon, Acta Renedict. tom. i. 248.

gravity Marseilles surpassed every other, and that it would be easier to praise all its institutions than to imitate them." Yet his writings are an evidence that the whole character of a city life has undergene a revolution since the rise of Christianity; for in the ages of faith it was assuredly free from the crimes which he seems to think inseparable from it.† In the Augustan age the persons who preferred cities to the country are described as having regard only to their plays, baths, taverns, and vaults of debauchery.† In comparison with the character which then prevailed, there was no luxury and consequently no avarice in Catholic cities: it was for every man who wished to visit them, and not, as at ancient Corinth, for the rich alone. "The Romans," says Petrarch, "are not greedy of gain. I was astonished in so great a city to find so few merchants and usurers." The streets of these cities were less familiar with the bulletins of an exchange, than with the verses of pilgrims, who, like St. Columban from Ireland, sung the shame and

folly of avariee.

St. Gregory, of Tours, mentions the coming of Numinus, a French nobleman, to the city of Auxerre, and expressly says, that he came to that city, "causa tantum religionis," to visit the tombs of saints, and to pray to God. Fleury says, that during the solemn fasts of the church, all business ceased, and the streets of the most populous cities were as silent as the desert. On entering a Catholic city during the octave of Corpus Christi, you find the air in every street embalmed with the fragrance of roses, and the pavement still strewed with the beautiful leaves which had been scattered before the blessed sacrament. Cities were privileged, mysterious holy places, which announced on all sides the good tidings of redemption, and from many of them, as still in our days from Rome, each man necessarily returned either better or worse than when he went. When the Normans in the eleventh century first came to Sicily, Messina had been since two hundred years in the hands of the Mussulmans, and yet on the summit of its ramparts shone a cross of gold on a purple flag, a revered symbol which the inhabitants had obtained permission to retain. When Ferdinand and Isabella had delivered the city of Grenada from the dominion of the Moors, the joy was all for the exaltation of the cross. The first step taken by the grand master of Leon, on taking possession of the city, was to elevate a great cross on the highest tower of the Alhambra, while a numerous clergy entoned the joyful hymn of "Te Deum laudamus," and the devout hymn, "O Crux ave spes unica." Three times was the said cross raised on high, and at each elevation the people sung this rious hymn. Then the devout and victorious King of Spain, nobly armed on horseback in the midst of his battalions, when he beheld the cross elevated, dismounted and knelt upon the ground, and adored the cross, returning thanks to God for the benefits he had bestowed upon them in the recovery of this great city of Grenada. As you enter Rome by the gate of St. Paul, or by that of St. Lorenzo, you see a little cross in the wall of the outer portal, and this every fervent Christian kisses with devout reverence. In Italy, the first thing that meets the eye over the gate of

<sup>\*</sup> Pro L. Flacco. † Pro S. Roscio Amer. ¶ Greg. Turon. de Gloria Confess. cap. 43.

<sup>†</sup> Hor. Epist. i 14. Meurs des Chrêst. 290.

towered cities is a pious invitation to all the faithful from some particular church, to assist in it at some approaching festival which it is about to celebrate. At the gate of every city there is an image of its patron, or some noble painting which tells the stranger that faith is within those walls, so that he enters full of devout joy and confidence, perhaps, applying to it those mysterious words of the divine text, "Blessed are they who enter into the city; without are the delusions of nature, and the poisonous creatures which infest the desert of the world." Nor are these impressions effaced as he departs from it, for the Catholic traveller must needs feel that the place is holy in which dwells the meek religious man of blessed order to whom he has repaired in the sacramental tribunals, whom he found a man of God, for wisdom and for charity more than human, who has renovated his world-worn heart by revealing to him the secrets of the spiritual side of things and refreshed his parched and fainting soul with some drops of the dew of heaven. Many were the memorable events which followed from this conception of the holiness of cities, of which two instances are related by St. Gregory, of Tours; for he says, that the city of Bazadois being besieged, a certain holy priest used to go around the walls every night singing the Psalms and praying, while the enemy was laying waste all the surrounding towns, burning houses, and ravaging lands, and plundering in all directions; but that one night it seemed to Gauseric, the king of the barbarians, as if men in white robes, and carrying lighted tapers, were making the circuit of the city, and raising a chorus of psalmody; that after sending a herald to demand the reason of it, and receiving for answer, that no such procession had been seen by the citizens, and that they knew nothing of it, he concluded if they do not know it is manifest that God assists them, and thereupon that he drew off from the place.\* The second example occurred at the siege of Nantes, while that city was surrounded by a host of barbarians, in the time of King Chlodorec, for it happened on the sixtieth night of the siege about midnight, that there appeared to them men in white vestments, and holding burning tapers, who walked forth from the Basilica of the blessed martyrs, Rogatianus and Donatus, and another chorus proceeded from the neighbouring church of the great confessor Similinus. The two processions joined and saluted each other, prostrated themselves in prayer, and then returned each to the place whence it first came forth. At this spectacle, the whole army of the enemy being seized with great horror, fled with such precipitation, that at break of day there was not a man to be seen. Fanciful writers availed themselves of this opinion of the sanctity of cities in framing tales to amuse their readers. Torquemade relates an instance to show how unwilling were those under the dominion of demons to enter them, and it is told with such simplicity, that it cannot be heard without a certain pleasure. "When I was a student," then says Torquemade, "another young scholar was very intimate with me, who became afterwards so skilled in medicine, that he was made physician to the Emperor Charles V. This youth told me that being at the town of Guadaloupe, learning grammar in the monastery there, he on one occasion went out in the evening to take a walk in the fields, and that

<sup>\*</sup> S. Greg. Turon. Miracul. lib. i. 13.

he saw a man coming up to him habited like a monk, and mounted on a horse so lean and weary, that it seemed hardly able to bear the weight. The stranger came up to him and said, 'Young man, will you do me the favour to go for me into the town and buy something for my supper, because I cannot enter it myself at present, for certain reasons; and you will do me a great pleasure if you will take this trouble for me.' The scholar said he would go gladly if he would give him the means: and so he gave him silver, and the scholar ran to the town, and brought him back what he desired. The man, spreading his mantle on the ground, sat down and made his supper in the field, and invited the scholar to eat with him. So as they talked together about many things, the scholar asked him where he was going, and he replied, to Grenada. The scholar said, 'I hope to go there myself before long to see my mother, for it is a long time since I have seen her or heard from her.' The man then said, 'If you wish to go there, come with me, and I will pay your expenses, and comfort you on the way; only it must be on the condition that we set out immediately, for I cannot delay here.' The scholar, who was very poor, not having a farthing, accepted the offer, and only begged him to wait till he could run to the town, to commend some of his acquaintances to God, and to tie up some books. The man consenting, he ran off, and came back speedily with his books in a string; but as it was night-fall, he begged the man to wait till morning; but he replied that they would better travel during the night, and rest by day, in order to avoid the heat, for it was in the month of June: so they set out, the man on horseback and the scholar on foot, talking together of many things, till after a time the man desired him to mount up behind him. The scholar began to laugh, and said, 'How can your horse carry us both, when he is already so fatigued with your weight?" 'Ah,' replied the stranger, 'you do not know him: only mount, boy, as I bid you.' The scholar obeyed, and immediately the horse began to trot in a wonderful style, and so smoothly, that the scholar at last fell asleep. Thus they travelled all night, and at day-break the scholar opened his eyes and saw a beautiful country of gardens and groves, and a great city before him, and he asked his companion what was its name, and he told him that they were on the plain of Grenada, and only begged in return for such a lift, that he would not mention to any one the particulars of the journey; 'for,' he added, 'I must now turn off here, and so you may go your own way into the city.' The scholar, in great amaze, let himself down and took leave of him, and entered Grenada, not a little alarmed, and persuaded that he must have been riding upon a horse possest,"\*

But to return from fable to history. The very seasons of amusement and of busy occupation in cities partook of a religious interest. Sacred plays were represented to honour the entry of kings: it was usual in the public streets to act the play of the Good Samartian, of Dives and Lazarus, of the Annunciation and Nativity. Coventry, Chester, York, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, were famous for their religious plays. The incorporated trades used to perform, and the various sacred parts were assigned to particular trades, according to their respective patrons. A

sacred mystery of the passion of Christ was performed at Padua in 1243, and at Friuli in 1298; and at Florence in 1304 there was a representation of hell upon the Arno, to the fame of which spectacle Dante, then in exile, is said to have been not insensible. In the same city, on occasion of the anniversary of the death of Cosmo de Medicis, there was a grand public festival given in representation of the three Magi coming from the East guided by the star. It was so pompous, that the preparations cost the labour of three months.\* These superb pageants, which used to be celebrated in cities and towns on great events, in which persons of all ranks took part, nourished a taste for art and decoration, and tended to ennoble and humanise the lower orders. Such were the magnificent spectacles given at Venice, when Lorenzo Celsi was doge, in the year 1364, on occasion of the recovery of the island of Candia, and at Milan by the Visconti, in 1355, and by Bergonzo Botta on the marriage of Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza with Isabella of Arragon; as also by Galeazzo Visconti in 1366, when he married his daughter to Lionel, son of the king of England, and that celebrated at Rimini in 1324, by Malatesta. These were sometimes annual, as that at Venice on the election of a new doge, and on the marrying of the sea, when used to be displayed the eight standards, which sovereign pontiffs had given to the republic; and that on the feast of St. Catharine, instituted by the doge Gradenigo in 1307; and in other places an annual rejoicing took place, as at Ferrara, in pursuance of a statute in 1279; on the festival of St. George; and at Vicenza that denominated of the wheel, on Corpus Christi and on the Assumption; at Pavia on the anniversary of the translation of San Siro; and at Sienna on the feast of St. George, to commemorate its deliverance at Monte Aperto; at Modeno on the feast of St. Michael; at Bologna, in the thirteenth century, on that of St. Bartholomew, to commemorate its deliverance from the tyranny of the Ghibellines; and on that of St. Peter; at Verona, on the first Sunday of Lent, at which latter Dante was present; and on the last Friday of the carnival, in the piazza of St. Zeno.† Strype mentions the spectacles which were exhibited in London, when Queen Eleanor rode through the city to her coronation, in 1236; and again in 1298, on occasion of the victory obtained by Edward I. over the Scots; and again in 1357, when Edward the Black Prince brought King John of France prisoner through the city; and in 1392, when Richard II. passed through London, after the citizens, by submission and the queen's intercession, had obtained the restoration of their charter; and again in 1415, upon the entry of Henry V. after the battle of Agincourt; and again in 1445, on the marriage of Henry VI. with Queen Marguerite, of which last we read, that there were costly pageants with verses by Lydgate, and resemblance of divers old histories, to the great comfort of the queen and her attendants. Sometimes the public amusements consisted in the exercises of the youth. Invitations to tournaments used to be sent to cities as well as to the nobility. In the year 1331, the citizens of Rheims proceeded under their banners to assist at a celebrated tournament near Tourney, at which Hugues de Large, one of their number, defeated and disarmed John Vestin of Tournay, sur-

<sup>\*</sup> Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, lib. vii. † Antichita Romantiche d'Italia, Epoca II.

named Le Roi de Cornouailles, one of the most doughty champions.\* Rivers gave occasion to a variety of joyous spectacles, as that at Pavia every year performed in boats on the Ticino: and at Pisa that on the bridge over the Arno, to commemorate the valour of Cinzica Sismondi, whose heroism preserved the city from being surprised by the Sarassini in 1105:† but the sentiment of Pagan glory never entered into them; for the mimic triumph of Castruccio Castracani at Lucca, in 1326, was a rare, if not a solitary instance, of a revival of that barbarous spectacle. In Italy we may still witness the innocent and beautiful form of public rejoicing, as in that city on the Arno, t whose youth still delights in the exercises of the days of old chivalry, when its festivities could inspire Ariosto with imagery for his world of bright enchantment. The chivalry of humble life played an important part on these occasions. The King of France, Louis XII. and his queen, made their entry into the city of Rouen, which was very triumphant, for, adds the old historian of Bayart, if the gentlemen did their duty there, the children of the town did their's no less. In another respect they conduced to the advantage of society, by causing to meet together the nobles, poets, philosophers, and men of letters of various countries, who thus became acquainted with each other, and mutually imparted those discoveries which might contribute to the common glory. In fact, noble writers did not disdain to describe these spectacles; and sometimes the earliest efforts of their genius were employed upon them, as those of Giambullari when he described that celebrated at Florence on the marriage of Cosmo I. with Eleanore of Toledo. At Venice, Jaffier had the curiosity to witness the ceremony of the Doge marrying the sea, because it was to be for the last time. St. Real says, this spectacle of public rejoicing, this tranquil and happy festival of a whole people, so wrought upon him that he lost all resolution to co-operate with the conspirators and destroy Venice: and it was at that moment that he conceived the expedient which he hoped might save both the city and his companions. trarch, describing the joyous festivity at Cologne on the evening of his arrival in that city, after mentioning how he was struck with the number of beautiful women who covered the banks of the Rhine, concludes thus: "In the midst of the vast crowd I was surprised to find neither tumult nor confusion; a great joy appeared without licentiousness." The connection between the Catholic religion and this cheerful and happy aspect of cities, was never more clearly seen than where the modern philosophy is allowed to prevail against it, as in that noble capital which in former times was joyous and comparatively innocent, though now, through the multitude of her sophists, she is proud and loathsome. There for awhile at least they have accomplished their triumph: "attrita est civitas vanitatis; clausa est omnis domus nullo introeunte."

To the intervals of busy occupation belonged also a kind of religious interest in the Christian towns, which might even supply matter for a curious episode in their history. When religion had given rise to an extraordinary concourse of people at any place, assembling in conse-

<sup>\*</sup> Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, liv. iii. 154. † Tranci Annali Pisani. Marangoni Cronica di Pisa, 318. The famous sport of the Pisans, called the giuoco del ponte, recalls the games of La tres joyeuse Hystoire, &c. chap. xxviii. chivalry.

quence of devotion to some saint on his festival, merchants availed themselves of the circumstance, and fairs were established during the interval, so that the faithful might exercise their devotion, and at the same time reap the advantage of a plentiful and cheap market for things of more rare or difficult attainment. The clergy favoured commerce to a certain extent, and even granted indulgences to those who, having repaired to these fairs, should make offerings to the poor in the nearest church; for piety found nothing to condemn in this kind of commerce, which was simple and conformable to those primeval maxims of humanity which Hesiod of old developed in heroic verse. All servile labour was indeed prohibited on a festival, but dispensations and custom for the good of the community allowed this minor and local traffic, though contrary to the canon law, which on these occasions was considered abrogated.\*

At Jerusalem during the seasons when the pilgrims from the West resorted thither, there was a fair held; at Loretto on the festival of our Lady in September, at Pavia on the festival of St. Augustin, whose relics are there enshrined, and similarly in other places, according to the epoch of their respective patrons, annual fairs were held. At Lyons the famous fair des Merveilles owed its origin to a solemn festival, celebrated in memory of the 19,000 victims whose blood was shed for the faith in the primitive Church. This drew such a concourse of people, that the fair was established. The celebrated fair of Beaucaire was held at the feast of the Magdalen. In the time of King Charles V. Gilles Malet, Seigneur of Villepecle, obtained leave to have a fair in this place, to begin on St. George's Day, on account of the concourse of people to the chapel there, which was under the invocation of that saint.† Such was the crowd of devout people who resorted to the abbey of Gercy on the festival of its patron, when his relics were exposed, that the abbess obtained leave, in 1510, to establish a fair on that day. It was the exposition of the relics in the abbey of Hierre which occasioned the concourse of people there, and the consequent establishment of the fair on its festival. The dedication of the church of St. Remi at Rheims, is still commemorated by an annual fair on the first of October. In the year 1486 the monks of St. Germain-des-Près, at Paris, had the privilege of holding a fair near the abbey; so had also the abbey of St. Laurent. This was the scene of Parisian festivity. Every day during the fair, mass used to be said in a chapel at the end of one of the halls or booths. There was also a fair in the open place opposite the west front of Nôtre Dame; another within the walls of the temple on the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude; another on the festival of St. Clair, before the abbey of St. Victor; and generally there used to be a fair before each church on the festival of its patron-saint. ±

In England the history of fairs proves the practice to have been the same as in other countries. When the first mass was sung in Salisbury Cathedral after its erection on the new site, King Henry III. gave a charter to the church, granting, among other privileges, the liberty of an

<sup>\*</sup> Ligorio Theologia, lib. iii. Tract. iii. cap. 1.

<sup>†</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. xiii. 195, † De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. iv. 351,

annual fair of eight days, from the vigil to the octave of the assumption inclusive, for the benefit of the church. The priory of St. Bartholomew in London had the privilege, from the kings of England, of hold-

ing an annual fair on its festival.

To mark how much interest might be attached to the history of these fairs, let us delay an instant and hear the account which is given of that of St. Denis, which was for the first time established near that abbey in the time of the pious King Dagobert. It began on the 9th of October, the festival of St. Denis, and lasted during a month, to allow time for merchants to come from Lombardy, Provence, and Spain. In the year 1472, it was finally abridged to eight days. The second fair of St. Denis began on the festival of St. Matthias, because that was the day of the dedication of the church, which had been finished under Charlemagne. Indulgences were published then for all who visited the church. The third fair of St. Denis was called the Landit, from the word "indictus," or "campus indicatus," it being held in the fields between La Chapelle and St. Denis, where the Bishop of Paris used to assemble the devout multitude to show the holy relics of the cathedral, there being no church in Paris large enough for the purpose. The clergy went in procession, "usque ad indictum:" and this was the origin of the Landit. A poet of the year 1290, who had made a list of the streets of Paris in verse, gave a description of this fair as "la plus roial foire du monde."

"Premierement la procession
De Nostre Dame de Paris
Y vient, que Dieu gapt de perir,
Tous les bons marcheans qui y sont,
Qui les grans richesses y ont,
Que Diex les puit tous avancier:
L'Evesque ou le Penancier,
Leur fait de Dieu beneison."

"There," he says, "are the sellers of beer and the barbers, the tavern-keepers and the sellers of tapestry, and the mercers,

"A la coste du grand chemin Est la foire du parchemin."

And after that are the tailors, the furriers, the linen-drapers, the leather-sellers, the shoe-sellers, and cutlers, and rope-sellers, the corn-merchants, the jewellers, and silversmiths. These merchants come to the fair from Paris and Provins, Rouen, Ghent, Ypres, Douay, Bruxelles, Caen, Breteul, Chartres, Beauvais, Evreux, Troyes, Sens, Auxmalle, Montereul sur la Mer, St. Quintin, St. Omer, Abbeville, Chalons, Louvain, Tournay, Corbie, Lille, Flui Arras. Mercy!" cries the poet, oppressed with the numbers that occur to him,

"Je les mis tous en mon escrit."

"Nor must I forget," he continues, "the dealers in cattle, in sheep, and swine, and horses."

"Rousins, palefrois et destrier, Les meilleurs, que l'on puet trover, Jumens, poulains et palefrois, Tels comme por Contes et pour Roys."

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Upon the acquisition which the abbey of St. Denis made of this land in 1294, the Landit came more under its jurisdiction. When the day arrived of the Landit, the abbey sent its officers to receive the bishop and clergy of Paris with the relics. In the thirteenth century, the university of Paris being established in form, began to take part in the Landit, on account of the parchment sold there, which was then a great article in all fairs. The rector went to choose the parchment for the university. In 1291, all dealers in parchment were forbidden to procure it at the Landit, on the first day of the fair, before merchants of the king and of the bishop of Paris, and the masters and scholars of the university, had made their provisions. This going of the rector to the Landit was a joyful time for the scholars to whom it gave a vacation of some days; for all must needs go with him, as if it were not enough that he should be attended by his officers. The journey was made with all the pomp and rejoicing of an ancient triumph. All the Regents and scholars mounted on horseback in the Place of St. Geneviève, and from thence marched in order; though circumstances sometimes occurred which, as Lebeuf says, gave infinite embarrassment to the masters. It was not enough to go to the Landit, the scholars must go as far as St. Denis. As the Landit was in a hot season of the year, numbers of scholars used to fall sick in consequence of the fatigue, especially the little ones. At length, in 1550, Jerome Garnier, the rector, procured an ordonnance from the parliament, limiting the number that might accompany the rector, and only twelve of each nation were in future permitted to attend him; but notwithstanding, there continued to be private bands of scholars, called Les petits Landits, who persisted in going. The year 1556 completed the calamity of the scholars, for the Landit was removed to the walls of St. Denis. However, the scholars wishing to preserve their old customs, resolved to continue their annual expeditions to the old spot in the plain, though there was to be no longer a fair there. At length, when the art of printing had superseded the use of parchment, the Landit became obsolete, with regard to the university, and nothing remained of it but the leave which used to be granted every year on the Monday after St. Barnabas, which continued to be called the congé du Landit.\*

In Italy, on the feast of St. Mark, the indulgences granted by the holy see drawing vast multitudes to Venice, a fair was instituted in 1180 on the shores of the Adriatic, in which various spectacles used to be offered, and where it was the custom for artists to exhibit specimens of their work. It was at this fair that Canova first distinguished himself, and it was the applause there bestowed on his group of Dedalus and Icarus which is supposed to have encouraged him to persevere in that track of glory.† The minstrels who used to sing the song of Roland at these fairs became so numerous, that in 1288 there were statutes published at Bologna against them. ‡ These particulars respecting the fair of St. Mark and of St. Denis will convey an idea of the features which, in some degree, belonged to all similar assemblies of merchants in the

\* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. iii. p. 257.

<sup>†</sup> Paolo Morosini, Storia di Venezia, Marrin Storia del Commercio di Venezia. † Ghirardacci Annali.

middle ages; for every where these annual fairs were invested with somewhat of a smiling, and even poetic character, being closely connected with a thousand innocent recollections of friendship with immemorial customs, which attached men to their homes and to their country, with associations of domestic interest, and with the encouragement of humble and popular artists, who were induced to employ their talents in a multitude of inventions, and to conduce to the recreation, and even to the religious instruction of youth. Tasso, in an unpublished letter, borrows a noble image of the accidents of human life from the confusion of a solemn and populous fair; and, in fact, philosophers as well as poets might have deigned to visit them. In cities on these occasions hermits were sometimes seen, who came either for the purpose of assisting at the festival which gave rise to the fair, or else of addressing some words of holy counsel to the people assembled. Thus the hermit, Nicolas von der Fluë, who had his cell and little chapel in the forest near Sarnen, used never to be seen from home excepting once every year on the eve of the Assumption, when he used to be seen in the crowd at the solemn procession in Lucerne.\* It was on the Saturday after St. Thomas's Day, in the year 1481, that this holy man came barefoot from his cell in the forest, over the mountains, deep in snow, to Stanz, where he appeared in the assembly, and succeeded in reconciling differences, and prevailed upon his countrymen to admit Freyburg and Soleure into their confederacy, Before all the great festivals holy solitary men used to flock into cities, and were sure to appear as the great bells announced the first vespers of the feast. Monteil says, that Olier, the solitary religious man, generally known by the name of the hermit of the Aube, because he lived in a little hermitage near the source of that river, used always to come into Troves on the eve of great festivals, to assist at the solemnities in the cathedral. On these occasions he used to take up his lodging at the top of one of the towers of the Hotel de Ville; he was neither priest nor deacon, nor subdeacon nor clerk, his cowl was nothing but what was worn by the peasants; he had made no vows, like the hermit brothers, nor did he belong to any order, but was simply a lay hermit.† The appearance of such men was not an unimportant feature in the solemnities of towns. Those who have resided in Catholic cities may be often reminded of what F. Bonhours says of St. Francis Xavier, that when he used to leave his solitude, and come into the villages to instruct the poor, no one doubted, after seeing him, but that it was a saint come from the desert to teach men the way to heaven. St. Jerome used to say, "let every one judge for themselves, but to me a town is a prison, and solitude a paradise."‡ This was said at a time before christianity had imparted a new character to cities; but yet even in those early ages, we find that holy anchorites in the desert still felt an interest in the cities of men; for one of the three questions respecting the earth, which St. Paul the hermit addressed to St. Anthony was, do men raise new edifices in the ancient cities?

<sup>\*</sup> Leben und Geschichte des Nikol von Fluë, by Weissenbach, cap. 6. † Hist. des Français, tom. iv. 317.

Lives of the Fathers of the Desert, tom. i. 10.

We find that these holy lovers of solitude did not disdain sometimes to take up their residence in the neighbourhood of cities. It is in a rocky ravine in the forest which comes near to the walls of Sarnen. that the little wooden hut and chapel may be seen where once lived that man of God whose prayers had cured the sick, stopped the flames, appeased feuds, and saved his country. Hermits were frequently to be found living close to the gates of populous towns; and as when a wandering lad, who goes forth to swim on a summer's morning, discovers with joy the beauteous lily, or some wild fragrant blossom, which floats free and odoriferous upon the cool blue waves, though close to the walls of a parched and unwholesome city; so was it sweet to find these men of pure and peaceful souls, devoted to holy contemplation, dwelling within a short distance of the towns which resounded day and night to the busy hum of the multitude, that followed the broad and unsequestered way. In the third century St. Parre withdrew from the city of Troyes, and retired into a country place in the neighbourhood, where he lived a most holy and austere life. This spot is pointed out by tradition in a field, which is not more than 300 paces from the city walls, where, till the revolution, stood the pious monastery of Foici, the origin of which name is thus related: "While St. Parre lived here in holy retreat, St. Savinien, a Greek from Samos, who after becoming a Christian had passed into Gaul, arrived at Troyes, and coming to the banks of the Seine, where he found this holy man, was received by him into his hermitage, and perceiving that St. Parre and his servants were assiduous in prayer, and that the Christian faith was in their souls, he returned thanks to God that faith was here, and hence the place ever afterwards bore the name of Foy-icv, fidiacum a fide." \* Even within the very heart of towns hermits were found to dwell. Recluses had their cells either in grottoes under the streets, or in towers surrounded by palaces, where they were devoted to constant prayer and meditation. Such is the history belonging to the cave of Royston, and, if we credit some authors, to the tower of Rolland in Paris. On the hill of St. Geneviève at Paris, lived the holy solitary priest, Dulciolenus, the friend of St. Eloi, whom that saintly silversmith used to visit frequently. It appears from titles of the abbey of St. Geneviève, that in this neighbourhood, in the thirteenth century, there was a street or road called from him, Vicus servi Dei.† In Florence, upon the bridge Allegrazie, lived certain holy women, recluses. At the present day, in each of the little lonely chapels or oratories in the neighbourhood, or even in the sequestered parts of Rome, you find a hermit who takes care of the holy place. There is generally one residing among the ruined arches of the Colosseum. We find indications too in our old literature, of solitary wise and benevolent men living secluded in cities, who used to be sought out as private arbiters and advisers, in all cases of difficulty, by the people. Thus in the Fabliau, the young man who is falsely accused of having stolen oil from the barrels left in his cellar, goes for advice to "a famous philosopher in the town, a good man who lived according to God, and who employed his talents in succouring the unhappy." The annals of the city of Troyes make mention of a hermit, whose history is

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 35.

so wound up with its old towers, that it is impossible to disengage it from them. In the year 1419 died the good hermit, the blessed friar John of Gand, and was buried in the church of the Dominicans at Troyes, in a chest of wood, secured with bars of iron, in the south wall of the nave. His history was remarkable. During the calamities of France, consequent upon the wars with the English, and at the time when Charles VII. was struggling to defend his kingdom, a hermit of St. Claude was raised up to give warning to men. This brother John of Gand was so called either from a certain noble family, which bears the surname of Gand, and which is of the neighbourhood of Troyes, which still boasts that this holy anchoret was of its blood, or else from the city of Ghent, in Flanders, of which he must have been a native. Be that as it may, he lived as a brother among the hermits on the mountain St. Claude, where many holy men led an angelic life: till moved by the calamities of France, he left his hermitage for a while, and travelled on till he arrived at the place where Charles VII. was to be seen, and entering his presence, he asked him, saying, "Sire, do you desire to have peace? it comes from God." And the king answering, "My good father, that is what I desire from my heart, if it please God to give it to me." Then the good hermit said, "Sire, since you desire peace, you shall have it, and God will grant you victory." Having thus spoken to the king of France, he went to the king of England, and proposed the same question to him, "Sire, do you desire to have peace?" The king answered haughtily, "No, and that he was resolved to conquer all the kingdom, and that the king of Bourges (for so he called Charles VII.) had nothing to gain from him." Then the hermit replied, "Sire, men propose and God disposes, for he is the sovereign master. It will not be as you say; but you should think of your end, which will soon overtake you." The king, naturally passionate, would have given stripes to the hermit, without respecting his habit; however he refrained, and let him depart. Now it is well known that Henry died shortly after, in 1421. But to return to our hermit: he continued to lead an austere life, with fasts and vigils, and practising both external and internal mortifications, so that it was wonderful how he surmounted all passions, and became so humble and patient; for even on beholding his effigy in white stone, which is on the spot where his bones repose, it is easy to judge that he had sanctity in his soul, and great grace from God. People used to style him the holy hermit of St. Claude, for every thing that he did and said was holy. Whenever he came into the city of Troyes, he used to lodge in the hostel of the Moors; or rather the good woman that kept this house, knowing his holy life, respected him, and used to give him lodgings for the love of God, giving him a little room in a retired part, that he might be without noise or any disturbance. From there he used to visit the convent of the Dominicans to hear mass, and because these friars were very holy men, and strict observers of their rules, he haunted them willingly, and wished to be buried with them, that he might not be separated in death from those whom he had loved when living. All this may be read in old Latin manuscripts in the treasury of these friars, though it is in a character very difficult to read from the continual abbreviations used. This holy man used thus to move about wherever the inspiration of

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God suggested an occasion of doing good to the souls of men. So on this occasion he was at Troyes, and in his usual lodging in the hostel of the Moors, and here he fell sick, and he knew immediately that God was about to draw him from this world to the other; he took no thought about what he should eat or drink, or about a physician or medicine, for he was a holy man, whose constant practice was to eat and drink but sparingly, speak but little, be always internally collected, and aspiring to God; so that now he only thought of God more ardently than ever, and expressed his wish to confess, and to receive the blessed sacrament for his viaticum. Now it happened at this time that there was in the same hostel a good old man, a venerable priest, named Messier Gautier Garnot, curate of Torvilliers, a village in the suburbs of Troyes, who on account of the wars, and the danger from insolent soldiers, had been obliged in his old age to take refuge within the walls of Troyes, whence he used to visit his flock as often as he could, and his retreat in the city was in this same hostel of the Moors, where he had his little room, for the woman that kept the house was his cousin-german. Thus this good hostess gave lodging to one for the love of God, because he was a holy man, and to another for the sake of humanity, because he was old and her relation. The priest then, hearing that brother John of Gand was lodged in the same hostel visited him, and they two used to speak together about holy things, and to encourage each other to serve God. When the hermit fell sick, he told him that he wished to confess for the last time, and to receive the precious body of his Saviour. This venerable priest, Garnot, went to find the curate of St. John, to whom he related the wish of the blessed hermit, who gave him power forthwith to assist him to his end; for Garnot did not like to fail, on this last occasion, brother John of Gand, whom he so loved and respected; so he heard his confession, and administered to him the sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also extreme unction, and served him in all that he could; but Garnot was more consoled by the blessed brother John than he consoled him. So there, in that poor little room, after begging of Garnot that he might be buried with the friars preachers, this good man rendered up his soul to God, in evangelical poverty, great patience, human misery, sweet silence, and elevation of mind to God, as a poor stranger, who perchance was only stretched upon some straw in that little chamber. Thus he died on the 29th of September; but it was said, that immediately after his death, a supernatural light gleamed over that hostel, to show to all the world that the death of the saints is precious before God.\*

This connection between hermits and the appearance of Christian cities, might naturally lead us to take notice of the scenery which generally surrounded them, for this was not without its characteristic features; and in the middle ages, when moral authority superseded, in a great measure, the necessity of the civil, no stranger was subject to be arrested and led away a prisoner if he attempted to walk beyond the gates of cities, without being able to produce a written pass; but every one was at liberty to enter and depart without molestation. "I am a lover of learning," said Socrates to one who proposed a philosophic di-

<sup>\*</sup> Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 387.

alogue in the fields, "trees and the country teach me nothing; but I look to men who live in the city. You then have discovered the secret to draw me out of the walls by offering to read to me, and presenting me with that written speech which I will follow wherever you go, like one of the cattle to whom you would offer provender, though you should lead me the circuit of Attica, or wherever else you wish."\* Now, although Christians were as we have already seen, naturally led to congregate in cities, in order to enjoy the resources of piety, and to exercise the duties of public adoration, which furnished far higher inducements for loving them than Socrates possessed, yet the Church, with her ingenious and creative discipline, discovered a way as it were to lead devout and affectionate disciples without the walls, as Phædrus prevailed on the Athenian sage, by presenting them with some new sustenance to strengthen a meditative and revering spirit, to follow which they would accompany her along the embowered bank of rivers, and to the summit of overhanging cliffs, which afforded delicious views of lakes and groves and undulating lawns, where she used to erect her oratories and crosses, and make her enclosures for holy retirement and prayer. Thus at Soleure, on the evening of Maunday Thursday, the inhabitants go out to the little hermitage of St. Verone, which stands in a delightful wood within a deep chasm of lofty mountains; it was made by an Egyptian in the seventcenth century. In the rock there is a sepulchre, and lamps are then lighted round it. Certainly no spot can be conceived more sad and fair. I remember to what a golden world of bright and peaceful images I used to be transported, when straying of a summer's morning without the walls of Soleure, immediately after the first mass in the churches of the town. There one might walk through delightful meadows interspersed with groves like a continued garden, watered with a number of clear rivulets, sparkling amidst violet beds, studded with beautiful convents, chapels, and crosses, with villas and pavilions adjoining. There one heard ascend through the clear air the sweet liquid symphony of the bells of the different monasteries, which are tolled at every elevation of the sacred mysteries, and these too seem to answer one another from hill to hill. There one saw the happy and courteous groups that passed along; the children, angel mild, intent upon some office of domestic duty, the cheerful scholar, so anxious to salute the stranger, and the venerable old man, whose smile is like a benediction; and if one entered to say a short prayer in the church of the convent, there would be seen at his devotions some noble proprietor of an adjacent castle, who always desired to be at the mass of that community. The humble little cloister too is open. See the poor devout prints which cover the walls, and the sweet flowers which grow within the little court; and through one of the small windows above you catch a glimpse of some holy friar, who is meditating in his cell. What a peaceful and holy calm reigns all around! the groves and meadows, the gardens and the surrounding hills, seem to have imbibed the celestial tranquillity of the blessed enclosure. Even the walks around Florence are a delightful recollection; though along narrow roads, confined within scorching walls, which you excuse from the memory of that deed of

<sup>\*</sup> Plato, Phædrus.

grace rising out of them, which gave origin to Camoldoli, for as I walked on an evening among the hills which encompass it, near the delicious villa of Careggi, where Lorenzo de Medicis held the Platonic academy, I used to hear at the cottage doors the Kurie eleison from the tongue of children. But since we are already without the walls, let us pass on and depart, though it must be with painful impressions. Heresy, and the influence of its moral and philosophical doctrines, rather than wars and time, have nearly effaced the vestiges of early Christian history which existed in the cities of Europe. In England it has rendered our cities as bare of ancient memorials as our churches; and in France, what was preserved in Lyons, Troyes, Tours, and in other places from the rage of the Calvinists in former times, has been swept away in these latter days during the great revolution, when men were inspired with deadly hatred against even the inanimate monuments which recalled the events and personages of their former history. In the sacking of Rome, where so much still remains, the atrocities committed by the Lutheran soldiers of Charles V. surpassed all that had been committed by the Goths and barbarians, or by the Turks in other places. The venerable cities of Lombardy have remained nearly in the condition to which they were reduced by the philosophy of the unhappy Joseph, and the brutality of the Gallic invaders, who completed what he had begun. The tombs of the eastern scholars who promoted the study of Greek learning in the West, are covered over with military stores in the desecrated cloisters at Milan; and the tumults of barbarous legions seem to leave no other interest to Mantua but its imperishable name.

The celebrated apartment of Troy, covered with the paintings of Mantegna and Julio Romano, representing scenes from the Iliad, is now a granary. The Mantua of the middle ages could boast of her Julio Romano and of those illustrious Gonzagues, who declared that it was the painter who was her sovereign; now her cloisters are converted into barracks, and her sole ornament is a military parade. The Luitprands and Othos of the middle ages had erected at Pavia and aggrandized the mausoleum of Boecius, in the church of St. Augustin, for which Gerbert had composed the inscription: but the sophists of the last century suppressed the church, which is now filled with military provisions; and when I desired to be shown his sepulchre, I could only have the consolation of learning at which side of the nave it stood, for it was buried deep under an impervious store of hay. The refectory of the Dominicans, in which is the divinest painting of Leonardo, the convent which possessed one of the oldest churches of Milan, St. Eustorgius, which contains the tomb of Emanuel Chrysolorus, and the shrine of St. Peter Martyr, are abandoned to the service of a barrack. In one church there is the office of the Lottery, in another a theatre, in another a custom-house. So lost are men at present to those feelings and sentiments of nature recognized by Seneca, when he says, that one has regard for demolished temples, of which persons of religion adore

and venerate even the ruins.

Without referring to those shattered fallen cities on which the hand of time seems the heaviest laid, such as Ravenna, with its towers, round, square, leaning, broader at summit than at base, with its palaces of races that are extinct, and its monuments of an empire that has long perished,

there are few at least in the northern countries, which do not impress irresistibly every beholder with the idea that they are the cities of other days and of another race of men, and which do not remind him of the poet's sentence "Debemur morti nos nostraque." Even where the ancient spirit continues to animate the people, the intellectual glories of the ages of faith are found to be too mighty not to obscure all claims to present greatness. To one conversant with history, even the gay and brilliant and devout Florence seems but like a sepulchre and city of the dead; for on what can the stranger's thoughts remain fixed, excepting on the city of the Medicis? There he sees their wondrous gallery of incalculable treasures, the accumulation of years, and wealth, and pains unceasing; there he finds their rich stores of collected learning, their libraries and their cabinets. There he visits their once gay and palmy villas on Careggi's height, whose walls heard the Platonic mixed with Christian lore, and it was there Lorenzo died; there he may descend into the vaults of that gorgeous chapel, where every vein of marble which the earth produces pays a tribute; and there lie the bodies of that great majestic line whose memory makes Florence a city of the muses. There, too, is the house of Michael Angelo, in which every thing remains as if he had walked out but yesterday; and there you may gaze upon the seat of the awful Dante hard by the dome which he so dearly loved; but lo! in that cloister of the Holy Cross you see the tombs of all these wondrous men whose works surround you, or the trophy that tells you they are dead. Pisa, too, with its vast deserted streets, speaks to you only of other days, when the Campo Santo was not a museum for the connoisseur, or a royal and exclusive cemetery, but a holy field for the faithful dead, and when men went not to criticise, or to admire, but to tremble and to pray. Bologna and Padua only remind you of the genius and the learning of ancient days. Ferrara, with her majestic castle, noble palaces, and solemn cloisters recalls the image of her princes and of the poets who gave them renown: Genoa of its Dorias: Urbino of its incomparable court, described by Castiglione. Rome alone seems invested with an interest which is present and eternal; and yet, amidst the astonishing concentration of present intellectual greatness there, who, standing upon that awful ground, can avoid thinking of the past, and yielding to its immortal recollections? The approach to Rome is precisely what it ought to be. Nothing can be imagined more sublime, more proper to inspire meditation, and to fill the soul with the profoundest emotions of wonder for the past and of pious astonishment and reverence for the everlasting Ruler, than a view of the vast and solemn plains of the Campagna, in which the history of the world seems written in ruins, where no object appears but here and there some isolated fragment of an arched aqueduct or of a sepulchre, some aged cork tree or some spreading pine, near which shepherds are seen sitting together round a fire by night, keeping watch over their flocks. The thronged and noisy suburbs of a modern capital would belong to an order of ideas to which you would there deny admittance, for they would indicate too much of worldly solicitude to be in accordance with what naturally fills the breast of the Christian pilgrim as he approaches Rome. It is as much as he can sustain to look upon the delicious retreats of Albano, when he remembers that it was through that villa of pleasure

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that the chosen vessel was led bound to Rome. Whether it was the result of care, exclusively employed on the adornment of cities, within which every interest induced men to dwell, or from motives of convenience and of security, which prompted the inhabitants to desire the immediate neighbourhood of forests and deserts, it is certain that the scenery which surrounded many cities of the middle ages, corresponded with the wildest and the highest tone. How solemn is that approach to Pisa, over the ground which was the scene of Ariosto's ghastly chase! where following a lonely track through a vast sandy plain, on which rise a few tall pines, you find them growing in closer contact, till at length you are within an immense forest, through which you see at intervals wild cattle and buffaloes grazing over vast desert tracts which extend to the Mediterranean; and then on proceeding you behold rising over the forest the vast domes of the cathedral and baptistery, with the mysterious tower, which stands as others fall. Who has not heard of that sombre forest of pines which conceals Ravenna from the sea, like a funeral veil thrown by nature over the ruins of the fallen city; a forest celebrated in the annals of history; wonderful among the scenes of nature; dear to poets, since it was sung by Dante and by Dryden! I first beheld it on a summer's evening, when I had walked out by the Porta Nuova, and had reached the bridge about half a mile from the city, over the united streams of the Ronco and Montone, on whose banks fell the slaughtered French, when, under Gaston de Foix, they encountered the lance of Spain. The road being raised very high, commands an extensive view of the plain, the vast solitary Basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe, the sole vestige of a Roman city, which was destroyed by Luitprand the Lombard king in the eighth century, forming the only object till the eye reaches the distant forest. I shall never forget the feeling with which I beheld it, and gazed upon its vast and solemn line, which was only broken at intervals by the broad top of some more elevated stem, which rose above the horizon. A pale moon had just risen over it in a blue heaven, but towards the west a deep range of clouds gave index of a storm. At the same moment a vast flight of cranes traversed the sky, coming from the Adriatic, and reminded me of a sublime passage, in which Dante describes their clamorous course, which I repeated with an additional degree of interest, as I returned to the ancient city.

In England, too, we have cities, the approach to which is in the highest degree calculated to inspire meditation, such as Ely and Lincoln, rising majestic over the watery wastes which surround them, and Salisbury, encompassed with that vast plain, to which Stonehenge gives so mysterious an interest. But having now taken a general view of the Christian cities, it will be necessary to go into more detail, and to examine the particular history of the most remarkable edifices with which faith adorned them; and the construction of churches will furnish abundant matter for our next inquiries, relative to the evidence of the fulfilment of that divine sentence, which affirmed that the meek will

possess the earth.

## CHAPTER II.

THE number of beautiful monuments, with which faith covered the soil of Europe, has been the delight and astonishment of men of genius in the latter ages, when the probability or consequence of their overthrow was contemplated. How richly adorned England was in this respect, is recorded by Strype, Leland, Dugdale, Tanner, and other historians, who speak of the destruction which attended the first establishment of heresy. In Ireland it has only left ruins, which appear thickly scattered over the country, so as to make it resemble the Campagna of Rome. In Spain there are more than seventy thousand great churches; there were no less than a thousand raised in the reign of King Don Jaime I. of Arragon alone. A late French writer makes some interesting remarks, to show how France was formerly covered with beautiful monuments of an architecture which showed a free and boundless imagination. It is calculated that there were thirty thousand churches, fifteen hundred abbeys, eighteen thousand five hundred chapels, two thousand eight hundred priories, one million seven hundred thousand steeples, and as to every twelve steeples may be supposed one castle, there would be seven thousand fortified towns, giving a total of one million eight hundred and seventy-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-six monuments, without reckoning the basilicas, monasteries, royal and episcopal palaces, and town halls, contained within cities. Certainly, adds Chateaubriand, this was a soil very differently ornamented from what it is at present. Remark, too, that the religious, civil, and military architecture of these ages rose aloft and struck the eyes, unlike the modern, which is flat and levelled, like the ranks of our social state. age, he asks, leave such a testimony of its passage? We have no longer the faith which moved so many stones. We raise exchanges, bazars, coffee houses, club houses. How will philosophy be able to compare accounts with religion? The moderns, who look to practical advantages, cannot conceive on what ground the multiplication of churches and chapels could have been required. Stamford and Gloucester, and the ancient city of London, are instances which seem perfectly inexplicable to them; but the reason is obvious to all who have knowledge of the ancient religion; for within cities there was a necessity arising out of its very principles for erecting churches at short distances from each other, in which the divine mysteries might be celebrated, in order that the merchant, the tradesman, the labourer, and the servant, might be able to assist at them every morning without loss of time or interruption to their other duties; and also to give the same facility to infirm persons who could not have gone far from their houses: and it required that these monuments should be multiplied in the country to afford a similar assistance to persons engaged in agriculture, whose interests were not forgotten in the original laying out of the ecclesiastical divisions, as appears from consulting those of the dioceses of France, which had remained the same from the reigns of Honorius and Clovis till the revolution. The attention of religious men to the spiritual interests of

poor shepherds, gave rise to chapels and oratories in the wildest and most romantic spots of uncultivated nature. On the high Alp of the Surinam Pass, I found a little chapel with a bell in which mass is occasionally said for the poor herdsmen who resort to those high regions in the summer months. In the ninth century, we read of oratories being constructed on the mountains for the monks of St. Benedict, who used to depute a certain number of their society to watch the flocks on the high pastures during the fine season;\* and, in the most retired valleys of Savoy, under impending glaciers, you find some humble sanctuary, which like that of Argentiere, proclaims its object, by an inscription, to be the safety of the poor. But there was still another reason why the Church loved to multiply her chapels, oratories, crosses, and places of pilgrimage, and place them amidst the woods and mountains. It was to make men love the Author, while they admired the works of nature. She knew too well the propensity of wretched mortals to be occupied incessantly with creatures, and to depart from him who made them, and she sought by the erection of material monuments, symbols and memorials of religious truth, to make the whole life of man a continued hymn or act of praise to God. The recollections of every traveller who has visited a Catholic country will bear testimony to the wisdom of this discipline, and even history itself has been obliged in many instances to record its effects. During the dreadful storm which so dismayed the English army under King Edward, after leaving Rheims, it is said, that the troops and the king himself looked upon it as a mark of God's wrath, and that at the same moment the king, turning towards the church of Chartres, whose lofty tower rose in the distance, made a vow to consent to peace. The Archduke Leopold of Austria, on his journeys, used always to salute the patrons of the different churches that he passed, and in this manner the whole face of a country was like a book which recalled a thousand holy images to inspire devout meditation, and to confirm salutary thoughts. St. Gregory of Tours says, that on the banks of the river Garonne, and contiguous to the castle Blaviensis, there is the tomb of a holy Roman priest, and it is said, that when the sailors have been in danger of perishing, they have been saved by imploring his prayers, and they think no one can perish who contemplates his church from the midst of the waters. On one occasion, he adds, during our passage across, we believe that we experienced the benefit of his suffrage.† With respect to the origin of these edifices, it is certain that the first christians had their churches, for the Apostle St. Paul distinguishes them from other houses; and St. Ignatius the martyr in the first century exhorts the Magnesians to assemble in a place which is named "the temple of God," and in his Epistle to the Philadelphians he says, "There is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup in union of his blood, one altar, and one bishop, with the priest, and deacons, my fellow-servants," and Tertullian at the end of the second century, speaks of the church to which Christians resort, and the house of God. Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluni, says, that when he was at Rome he saw

<sup>\*</sup> Mabillon, Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. Sæc. iv. Pars. i. Vita S. Bened, † De Gloria Confessorum, cap. 46.

<sup>\*</sup> Benediet. XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ. sect. i. 6.

in the ancient crypts, the oratories and altars which had been raised by the Christians in the time of the Apostles.\* At the present day, these are the places visited with most awe and astonishment by the devout strangers. In the Catacombs, we behold the first churches of the eter-In the year 1812, a chapel of the primitive Christians was discovered in the palace of Nero, when excavations were made among the ruins of the baths of Titus. The persecution of Diocletian commenced with the demolition of the churches which the Christians had erected for the first time in public places under the Emperors Alexander and Gordien; and the final triumph of the cross when the empire became Christian under Constantine, was marked by the restoration and erection of churches. In that of the Lateran Palace, which had been an imperial residence, Rome for the first time beheld the image of the Saviour. The lowest of the two churches, at present subterraneous under the church of St. Martin, was built by Pope St. Sylvester, in the time of Constantine. It is supported by vast square columns of brick, and it resembles exactly the Roman work in the Basilica of Constantine in the forum. The image of our Lady is represented in mosaique, without that of the Divine Infant, and the Pope is on his knees in the act of imploring her intercession. Chateaubriand made the remark at Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, where are seen churches of the age of Constantine, that these ancient churches had a character of gravity and grandeur which the pagan monuments of the same age did not possess † In that age the Christians erected magnificent temples in their cities and in Nicomedia, but others had been preserved from earlier times. In Spain, the Church of our Lady, at Zaragosa, is said to have been erected in her life-time. The holy bishops delighted in consecrating to God that beauty and splendour which had been so long devoted to the service of demons. St. Gregory Nyssen is astonished at the superb temple of the martyr Theodore, which with golden arches and cerulean tablets impels the mind to the contemplation of eternal beauty. ± St. Cyril praises the splendour of the temple which the emperors had built at Jerusalem; nor does St. Chrysostom overlook the arched temple of prodigious height, incrusted with marble, in which they used to assemble. At the close of the third century, the blessed Patiens, Bishop of Lyons, built in that city a most splendid church of marble and gold, which Sidonius Apollinaris commends in verse to all posterity: there were precious stones and variegated marbles to adorn it. \ In the third and fourth centuries, the splendour of the Spanish churches was very considerable. It appears that the church of St. Eulalia, at Merida, was ornamented with magnificent columns, beautiful marbles, and lofty towers. The irruption, however, of the barbarians destroyed entirely that splendour. They inundated Spain in 409; but in other countries many churches survived their fury. After the overthrow of the empire, and the conversion of the barbarians, it was not at first possible to erect churches of similar magnificence. In the tenth century, the architects were unable to rebuild the church of the Theban legion which had been

<sup>\*</sup> Contra Petrobrusianos Hæret. Epist.

<sup>‡</sup> Op. tom. iii. p. 578; tom. ii. p. 41.

<sup>§</sup> Sidon. Apol. Leg. ii. Epist. 10.

<sup>†</sup> Les Martyrs, liv. v. | Tom, v. Serm. 16.

destroyed by fire, so as to equal its former beauty.\* The church of St. Stephen the greater at Milan, having been burnt in the eleventh century and rebuilt, an inscription was placed on it which began by extolling the superior grandeur of the former church, and then proceeded,—

Collapsum surgit ab imo;
Sed primi cultum nequit æquiparare secundum:
Plebs spectando time: peccatum causa ruinæ,
Te prius ædifices, tunc materiale reformes,
Sit templum Domini, placet illi fabrica templi.

The church of St. Martin at Tours, before the tenth century, was encrusted with red, green, and white marbles, and even the exterior was adorned with gold and beautiful stones. Old men in the time of St. Odo, who had seen it before its destruction by fire, used to say, that when the building was seen against the sun it resembled a mountain of gold.† The first churches erected by the barbarian invaders were greatly inferior to those of the ancient empire. Among a rude people it would be in vain to expect beauty of architecture. It was related of St. Patrick, that he built a church of clay alone in a plain in Connactia, which resisted all the inclemency of wind, and snow, and rain. It is an error, however, to suppose, that the Anglo-Saxons had only churches of wood. In the year 626, King Edwin had ordered a church to be built of timber, which was hallowed in the name of St. Peter, but "there he afterwards ordered a larger church to be built of stone." In the year 1020, King Knute ordered to be built at Assingdon, a minster of stone and lime, and the church of Peterborough was built of stone in 656. In the year 710, Naiton, King of the Picts, sent ambassadors to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow monastery, requesting him to send architects into Scotland to build a church of stone there, after the manner of the Romans, which he wished to dedicate to the prince of the Apostles. Ceolfrid sent him in return a long letter of advice, and also architects for the above purpose, and a quantity of his glass to glaze the windows; for his predecessor holy Benedict had established glass works on the Tyne which continue to the present day. But the Christian Church could not long exert her influence without producing that civilization which developed itself in the arts as well as in learning and manners; and accordingly the rise of a new and most beautiful architecture followed soon after the re-establishment of society under the northern tribes. Even in Italy, in the eleventh century, the small but beautiful church of the holy Apostles at Florence, which was the model followed by Brunelleschi in raising the churches of St. Laurence, and of the Holy Ghost, proves that the good rules of architecture were not unknown in Tuscany in the tenth century. St. Bernard relates that when St. Malachy began to rebuild the abbey of Bangor, in Ireland, "he was of opinion that such a stone oratory ought to be built there, as he had seen in other countries; and when he began to work, the natives admiring it. because such structures had not till then been seen in that country, said. O good man, why have you thought fit to bring this new fashion into our country. We are Scots, not Frenchmen. What lightness is this?

\* The Saxon Chronicle by Ingram, p. 33.

<sup>\*</sup> De Combust. Basil. Bibliothec. Cluniacensis, 158.

What need is there of such superfluous work and so magnificent? How will your poverty afford the expense of finishing, and who will live to see it finished?" The choir built was so beautiful, that the abbey was called in consequence Banchor, or the beautiful choir, for before it had been called the Vale of Angels. Among the most remarkable gothic churches built between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries, which remain, for many of the abbey churches destroyed both in England and France, were equal, if not superior, to our present cathedrals,\* are the cathedrals of Winchester, Canterbury, and York; the churches of Westminster and Bristol, in England; that of Sainte Croix, at Orleans; the cathedrals of Chartres, Paris, Rheims, and Amiens, in France; in Germany the church of Halberstadt, the Elisabethskirche at Marburg, the church of Ulm, and the cathedrals of Vienna and Cologne; and in Italy, the cathedrals of Pisa, Sienna, Milan, the Carthusian church at Pavia, and the church of St. Petronio at Bologna. When, in the prophetic language of the sacred scripture, God threatens to punish a people, he declares that he will take away those that are wise in building and the prudent in mystic sentences.† This judgment had not overtaken the nations in the middle ages, when these stupendous and mystic piles were erected to the glory of the eternal God, of which almost every stone is a symbol full of saintly wisdom. What acute and skilful men were those who raised at Paris the church of St. Paul; at Arras, the church of St. Wast; at Albi, the cathedral of St. Cecilia; at Rouen, the church of St. Ouen and the Palace of Justice; at Rheims, the church of the abbey of St. Nicaise, which was so celebrated for its trembling pillar, which used visibly to oscillate whenever a bell in that tower was tolled; ‡ at Milan, that cathedral; at Amboise, that castle of Charles VIII. with its vast round towers, containing staircases by which men on horseback could mount and descend; at Westminster, that hall of state whose roof is still the astonishment of mechanicians! What boldness, and imagination, and skill, were here testified. Assuredly there was enough to fire with emulation Ictinus himself; and with justice was Ferracino the Venetian compared to Archimedes in the inscription on his tomb at Solagna. The history of their scaffolding attests an astonishing perfection of mechanical science. At the building of the cathedral of Pisa, by means of the machines invented by Buschetto, weights which a thousand oxen could hardly have moved, were raised by ten young maidens, as a tablet in the church still testifies. Could these be ages of intellectual stagnation and ignorance as they are styled by those moderns who are themselves proficients only in the architecture of fortune? The works themselves would prove a prodigious advance in science, and indicate a most delicate sense of the beautiful and sublime. But even the writings of these ages explain with what profound and accurate views they were constructed. Thus Vincent of Beauvais, who clearly had a knowledge of perspective, and of its application in the representation of objects, | coming to treat upon the parts of architecture, shows what attention is due to symmetry, and

<sup>\*</sup> Tanner, Notitia Monastica (Praface.)

<sup>‡</sup> Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, liv. iii. 67. Speculum Doctrinale. liv. xviii. c. 43.

<sup>†</sup> Isai. cap. iii.

proportion, and harmony of members, to disposition, and collocation, and elegance of composition, to invention, and tempering of parts with regard to the effect of the whole, that the edifice may have solidity, usefulness, and beauty, and he says that to an architect both nature, and learning, and practice, are essential.\* In fact, when men ask for evidence of the intellectual cultivation of the middle ages, though one might refer to the imperishable writings of their true philosophers, yet it is sufficient to bid them look upon the monuments of their architecture. Behold the tranquil grandeur of a gothic cathedral, a vast symphony as it were of stone, to use the language of Victor Hugo; colossal work of a man, and of a people, one and yet complex like the Iliads of which it is the sister, a kind of human creation, powerful and fruitful, seeming to have attained the double character of divine creation, variety and eternity. Behold within it those myriads of statues which peopled all the inter-columnization of the nave and choir, images on their knees, on foot, on horseback, men, women, children, bishops, kings, warriors, in stone, in marble, in gold, in silver, in brass, even in wax, now in France and England, brutally swept away by men of a false taste. Behold, how these walls harmonize with that gothic altar, splendidly loaded with reliquaries and shrines, for which a cold simplicity or an unmeaning parade of allegory has been substituted. Gothic architecture has suffered three kinds of degradation; first, that caused by time; then that caused by political or religious revolutions, during which men have fallen on its different parts with savage fury; and lastly, that arising from modern taste, which has caused more ruin than even revolutions, cutting up and disorganizing the edifice, and killing it in form as in symbol, in its logic as in its beauty, and then restoring it with those contemptible and stupid decorations which are supposed to indicate a simple and pure taste." That the erection of these magnificent churches cannot be ascribed to any ordinary cause or mere natural principle will appear most evident on a reference to the history of their construction. How, it is usual to ask, were these prodigious edifices raised? It would defy the known resources of any nation at the present day, that has felt the influence of the modern philosophy, to erect one of them. Indeed, so sensible are their sophists of this fact, that they convert it into an argument which they suppose will prove the intellectual superiority of their own times; for they ridicule the desire which they ascribe to our ancestors of giving form and substance to the objects of thought, as being a sentiment belonging to dark ages, and a half cultivated people, grossly ignorant of the pure and primitive loveliness of truth. Such is the inference that one Scottish writer draws from the erection of so many monasteries and magnificent churches in the middle ages.

The history of their construction exposes three sources which supplied the means required—consisting in the devotion of the multitude, in the munificence of kings and religious orders and particular families, and in the substitution of such works instead of the ancient canonical penance. All these, it is obvious, must be referred to the faith of the people; and they will be found fully adequate to explain the phenomenon, without calling into our assistance the motive of heathen or mod-

<sup>\*</sup> Speculum Doctrinale, liv. x. c. 14, 15.

ern times, which might lead men to build like the Syracusans, in order, as Thucydides says, in the two and in 3 cine und into the Eresta moni Daguar Diσισθω;\* though, as has been acknowledged, it will still remain a matter of wonder to know the economy with which churchmen divided these revenues, taking into consideration the prodigious expenses required for the support of such a multitude of churches, hermitages, seminaries, colleges, hospitals, and monasteries, besides what was expended in the maintenance of the clergy and a great number of laymen, and what was required by the state. To witness the first cause in operation we need only open the first ecclesiastical chronicle which presents itself; and the passage I have selected is remarkable as showing that the building of churches was then begun with the same reliance upon Providence which has inspired so many venerable priests in these islands, of late years, to commence the erection of chapels. Fulcuin, in his History of the Abbots of Lobes, relates that "there was a great assembly of people on the spot where their new church was to be built; and such was their devotion, that no one can describe it. With the money then offered by the people, the church," he says, "is marked out and begun: 'quando vel à quo erit perficienda, in Dei est providentia.'"† To account for the sufficiency of these oblations of the people, which were either diurnal or hebdomadal, it should be remembered that the laborious and simple tenor of their lives enabled them to have always some supply beyond what was required by their domestic wants. When the church of St. Jacques-du-haut-Pas, at Paris, was to be built, it was the piety of high and low which accomplished the undertaking. The duchesse de Longueville gave money; the owners of quarries supplied, free of expense, all the stone, and the workmen employed in building gave each one day every week. To effect the incrustation of marble in the church of Loretto, which alone cost about 300,000 crowns, the carvers gave their work gratis. The chapter-house and the sacristy of the convent of the Carthusians at Paris, had been built at the expense of Pierre Loisel, a shoemaker in the fourteenth century, whose device, representing a boot, was carved there. When Suger rebuilt the Abbey of St. Denis, he assembled the most skilful workmen and artists from all parts of the kingdom. In procuring marble from Pontoise, the zeal of the people left him nothing to expend. Every one thought to receive a blessing from Heaven if he had part in the holy work. Suger was the chief architect. When the most intelligent persons had declared their opinions that there was no timber fit for the work within sixty leagues of St. Denis, the abbot went himself into the forest of Chevreuse, and sought so well, that he found a sufficient quantity, which he had cut in his presence. He discovered a method to enable them to work at it through the winter, so that the building was finished in three or four years. The king and all his court, with a number of bishops, had assisted at laying the first stone, and blessing the place. Each had laid a stone, while the monks chaunted the 86th Psalm, "Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis:" and when the choir came to the usual words of the ceremony, "Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui," the king took a ring

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. vii. 5b. † Fulcuinus de Gestis Abbutum Lobiensium apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. vi. 579. † St. Victor Tableau de Paris tom. jii. 435.

<sup>\*</sup> St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. iii. 435. Vol. I.—46

of great value from his finger, and threw it upon the foundation, and all the nobles did the same; so that a magnificent church might have been built with the price of the jewels cast into the trenches.\* In the year 1099, when the Ginsonense church in the bishopric of Urgel was consecrated most of her parishioners offered voluntarily to pay the tenth of their fruits. In the year 1210, when the cathedral of Rheims was destroyed by fire, owing to the negligence of some plumbers, the canons had recourse to the usual method of gaining a supply. Certain of their number, bearing the relics of the church and apostolic bulls, set out, accompanied by all the clergy, who conducted them as far as the gates of the city, chaunting the Psalms. The people continued to follow them as far as the nearest town, where, in the first place, they deposited the sacred relics in the church, and then, from a tribune erected on the outside over the door, they harangued the assembled multitude, who came forward to relieve their necessities. Then they visited other places with the same form; and the collection was so considerable, that, in the year after the fire, the chapter of Rheims was able to undertake the rebuilding of the church on a more extensive scale than before. Robert de Couci of Rheims was the architect. It was finished after thirty years. The canons first sung the office in it in the year 1241.†

The Pisans erected their cathedral with the spoils which they had won from the Saracens. Men conceived that by these works they testified faith and piety to God. Hence, some are owing to sudden dangers, in which persons pledged themselves to come forward with pious liberality, to found or restore churches; for in these ages many men deserved the character which is ascribed to Anspert, the illustrious archbishop of Milan, in the ninth century, on whose tomb we read—

## - Effector voti, propositique tenax.

Thus, in the eleventh century, when the little fleet of Norman knights was passing the dangerous gulf of Messina, in order to regain the coast of Calabria, a violent tempest came on. The church of St. Anthony at Reggio had been lately overthrown by an earthquake. Roger and his soldiers promised to devote to its reconstruction all the booty which they were carrying, that had been won from the Saracens. On their arrival in that city, they faithfully discharged their vow. The foundation of the illustrious Basilica of St. John the Evangelist, at Ravenna, is due to a vow made by Galla Placidia, in the year 424, during a tempest, as she was returning from Constantinople with her two sons, Valentinian and Honorius; and this event is there represented in mosaique.

As you leave Ravenna by the Roman gate, the lofty tower of a solitary church rises above the barren plain, far in the distance towards the sea. You approach and find the interior walls painted by Giotto. This is St. Maria in Porto, built by Peter,—surnamed through his humility, the Sinner,—of the noble family of the Onesti, in pursuance of a vow during a storm at sea, in the year 1096. The body of the founder lies there.

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. de Suger, lib. vi.

Many votive chapels on our own wild shores might be mentioned, which have no other origin than a similar engagement. Others have an heroic as well as a pious origin. In the year 1142, the troops commanded by the brave Galician, Don Muno Alfonso, made a vow to give to the church of St. Mary of Toledo, the tenth of the spoils which they should take from the combined armies of Cordova and Seville: this they

did after gaining the battle.

There are in Spain some churches, which by reason of some especial vow, receive taxes from certain towns, whose inhabitants, grateful for the benefit received from God through the intercession of some saints, made themselves tributary, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of their gratitude. The two most famous offerings are those of the vows of St. Billan and St. James. When Don Bamiro I. obtained that glorious victory at Clavijo which was to free his vassals from the infamous tribute of the one hundred maids, he made himself tributary to the church of St. James, through whose intercession he ascribed it, the army having begun the battle with the cry of St. James. And in the year 938, the king of Leon having conquered, in a famous battle, the great Abderamen, king of Cordova, with the Mahometan princes of Africa and an army of 200,000 men, and Count Fernan Gonzalez having completed their overthrow, the count and his people bound themselves by solemn

vows to pay a tribute to the church of St. Billan.

The magnificent baptistery at Pisa, built in the twelfth century, was raised by the voluntary contributions of one florin from every family in Pisa. Parma heard of this, and her baptistery arose-a monument of that good contention of which the oldest Greek poet speaks in his works and days. When the cathedral of Como was building, besides the abundant alms of the people, all who belonged to certain fraternities of trades, and desired the right of citizenship, were required to pay a certain sum towards it.\* The wonderful areade which crosses hills and valleys, connecting the church of our Lady on the mountain, three miles from the gate of Bologna, with the city, was built in this manner; different families, religious associations, and trades, taking upon them to raise a certain number of arches, over which their names are generally inscribed. Thus some are stated to have been built by a certain number of soldiers, others by some fishermen, others by some strangers contributing to the work with one heart. All professions and trades are there mentioned. Tragedians, booksellers, scholars, boatmen, shoemakers, some pious coachmen of the city, a company of one hundred and twenty servants, the poor by alms. Some are raised by families, such as the Belloni, Dolfi; and others by single individuals, as Count Philip Bentivoglio, Count Charles Ranuzzi, and others. The canons of the cathedral, the master of music of the chapel in the Basilica of St. Petronio, and a number of religious associations, contributed, and all from the motive often formally expressed, namely, out of devotion. This work was performed in the last century: for ages make no difference in the spirit of the faithful.

In the year 1389, Nicolas Flamel, a scrivener, and his wife Pernelle, built one of the arcades of the charnel-house of the Holy Innocents at

<sup>\*</sup> Storia della Cattedrale di Como, 59.

Paris: many other citizens contributed to this as to a work of religion, and their arms or initials were carved over the vaults. Nicolas Boulard was particularly distinguished as one of these pious citizens. The inscription upon one vault stated that it was built by Pierre Potier, furrier and citizen of Paris, in honour of God and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the blessed saints of paradise, " pour mettre les ossemens des trespasses. Priez Dieu pour lui et pour les trespasses." In addition, Flamel built at his expense the portal of the church of St. Jacques-dela-Boucherie. The inscription stated that this portal was built in honour of God by one of the parishioners and his wife, in the year of grace, 1388. "Pray for the benefactors of this," it added, "and for all others who have business in it, if you please." This whole church was built with the alms of pious people. It was demolished in the Revolution, but the tower was saved by the artifice of an architect, who besought the mob to spare it, in imitation, as he said, of the enlightened English, who had pulled down their churches indeed, but had always converted the tower into a manufactory of shot. Mme. de Sevigne gives a description of the crowds that used to assemble in this church to hear the sermons of Bourdaleu, on the site of which are now the shops of Jews, who trade in worn garments. Besides the portal, Flamel is supposed to have built one of the columns of the nave; for it was usual that pious people should thus undertake to raise one or more pillars of a church. Flamel was also the chief contributor to building the portal of the church of St. Geneviève-la-Petite, in 1402, on which the inscription stated that it was built with the alms of many persons, though Flamel's figure alone was carved upon it. He also built at his expense the chapel of the hospital of St. Gervais, the walls of which were covered with images of saints and crosses; and Flamel himself was represented on his knees.\*

After the destruction of the abbey church of St. Tron, when the abbot Rodulphus was almost in doubt of being able to rebuild it, from his desolation and poverty, God inspired a certain matron of our town, by name Ruzela, says the chronicler, who at her own expense began to build, and completed one pillar. A certain bailiff of the place followed her example, and finished another; and after them our townspeople, at their own expense, began four pillars, and left two of them imperfect. The abbot perceiving what was the will of God, girded himself to the work, and in a short time both walls of the nave were raised to the proper height † The great church of St. Riquier, in the eleventh century, having been half destroyed, to the indescribable grief of the people, it was resolved, in order to procure assistance, that the venerable relics of St. Richarius, the patron of the monastery, should be carried to the neighbouring castles, that the devout people might be moved to make gifts for the foundation of a new church. The day arrived, and the Count Wido came with many nobles, attended with a vast multitude, to behold the spectacle. With cross and banners, and tapers burning, the body of the saint was borne along; but the devout people could not endure that it should be carried beyond the town of the abbey, thinking that it would be an eternal disgrace to suffer it. So that early the next

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. Critique de Nicolas Flamel et de Pernelle sa femme, p. 32-113.

<sup>†</sup> Chronic. Abbatiæ S. Trudonis, lib. x. p. 471, apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. vii.

morning the body was brought back with such joy and triumph, that no one can express it; and then, the people being all assembled, with a prompt mind gave many gifts to restore the church, which offerings are thus related:—

Vaccas atque boves et equos, et oves tribuerunt, Cappas, mantellos, anulos, vittasque, tiaras; Cingula, cultellos, manicas, caligasque dederunt, Auribus appensum tribuuntque monile puelle.

Sed nostri cives argenti pondera pensant, Librarum solidos quam multos undique donant, Rusticus hordea dat, multorum cetus avenam, Plures dant brasium, vinum plerique dederunt. Ex his thesaurus fit mercibus amplior unus, Quem numerare nequit, vel si quis compota novit.

"By God's assistance," continues the chronicler, "a new church is begun from the foundations; and by the daily gifts of good men, the fabric rises, the inhabitants more fervently urging one another, that no one should seem inferior to another in giving assistance. Thanks be to God, we now behold it raised on a stronger foundation, and to a loftier height than ever."\*

In England, during the ages of faith, we see the same process in ope-After the dreadful fire, caused by the carelessness of a plumber, which destroyed the abbey of Crowland, in the time of Ingulphus, the charity of people far and near was excited towards the monks. The Bishop of Lincoln gave forty marcs of silver and forty days of indulgence to all who would do them service. Richard de Rulos, Lord of Brunne and Depyny, made liberal presents as an ancient friend, and proved, in time of calamity. The people gave money and provisions, fat hogs, and beans, and corn, and oxen. "Nor must we forget," says the Monk, "among so many benefactors, Juliana, a poor old woman of holy memory at Weston, who out of her poverty gave us all her living, namely, some yarn and spinning thread to make vestments for the brethren of our monastery. Multitudes gave the labour of their hands, taking it in turn to serve one day every month till all was finished." Legacies are on record of various persons who left money towards rebuilding the tower of the abbey of St. Edmund's, at Bury. Thus on one beautiful tower of a Franciscan convent between Pisa and Florence, I saw inscribed "Pietas fidelium, 1826." In the year 1450 the convent of the Franciscans at Rheims was destroyed by fire, and in the following year it was rebuilt at the expense of a widow, whose name has remained unknown. t It is a tradition that the cloth-fullers were the founders of the church of St. Paul at Paris. In the tower there was a window on which they were represented at work in their trade. | The second source of supply for the erection of churches, has been stated to have been the munificence of kings, and religious orders, and noble families; and of this we have an early instance in the Saxon chronicle. "In the year 655, when Peada was king of the Mercians, came together himself and Oswy, brother of king Oswald, and said that they would rear a minster to the glory of Christ and the honour of St. Peter. And

<sup>\*</sup> Chronic Centulensis sive S. Richarii, lib. iv. cap. 36. apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. iv. † Hist. Ingulphi, p. 99. ‡ Hist. de Rheims, liv. iii. 7.

Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. i. chap. 4.

they did so; and gave it the name of Medhamsted," (which is now Peterborough.) "And they began the ground wall and wrought thereon; after which they committed the work to a monk, whose name was Sax-'ulf. He was very much the friend of God, and him also loved all people: he was nobly born in the world and rich; he is now much richer with Christ. After the death of this king, his brother Wulfhere, who succeeded, loved Medhamsted for the love of his brother Peada, and for the love of Oswy, and for the love of Saxulf the abbot; and he said therefore that he would dignify and honour it. Then sent the king after the abbot, that he should immediately come to him, and he did so. Then said the king to the abbot, 'Beloved Saxulf, I have sent after thee for the good of my soul; and I will plainly tell thee for what reason. My brother Peada, and my beloved friend Oswy, began a minster for the love of Christ and St. Peter; but my brother, as Christ willed, is departed from this life; I will therefore entreat thee, beloved friend, that they earnestly proceed on this work; and I will find thee thereto gold and silver, land and possessions.' Then went the abbot home and began to work. So he sped as Christ permitted him, and in a few years was that minster ready. Then the king sent after all his thanes, after the archbishop and bishops, and after his earls, and after all those that loved God, that they should come to him; and he fixed the day when men should hallow the minster; and when they were hallowing it, there was the king Wulfhere and his brother Ethelred, and his sisters Kyneburga and Kyneswitha, and the archbishop and bishops, and all his thanes that were in his kingdom. Then stood up the king and said with a loud voice, 'Thanks be to the high almighty God for this worship that here is done, and I will this day glorify Christ and St. Peter. I Wulfhere give to-day to St. Peter and the abbot Saxulf and the monks of the minster, these lands and these waters and meres and fens and wiers. This is my gift." Then followed the specifying of the gifts, which were immense. "Then quoth the king, 'It is little-this giftbut I will that they hold it so royally and so freely that there be taken therefrom neither gild nor gable, but for the monks alone.' During these words the abbot desired that he would grant him his request. And the king granted it. 'I have here (said he) some good monks that would lead their life in retirement, if they wist where. Now, here is an island that is called Ankerig, and I will request that we may build there a minster to the honour of St. Mary, that they may dwell there who will lead their lives in peace and tranquillity.' 'Then answered the king and quoth thus: 'Beloved Saxulf, not that only which thou desirest, but all things that I know thou desirest in our Lord's behalf, so I approve and grant; and I pray all that come after me that our gift may stand. Whoso lesseneth our gift, or the gift of other good men, may the heavenly porter lessen him in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso advanceth it, may the heavenly porter advance him in the kingdom of heaven.' Then the witnesses subscribed it with their fingers on the cross of Christ, and confirmed it with their tongues."

It would be endless to commemorate the pious munificence of Catholic kings in the erection of churches. In Spain, previous to the invasion of the Sarassins, king Sisebut had built the church of St. Leocadia at Toledo; Chindasvint had erected the famous churches and monasteries

of Compluto and St. Roman. Recesvint founded the church of St. John de Baño near Dueñas; and even Atangild had evinced royal munificence in the erection of that of Agaliensis. When Don Alphonso, the Catholic, had expelled the Moors from Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay, he rebuilt the churches which they had destroyed. The funds for the support of these churches were often the gift of devout kings, where, as in Spain, till after the eighth century, the payment of tithes was only voluntary and partial. Don Sancho the Great granted to the monastery of Levre the tithes of various towns which he had wrested from the Moors. Don Bamiro of Arragon gave similar privileges to the church of Huesca. Count Petriccio made an equal donation to the apostolic church of St. James, and Don Alfonso I. of Arragon granted to the holy church of Saragosa the right of tithes from certain mills and baths of the city. Don Alfonso the VIIIth granted certain tithes to the church of Burgos, and the king St. Ferdinand similarly endowed the metropolitan church of Seville. When St. Angilbert was abbot of the monastery of St. Richarius in Gall, Charlemagne assisted him in rebuilding that church, and by his orders marble and columns were transported from Rome upon strong waggons, to be employed in its decoration.\* Charles VIII. of France, at his coronation in the cathedral at Rheims, was moved to compassion at the sight of its ruinous state, in consequence of a late fire; he immediately granted a considerable sum for its restoration.† The beautiful church of St. Miniato al Monte, at Florence, was raised by Hildebrand Bishop of Florence, at the expense of the Emperor St. Henry and St. Cunegonde his wife. At Rome there are churches built by kings of Spain. The expense of the repairs of the Basilica of St. Paul without the walls was always borne by the kings of England. Sometimes it was the magistrates of cities who erected their principal church, of which they might almost have said with truth, "Hic amor, hee patria est." This was the case at Freyburg in Switzerland, of which the chronicles relate that its magistrates, after having been detained at Freyburg in Brisgau by the severe Albert of Austria, brought away with them the plan of the cathedral tower, to serve as a model for that which they were to build in their own city.

The decree of the Florentine republic, in the thirteenth century, which orders the reconstruction of the cathedral is cited by admirers of classic eloquence as equal in grandeur to any senatus consultum of ancient Rome. But we must not forget the zeal of the religious orders of knighthood, of the Templars and of the Teutonic order, to which many noble churches in the West are due. In Prussia, wherever the dominion of the latter penetrated, churches and monasteries were immediately built, and divine service offered up. It was this order which built the beautiful church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg, which is still the admiration of Germany.‡ Sometimes religious confraternities built churches. That of the holy Sepulchre at Parma was founded in 1262 by pilgrims who had visited Jerusalem. The noblest artists contributed their skill and labour, and sought no other recompense but the remembrance of

<sup>\*</sup> Vita S. Angelberti, Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. iv. 1.

<sup>†</sup> Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Liv. iv. 59. ‡ Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, ii. 294.

having done so. On the tomb of Giotto, in the cathedral of Florence, is an inscription, which alludes to his having built the beautiful tower of variegated marble adjoining;

Miraris turrem egregiam sacro ære sonantem, Hæc quoque de modulo crevit ad astra meo.

A noble example, surpassed in our days by the great Canova, who, towards the end of his life, erected at his own expense in Possagno, the place of his birth, a little mountain village of difficult access, a marble church of exquisite beauty; and his resources being found insufficient, in order to complete it he recommenced his personal labours with the activity, to which indigence alone had before condemned him. Private families were often at the whole expense of erecting magnificent churches: for luxury was not in those ages personal, consisting in furniture, play, jewellery, dress, and theatres, but it was rather a grand and noble spirit, prompting works of public beneficence. Privatus illis census erat brevis, commune magnum, says Horace, speaking of the early Romans, and Bonald observes, that this was true also of the French till the fifteenth century,-the church was more beautiful than the castle.\* The sublime church of the Annunziata at Genoa was built at the sole expense of the Lomelini family: that of St. Matthew was built by the Doria family, in which is the tomb of Andrew Doria, the founder, whose descendants continue to support it. In the year 1831 Prince Doria, on visiting this church, perceiving that the gold was tarnished, gave 200,000 francs to have it refreshed. In the same city, the beautiful church of Santa Maria in Carignano, was built in obedience to the will of Bendinelli Sauli, a noble Genoese; and several others were built there by other families, such as the Pallavicinis, Balbis, and Ivreas. The church of the Annunziata at Padua was founded by Henry Scrovigno, whose statue is there seen. The family of Ruccellai at Florence possess the oratory of the holy sepulchre. John Ruccellai sent persons expressly to Jerusalem to take the model of the holy sepulchre, and he confided the erection to Alberti. This was restored and embellished in 1809 by Joseph Horace Ruccellai. The magnificent front of the church of the holy Apostles at Rome will attest the munificence of the Torlonia family in the present age. The church of Taverny, one of the most beautiful gothic fabrics in the diocese of Paris, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, was raised at the expense of the family of Montmorenci. In the year 1237, Burchard de Montmorenci left money for the expense of the glass windows. The word aplanos, belonging to the Montmorencis, is read upon the sanctuary. Many of that family are buried there, under magnificent tombs of marble, and each inscription ends with "Priez pour l'ame de lui:" one to a boy of that house, who died in 1369 ends thus: "gaudeat in Christo tempore perpetuo."† In the time of Francis I. was discovered under the ancient church of St. Merry at Paris, a stone tomb, containing the body of a warrior with boots of gilt leather on his feet, with this inscription, "Hic jacet vir bonæ memoriæ Odo Falconarius fundator hujus ecclesiæ." This was the famous Odo, the hero of Paris, who with the valiant Godefroi defended it against the Normans in the year

<sup>\*</sup> Législat. Primit. 11.

<sup>†</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom iv. 96.

886, under the orders of Count Eudes, who became king two years afterwards.\*

But to the personal labours and munificence of bishops and abbots Christendom was still more indebted for the erection and restoration of these magnificent fabrics, though such works were not suffered to interfere with their other duties, as the following instances will show. The first act of the episcopacy of Ebon at Rheims was to obtain leave from the Emperor to demolish what remained of the walls and gates of the city, in order to employ the materials in the reconstruction of the cathedral, which was falling to ruin. In this work he evinced great zeal for the arts, and Rumaldus, serf of the Emperor, was placed at the head of the workmen as the architect. At the same time this bishop was employing learned and holy men to compose penitentiary canons, and such was his zeal that he went twice into Denmark to preach the Gospel.† When Yves de Bellême Bishop of Séez, in the eleventh century, was obliged to rebuild his cathedral, which had been destroyed by fire, he made a journey as far as Palestine to seek contributions from some of his rich relations, who were residing there. In the same age, when the Norman knights were at Civitade in Italy, there came to them Geoffrey de Montbray Bishop of Coutances, who was related to the sons of Tancred, and he received from them considerable treasures, to enable him to finish his cathedral, with which he returned in safety. In the year 935 St. Conrad, count of Altorf, having been made Bishop of Constance, made three pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and during his episcopacy, built at his own expense three churches in Constance, in one of which, that of St. Maurice, he made a sepulchre resembling that which he had seen at Jerusalem. St. Hugo, the sixth abbot of Cluni, amidst all his other labours, was able to rebuild, on an entensive scale, the church of the monastery, and in a style which was admirable for its beauty, employing twenty years on this work. t We have already seen how the celebrated abbot Suger exerted himself in building the church of St. Denis. The history of his life records a circumstance which was quite characteristic of these holy men who raised cathedrals, while they spent nothing upon themselves, from a sense of one of those great primitive principles expressed by the ancients, as by Aristotle, where he says, ἐν ἐκαστοις το πgέπον. ου γάς ταυτά άρμοζει Θεοίς και ανθεώποις ουδ' εν ίεςω και τάφω. When he was made Regent of France, he was so little prepared for such a dignity, that he had been at that very time meditating a final retreat from court, to procure repose for the end of his life. With this view, he had built a little cell near the church, in which he could retire and meditate on divine things. This was the only apartment which he constructed for himself, and it was so modest and conformable to poverty, being only ten feet wide and fifteen long, that all who saw it were surprised at such an instance of detachment in so magnificent a person. When Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluni, came one day, with many other abbots, to see Suger, after admiring the grandeur of the church of St. Denis, and then coming to view this little cell, he heaved a deep sigh, and turned to those

<sup>\*</sup> Lebeuf. Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. i. c. 6.

<sup>†</sup> Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, i. 97.

Ethic. iv. 3.

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Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 458.

near him, saying, "Behold a man who condemns us all. If he goes to great expense in buildings, it is not for himself, like us, but only for the ornament of the house of God."\*

In Rome we may see the magnificent churches built in these latter days by saints, by St. Philip Neri and by St. Charles Borromeo. Yet in restoring the ancient churches with greater magnificence, these holy. men are sometimes seen fearing the very splendour of their own work, and passing a judgment upon themselves which assuredly they did not deserve. Thus speaking of Wilstan, Bishop of Worcester, William of Malmesbury says, "The fear of God was so constantly in his mind, that what others turned into pomp, he transferred into matter of compunction. When the church which he had begun from the foundations was so far completed that the monks were removing into it, orders were given that the old church, which had been built by the blessed Oswald, should be unroofed and demolished. At this spectacle Wilstan, standing by, could not refrain from tears. What feeling and tenderness belonged to the spirit of the middle ages! Upon which, being modestly reminded by his companions that he ought rather to rejoice on seeing the church so augmented, he replied, 'I think far otherwise, because we, miserable men, destroy the works of the saints that we may procure praise for ourselves; that age of happy men knew not the construction of pompous houses, but it knew men who, under any roof whatever, were ready to immolate themselves to God, and to attract subjects by example." "t Ah, what sayest thou, holy Wilstan? Were not these scruples against thine own wiser rule? The saintly Bernard too had fears, lest vainglory should arise from his success in preaching; but art not thou one of those privileged few who may conclude, as he did, in addressing the insidious enemy, "nec propter te cœpi, nec propter te desinam?" ‡ And besides, after all the pains which later architects have employed in making old buildings vain to be homogeneous with their own works, by forcing them to display themselves to every passing gaze, how little would their style lead us to suspect the men who raised them of being actuated by personal vanity. It might almost lead us to remember that fact related in the Gospel, that it was he whom all the Jews counted worthy, who loved their nation, and who had built them a synagogue, that cried to Jesus, Lord, I am not worthy. Humility is, as it were, the kernel which lies within the beautiful exterior shell of all the creations of religion; as when you repair to Loretto, and find that poor cottage of Nazareth enshrined within a temple of marble, and surrounded by a palace, which art and riches have combined to adorn. An old writer says, while looking at the chapel of King Henry VII. in Westminster, "I have much admired the curious workmanship thereof; it added to the wonder, that it is so shadowed with mean houses, well-nigh on all sides, that one may almost touch it as soon as see it. This chapel may pass for an emblem of great worth, living in a private way. How is he pleased with his own obscurity, whilst others of less desert make greater show; and whilst proud people stretch out their plumes in ostentation, he useth their vanity for his shelter, more pleased to have worth than to

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. de Suger, liv. vi.

<sup>‡</sup> In Vita ipsius.

<sup>†</sup> De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, lib. iv.

have others take notice of it." Indeed it would not be easy to find any thing more expressive of humility than the buildings of the middle ages. With all their grandeur and beauty they are always modest, and never disposed to show themselves off to advantage. They disdain nothing useful for the sake of appearances; they have no false surface to conceal weakness and deformity; they are grand without an effort; and always willing to condescend to the wants and consolations of the poor. In the middle ages when an edifice was complete, there was almost as much under the ground as above it. Whether church or castle there was always a double foundation; either a subterraneous church, or a suite of apartments, or a labyrinth of vaults, spreading, like roots, far and wide on all sides.

From all this it is sufficiently evident that the construction of these monuments did not involve men in any ruinous expenditure: they were not raised or enriched, like the temples of Rome, when they were rebuilt and re-endowed at the departure of the Gauls, by taxes imposed upon the citizens, with such little regard to their convenience, that they were compelled to borrow money for their own personal wants, until year after year augmenting their difficulties, they were consigned to slavery, and dragged to dungeons, and the whole commonalty sank under its misery into a state of gloomy submission. The offerings with which they were raised and supported had been always the voluntary contributions of the faithful; the catholic bishops would have abhorred the idea of any one being compelled to present them. Nay, the funds were actually the fruit of holiness and austerity; for wherever decay of discipline occurred in monasteries, even buildings fell to ruin, but a reform was followed with an increase of wealth and magnificence. This was the case at St. Denis, when Suger had introduced the reform.\* Dom Gervaise observes, that the abbey was never so rich as after it had embraced this reform, and he believes that it was in consequence of the blessing of God. This source of ecclesiastical wealth to support the erection of churches, had been remarked in an early age; witness what St. Ambrose says, "If he deserved to be commended to our Lord who had built a synagogue, how much more is he deserving who builds a church? What shall I say of our brethren, the holy men Vitalianus and Majanus? I know that they seek not glory from men but from God: yet if I were not to speak their praise, these works themselves would cry out; for they constructed this tabernacle, and at their own expense, and at what great expense, considering how moderate and slight are their worldly means! theirs was abundance of faith and the riches of simplicity, for to holy men poverty itself is always rich. Therefore, I believe that these blessed men built the church no less with their prayers than with their money; they expended all their substance on it, and yet they wanted nothing, which shows how rich is poverty when all is expended." How justly might we style each of these Christian churches a temple, σεμνών αγλάαισι μεείμναι: t venerable with noble thoughts. It is to be remembered that the clergy, and even holy laymen, gave not only their wealth but their personal labour, and the assistance of their own genius. St. Victrice, Archbishop of Rouen, in

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. de Suger, lib. v. † S. Ambrosii Serm. lxxxix. ‡ Pind. Nem. iii.

the fourth century, describes himself and his clergy as labouring with their own hands to build the church of God in that city. "You behold on one side a crowd of austere monks, on another a multitude of children, who make the air resound with their innocent voices; a little farther it is a chorus of holy virgins, who carry the standard of Jesus Christ, or a crowd of devout widows, who display none of the ornaments which are despised by those who wish to serve Christ. Every thing is divine—the riches of sacred canticles shine there, not a night or vigil, that is not enlightened by them. Let us then introduce the divine martyrs into the temple prepared for them; let us collect their relics. those seeds of the future resurrection. It is not in vain that I have so ardently desired to build this sanctuary. The arrival of the saints justified my anxiety. We have laid the foundations; we have raised the walls, and we behold this day for whom the work has been advanced; juvat manibus volvere, et grandia humeris saxa portare. Sudorem meum bibat terra; atque utinam sanguinem biberet pro nomine salvatoris!" The Cardinal de Berulle, who founded the congregation of the Oratoire, was inflamed with such zeal, that when he had purchased ground for the church, he used to work himself at the building, like an apostolic man, carrying the hods as if he had been a common labourer. This was so late as in the year 1616.† Peter, Abbot of Andrenes, had incurred the resentment of a certain wicked man, on account of his persisting in rebuilding a church which the other had resolved should not be rebuilt. The holy pastor went on, however, with the work, and laboured with his own hands. The son of the opponent, that he might please his father, lay in wait for the abbot at the gate of the monastery, and as the abbot was entering aimed a mortal blow at his head; but a youth, Henry de Fernes, his chaplain, bravely threw himself forwards and received the stroke: he was immediately carried into the infirmary, where after a few days he departed in holy hope. The same men who were thus ready to exercise every kind of servile labour, were also zealous in devoting their genius and skill to the same end. In the tenth century the monk of Gozze was a celebrated architect. The church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, which is so beautiful, that Michael Angelo used to call it his Spouse, was built in the thirteenth century by two Dominican friars. The façade of St. Mark's, in the same city, was designed by a Carmelite. In erecting the noble church of the Abbey of Einsiedelin, the architects were Kaspar Moosbrugger, a monk, and Thomas Maier, a lay brother. It was Father Grassi and Father Pozzi, Jesuits, who contributed chiefly to the erection and adornment of the magnificent church of St. Ignatius at Rome. Marius de Canepine, who was the architect to raise the front of the church of St. Charles at Rome, was a Capuchin. So also upon the interior decorations the clergy esteemed their personal labour well employed. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was Dom Guillaume Lavieille, prior of the Abbey of Fontenelle, who beautifully painted the choir of that church with

<sup>\*</sup> De Laude Sanctorum, cap. 12. Theod. Liquet, Recherches sur l'Hist. Religieuse et Litteraire de Rouen depuis les premiers temps jusqu'à Rollon, p. 21.

<sup>†</sup> De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. i. 812. † Chronicon Andrensis Monasterii, apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. ix. p. 455,

images of divers saints.\* The perfecting of the art of making pictures in Scagliola is due to Father Henry Hugford, abbot of the order of Vallombrosa, who was of an English family; and the two organs in the cathedral of Como were made by the celebrated Jesuit Hermann, in the seventeenth century. St. Jerome mentions, in praise of the priest Nepotianus, that whatever was beautiful in the Basilicas and in the Courts of the Martyrs, was the work of his own hands, that he resembled in elegance and diversity of genius those Greek philosophers who used to boast that whatever they used, even to their pallium and to the ring on their finger, had been made by their own hands. Even great noblemen were sometimes excited by devotion to labour with their own hands at the erection of churches. Godfrey, the Bearded Duke of Lower Lorraine, in his war against the Emperor, Henry III., had burnt the greater church of St. Mary at Verdun, when that city fell a prey to his arms. Full of repentance for this sacrilege, he caused it to be rebuilt, and took for his penance the labour of frequently working at it with his own hands, carrying the mortar like the meanest workman; this was in the year 1046, as Lambertinus Schaffnaburgensis relates. This example naturally leads us to consider the last source, which consisted in the substitution of such works for the ancient canonical penance. In these ages of faith, when man was not made to consist in his organs, when, as Bonald observes, there was in the world another God besides the god of riches, another worship besides that of pleasure, other business besides the intrigues of ambition, it was common to see men in power, who had been misled for a moment by the intoxication of rule, return to themselves, and exhibit profound sorrow for unjust actions, or even for a legitimate war, if they had exceeded the measure of evil which it permits to be inflicted upon enemies. They were then seen to found pious establishments with the profit of iniquity, and offer to the Eternal Justice institutions of a durable advantage to society, in expiation of the passing evils committed against some men, and leave public monuments of their faith in the Divinity, of their hope of a better life, of their charity to their fellow-creatures, monuments which attested their repentance, even after history had forgotten their faults. We have already seen that by means of indulgences, and the contributions in consequence, a great number of these magnificent churches were built or repaired. The vast and beautiful church of that celebrated Carthusian monastery near Pavia, of which the Marquis Malaspina de Sannazaro has lately given a description, may be cited here. Great as may have been the crimes of Galeazzo Visconti, the founder, great also, it must be admitted, was this monument of his penitence, and desire to redeem his soul, a work worthy indeed of repentance, at once to be the consolation and support of a number of holy men in successive ages, who were to follow there the path of perfection, and a monument that was to adorn and benefit his country, being an object of astonishment and rapture for the men of devout and cultivated minds in all future times. The first stone was laid in September, 1396, and in the year 1399 twenty-five monks were there established. Gelasius II. granted the Archbishop of Saragosa, the

<sup>\*</sup> Langlois, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Fontenelle.

<sup>#</sup> Epist. xxxv

<sup>†</sup> Plato, Hippias. | Législation Primit. tom. i. 240.

power of remitting canonical penances to any one who would give alms for rebuilding his church, which the Moors had destroyed. The Count Don Pedro and his countess gave the town and monastery of Corispindo to the church of St. James, as an atonement for the sin of wounding Don Alphonso before the gate of the altar of the Apostle. "In truth, says the author of the work lately published in Spain, on the origin and progress of the income of that church, "corporal mortifications are better than alms for cleansing the soul of its infirmities, because, though the latter are efficacious means of exciting Divine mercy, they stand opposed only to covetousness; and it is easier to a rich man to relinquish part of his superfluities, than to abandon his luxuries and criminal pursuits. Therefore, even when these commutations were flourishing most, there were added to alms, prayers and abstinence from certain dainties." With respect to the principle of the commutation in relation to history, it is certain that, even in the first ages, penitents were sometimes required or induced to contribute to great works of public utility; but the formal substitution of these for the ancient canonical penances, was introduced towards the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. Every change implies some disorder, and abuse attaches itself of necessity to every possible arrangement of discipline; but it was argued that the evil to which this may have opened a door, was certainly not to the extent that some learned ecclesiastical writers, in their zeal for primitive usages, were found to maintain, for the foundations of truth are never set aside. Pierre le Chantre, a celebrated theologian, who lived in the twelfth century, complained of the abandonment of the ancient canonical penance by this relaxation. The blessed Stephen d'Obasine, who died about the middle of the same century, expressed himself in the same sense, and would not consent to introduce the compensations. The scholastic divines, on the contrary, that is, the wisest and most learned men, argued in defence of this mode of compensation; and while the popes, as Chardon says, seemed always attached to the ancient discipline, they sanctioned the sense of the schools, in recognizing the wisdom and expediency of the change which had been gradually effected. Holy theologians, indeed, of the twelfth century, when found complaining of this alteration, have a claim to the highest respect of those who have continued faithful; but assuredly the men of our times, and of the modern creeds, cannot with any consistency avail themselves of their arguments or opposition.

How can men of the modern learning lament the abolition of that discipline which required years of weeping, prostration and kneeling without the church in sackcloth and ashes, excluded from communion for seven or ten or twenty years, or even for the whole course of men's lives? On the other hand, the wisest and most zealous adherents of the ancient discipline acknowledged that after all, these penances did not always necessarily produce conversion of heart, or facilitate the return of men to God, without which the punishment of sins was of no avail: those who advocated the system of compensation, observed that while reason herself could not but approve of that discipline, which directed the internal horror of sin and dread of its penalty to the erection of prodigious works, that would benefit the race of men in future generations, to the ear of faith the arguments of the schoolmen must seem solid and

satisfactory, for they rested on the principle of Hugues and Richard of St. Victor, that perfect contrition alone had the power of remitting sins and their penalty, as also on the explanation given by Alexander de Hales, that the punishment due to sin, though not suffered in this life, may yet, by the indulgence of the church, which is only an application of the merits of Jesus Christ, granted to contrite sinners, be considered punished by God in the person of Jesus Christ; so that there would remain nothing to be suffered by the contrite penitent, who had not fulfilled the canonical penance, but who had worthily received the indulgence of the church, granted from her treasure, which consisted of the superabundant merits of the whole mystical body of Jesus Christ. They observed that the greatest admirers of the canonical penance were obliged to admit, that in the first ages the bishops had the power of dispensing with a whole or a part of the penalty, which was an admission that sin might be wholly remitted, without suffering its penalty either in this life or in the next; and they denied that any other prerogative was exercised in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when, to persons truly contrite, works of charity and of pious utility were substituted for the solitary exercises imposed by the canons, which would not have produced any fruits beyond the breasts of the individual, and which could not have been always of absolute necessity, since they had been sometimes remitted.

But to return to the churches. We have now seen from what sources the funds for their erection were generally drawn; so that the phenomenon seems to be explained, with respect to the difficulty of accomplishing works of such prodigious magnitude; for they are monuments of faith, and they testify the zeal with which men of former ages followed and worshipped Christ. It is not that undue importance was attached to material fabrics, or that christians in faithful ages needed the light of modern philosophy to entertain spiritual notions of what is pleasing to the majesty of God. It does not follow that they were unable to make the proper distinctions, because we do not find them imitating Xerxes, when he burnt all the temples in Greece, the Magi having persuaded him that it was impious and detestable to include the deity within walls. "God himself takes care," said St. Zeno of Verona, "to warn us that all this worldly and terrestrial pomp, without true adorers, is neither necessary nor sufficient to honour him worthily. 'What house worthy of me can ye build to me,' saith he in the words of Isaiah; and does he not show us all the vanity of the Temple of Solomon, when he says, 'Of this temple there shall not rest stone upon stone.' Ah! without doubt, he shows us in these words that a similar edifice, however great or magnificent, cannot please him by itself alone. He desires above all to be surrounded by true adorers, and he finds in their hearts a temple, which is far more agreeable to him than all those which the hands of men can build to his honour." In the middle ages we find these sentiments in the ordinances of holy kings, who were the most distinguished for their magnificent foundations of churches. "Although it is good," says a capitulary of Charlemagne, "that there should be public edifices for the church, nevertheless, the ornament and

elevation of good morals must be preferred to all other kinds of building: because, as far as we can discern, the construction of basilicas belongs to a certain custom of the old law, but the emendation of manners appertains properly to the New Testament and to the Christian discipline." This was published at the time when the monks of Fulda expostulated with him, beseeching him that the immense and superfluous buildings and other useless works of their secular rulers might be omitted by which the brethren were harassed. "Sed omnia," they added, "juxta mensuram et discretionem fiant."\* In the exhortations which he addressed to the new abbot St. Eigilus, the emperor quoted the observation of St. Chrysostom, that no churches are raised to the glory of God, in the building of which the interests of the poor are compromised, and that the martyrs are not honoured, when their basilicas are enriched with the spoils of the living.† But, as illustrating the creative spirit of the Catholic society, the number of these beautiful and sublime fabrics may be a subject for lasting admiration and pious gratitude. "The Catholic religion," says Chateaubriand, "has covered the

world with its monuments. Protestantism has now lasted three centuries; it is powerful in England, in Germany, in America. What has it raised? It will show you the ruins which it has made, amidst which it has planted some gardens, or established some manufactories." The debasement, indeed, of our ecclesiastical architecture, which, as a modern writer says, "immediately ensued upon the Reformation, is only less disgraceful than the destruction to which so many venerable edifices were condemned by the brutal rapacity of their lay possessors. That glorious and elevating art had attained its highest perfection; and no degradation was ever more rapid or more complete. But the Reformation," adds this writer, with amusing simplicity or shallowness, "was not in any degree the cause of this: it was produced by the spirit, or rather the taste of the age." The Catholic religion is essentially a creative power, to edify and not to destroy, because it is under the immediate influence of that Holy Spirit which the Church invokes as the Creative Spirit-" Creator Spiritus." The Protestant, or modern philosophical, is a principle of destruction, of perpetual decomposition, and disunion. Under the dominion of the English Protestant power, for four hundred years, Ireland presents, as a great prelate of our times observes, the appearance of a new country, in the same manner as France under the sophists of the Revolution, is rapidly becoming as naked and void of ancient memorials as the wilds of America. That the Catholic spirit in this respect continues to be exactly what it was of old in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, may be witnessed in the works which are still pursued in Italy and Spain, or in any of the Catholic states of Europe, however poor or insignificant, as in some of the smaller cantons of Switzerland. Florence, for instance, during the last fifteen years, has beheld the prodigious work continued of finishing the chapel of the Medicis in the church of St. Lorenzo, at the private personal expense of its pious and munificent dukes. This famous chapel is incrusted

<sup>\*</sup> Mabillon, Præfat. in iv. Sæcul. Benedict. § 6. † In Vita S. Eigilii, Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. iv. p. 1.

<sup>#</sup> Discourse, Hist. Pref. Quarterly Review, No. Ixviii.

with jasper, agates, chalcedons, lapis lazuli, and marble of every colour. and adorned with tombs of Egyptian granite and statues of bronze. At Rome too is seen, at the present day, the same spirit for constructing churches as in the middle ages. Witness the vast labour of its devout people in rebuilding the Basilica of St. Paul; on entering which solemn and majestic sanctuary, it is difficult to refrain from tears; caused, not merely from beholding such stupendous ruins, but also by an impression, which comes suddenly over the mind, of astonishment and effection for the present generation of men, who employ such pains to repair it: and in fact it is with an indescribable emotion that one stands by and beholds these prodigious columns of granite arrive at their final destination, having been drawn along from the distant regions of the Alps; and one cannot avoid for the moment feeling, as it were, a greater love for men who are capable of conceiving and of undertaking such enterprises through the love of Christ and of his saints. Alas! with how much nobler an order of monuments than that which the present race of men erects, would England be now adorned, if her rich and powerful nobles, and her laborious population, had continued Catholic! splendid churches, monasteries, hospitals, colleges, and halls would have risen every where! With such means, and with the activity inherent in the national character, what might not have been done if all had been animated with the generous and self-devoted spirit of the Catholic religion! And here I cannot refrain from hazarding a remark which was often suggested to me by what I observed of Italy: for after all that can be advanced in praise of its climate, subject to such extreme vicissitudes, and of its scenery, where clear rivers and beautiful verdure, and even if we except its maritime and Alpine borders, abrupt and striking mountains are so rarely seen, it seems to me as if one cannot avoid coming at last to the conclusion, that the classic land of artists and poets owes its principal charms, even those which strike the eye, not to any extraordinary liberality of nature, but to the works which have been inspired by the Catholic religion. The palaces of Genoa and of Venice, without their churches, would not compensate for their scorched and formal hills and unhealthy marshes. The monotonous plain of Milan would be no delightful recollection without the thought of its cathedral; the formal hills which border the pale and turbid Po at Tarin, would inspire no interest if they were not crowned with that votive church of the Superga; the low sandy banks of the Arno would not arrest the pilgrims at Pisa if there were not the soil of Calvary in the Campo Santo, the cathedral, the baptistery and the Campanile. The vale and hills of Florence, with their famed but disappointing stream, are unquestionably surpassed in natural beauty by the English valleys of the Severn or the Wye: but art, inspired by the Catholic religion, has raised that dome and tower in the Tuscan plain, and crowned the hills which encircle it with those beautiful convents which Michael Angelo used to regard with rapture. How hideous would be the range of the adjoining Apennines if it were not for Camaldoli and Alvernia! Who would be attached to Sienna if it were not for its cathedral and its Gothic towers? And what pilgrim from the North would be attracted to Ancona by the scenery of that level shore of the Adriatic, if it were not for the hope of arriving at the house of our blessed Lady? 2 9 2 Vol. I .- 48

I would suggest another observation, less hazardous, which must have been made by most travellers; that the unity of the Catholic religion is not more admirable than the variety of her monuments. In both we can trace the influence of the same creative spirit which presided over the formation of the earth and the waters, in which, as ancient philosophy observed,\* one living universal principle is simultaneously developed in a countless multiplicity of beauteous forms, designed for a beneficent end. To have a personal experience of the unity of the church, we should traverse the whole world, to witness, under every difference of nature and climate, one family likeness among her children, one faith, one hope, one baptism, one spirit of charity, one sacrifice of atonement, one pervading type, and one idea determining all institutions, manners, and even intellectual conceptions; -but to behold its variety, which is produced by this unity, we need only observe what is established in any one city. See the noble cathedral rising from the centre, as the parent of all the lesser fabrics! though it is not always the principle church; for at Verona, Padua, Bologna, and Ravenna, the churches of St. Zeno, St. Anthony, St. Petronio, and St. Apollinare, are in a rank before it, and to the latter the archbishop and clergy repair every year, processionally to honour the tomb of the apostle of Emilia. Observe on one side is the vast monastery of the Benedictines for the learned. with its spacious and beautiful cloisters under noble libraries and solemn halls: on the other rises the immense college of the Jesuits, for the reception of studious and saintly youth. Here you see the magnificent hospital for those who love to minister to the sick; and there is the hospice for him who desires to entertain the stranger. Nor do you overlook the charitable school for the pious lay brother who devotes himself to the instruction of the children of the poor. Without the walls, in some sequestered vale, stands the Carthusian monastery and Cistercian abbey, for those who serve God in penitence and retirement; and crowning the beautiful heights which encircle the city, appear the humble but picturesque convents of the Capuchins and Franciscans, for the active brothers of the poor. Among the groves adjoining you discern numerous religious houses, under various rules, for holy virgins. Rising on the highest rock, above them all, is the votive temple of our Lady, for the devout pilgrims; and deep in the recesses of the neighbouring forest you will discover the mossy cell and simple oratory, for him who loves to dwell in prayer amidst the silence and solitude of nature. What a multitude of magnificent and useful creations have thus arisen from one faith! What variety, and yet what harmonious concord!

But let us proceed to the building of the churches, for the ability to construct which we have been attempting to account. This may seem to propose a dry study; but as Quintilian says of his own subject, "Plus habet in recessu quam fronte promittit." In these days, when men have so forgotten the ancient practices and traditious of the Christian society, it might be supposed that formerly men were directed in the selection of sites for the erection of churches, either by the facility of procuring ground, or by some circumstances connected with caprice or accident; but it was not with such views that churches were erected in

primitive times, or during the ages of faith. In the second council of Braga, the bishops were prohibited consecrating any church built for the sake of any temporal utility. Catholics built not temples to saints as heretics affirm, nor to great men, as the sophists of France, but to the omnipotent God alone. They place them, indeed, under the invocation of saints; but their altars are consecrated to the God of martyrs. however, without regard to the memory and the prayers of saints was the site of their temples chosen. The spot which had received the blood of a martyr, or witnessed his confession, or heard the preaching of a holy man, or that on which his house had stood, or on which any remarkable event had occurred connected with religion, was always the first selected for the purpose, so that almost all the ancient churches in every country thus placed, convey a substantially faithful remembrance of great men and of great events, disproving the justice of that observation made by Cicero, that the memory of the wicked is sometimes stronger than that of the good, and really extending to the friends of the true God, that earthly honour of which the ancient poet so beautifully sung-

\*Tu quoque littoribus nostris, Æneïa nutrix, Æternam moriens famam Caieta dedisti.\*

Of churches thus situated, uttering as it were the solemn voice of ancient tradition, none are more illustrious than those three at the Salvian waters, beyond the Basilica of St. Paul at Rome, on the spot where that apostle was beheaded; that of St. Peter, in Montorio, on the Janiculum, in the cloisters of which is a small chapel, on the spot where the Prince of the apostles suffered on the cross; that of St. Agnes, without the walls, which was built by Constantine at the request of his daughter Constance, on the spot where the body of that holy virgin was found; and the Basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican, which was erected over the grotto near the Circus, where the body of St. Peter was placed by Marcellus. Pope St. Anaclet erected an oratory on the spot, which Constantine the Great raised into a Basilica, over which the present dome was erected in later ages. This ancient oratory is the present confession of St. Peter, under the altar of which reposes part of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, before which, in the upper church, one hundred and twelve lamps are burning for ever, day and night. Endless are the memorials of profound interest attached to the different churches of the holy city: on almost each of them a folio history has been written. One vast work of erudition by Cancellarii, is merely upon the sacristy of St. Peter. The church of St. Marcellus was built on the spot where stood the house of St. Lucina, a Roman lady, at the beginning of the fourth century. An ancient tradition relates, that where stands the church of St. Maria in Via Lata, St. Paul resided with the centurion, who by order of Festus conducted him to Rome. original oratory is now below the ground. The church of St. Clement stands on the site of the house of St. Clement, where his body and that of St. Ignatius of Antioch now repose under the great altar. church of St. Maria in Dominica was built over the house of St. Cyriaque. The origin of the church of St. John and St. Paul, dates from

the fourth century, when the Monk Pammachias changed into a church the house of St. John and St. Paul, martyrs. The church of St. Pudentienne occupies the site of the house of St. Pudentius, the Roman senator who lodged the apostle St. Peter, and was his first convert to the faith, with his sons Novatus and Timothy, and his daughters Pudentienne and Praxeda. Pope St. Pius I. changed this house into a church. Here is the altar on which St. Peter celebrated the divine mysteries; and in the well which is railed round in the nave was preserved the blood of more than three thousand martyrs, who are interred under the church. The Basilica of St. Sebastian was built on the cemetery of St. Calixtus, where many Popes and one hundred and seventy thousand Christians were buried, where the body of St. Sebastian was transported by St. Lucina, and where the bodies of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul were concealed for some time. The church of St. Prisca was built on the site of her house, in which she was baptized by St. Peter, with many other converted pagans. The church of St. Cecilia was built on the site of her house, and was consecrated by Pope St. Urban, about the year 230. The house of Pope St. Gregory the Great, who was descended from the ancient and noble Anician family, was changed by him into a monastery, where he continued to reside. After his death, the church which he built there in honour of St. Andrew, was placed under his own invocation. Here you see the chapel where St. Gregory recited his Homilies, and the marble table on which he used to feed, every morning, twelve poor pilgrims. The church of the Holy Cross was built by Constantine on the spot where he rested after escaping from the persecution at Rome.

Turning to other cities, we find the same associations of sanctity with the site of their churches. Thus at Genoa the cathedral of St. Laurence stands on the site of the hospice in which that holy martyr had lodged as he came from Spain to go to Rome, where he suffered three years afterwards under Valerian. It was immediately changed into a church, which at the end of the eleventh century rose into the present majestic structure. The church of our Lady of Graces in the same city, was built on the spot where St. Nazarus disembarked to be the third apostle of Genoa. The house of St. Catharine of Sienna was converted into two oratories, which form the church and the oratory of the confraternity of St. Catharine della Notte, so called because they accompany the blessed sacrament in the night to the sick. The church of St. Theodore in Ravenna is on the site of a house in which the primitive Christians assembled to celebrate the divine mysteries; for whom also the grottoes under the church of St. Nazair and St. Celsus at Verona served as a retreat. The church of St. Alexander in Zebedia at · Milan was built on the ruins of a prison called Zebedia, in which an ancient tradition states, that an ensign of the Theban legion, named Alexander, was confined, who was afterwards martyred at Bergamo. The little church of St. Protasius ad Monachos in Milan, was built on the site of the house where lodged the holy martyrs, Gervase and Protasins, who suffered under Nero in the year 77. At Arona the church encloses the very room in which St. Charles Borromeo was born. At Loretto the magnificent Basilica is raised over the blessed house of Nazareth, as tradition testifies, as history, with astonishment, concedes;

and as is acknowledged by those of the Dalmatian shore, who lost it to their shame. At Einsiedelin it incloses the hut of a poor hermit, who came into those mountains in the ninth century. Meinrad, (for that was the hermit's name,) who was of the illustrious family of the counts of Hohenzollern, in Suabia, retired into a forest on the mountains of Schweitz, near a fountain, where Hildergarde, daughter of Louis, king of Germany, and abbess of the convent of St. Felix and St. Regulus at Zurich, built him a cell and chapel, and gave him an image of our Lady. There he lived from the year 837 till his death, which was in 863: and on the spot was subsequently erected the vast abbey of our Lady of the Hermits, and over his cell arose the church: but as the declivity of the mountain did not admit of extending the nave to the fountain, it was found impossible to place the cupola, according to the original plan, immediately over the cell, which was on much higher ground; therefore we find it standing enclosed within a marble chapel, near the western entrance. That cell has been moistened with the blood of the murdered saint; and the very image which beheld the horrid deed, is still upon the altar. His fountain, which is in front of the church, is covered with a beautiful dome, supported upon arches, and the pilgrims drink from it.\* At Lyons the church of St. Irenæus was built over the tomb of St. Epipoy and St. Alexander, who were martyred under Marcus Aurelius. It was at first subterraneous; but in the fifth century St. Patiens erected the present church. Here were collected the bones of the martyrs under Severus in the year 202. St. Patiens placed on it an inscription inviting the faithful to prayer, and stating the number of martyrs whose bones were there collected, including those of women and children, to have been one thousand and nineteen. In the year 1562, the Calvinists took Lyons, demolished the altars, and mixed the bones of beasts with those of the martyrs. In the cathedral of Rheims is St. Peter's chapel, now under the invocation of St Nicholas, to which the clergy, on the first day of Lent, used to go in procession, chaunting the anthem of St. Peter. It was on that spot that St. Remi instructed Clovis for baptism.† Pope Urban IV. having been a native of Troyes, caused the house of his father to be dedicated to God, and on the spot built a beautiful church, which bore his name. ‡ In this city, the procession on Sundays, before high mass, used to make a station at the chapel of St. Saviour in the church of St. Peter, because this chapel is on the spot where the first church was built in Troyes by St. Potentian, in the first century, who dedicated it to the Saviour.

The site of many churches recalls events of the utmost interest, which would furnish episodes that could not be surpassed in beauty by any to be met with in the history of the world. This is the case with that of a church near Troyes, of which the origin is thus related. In the year 451, St. Loup being bishop of Troyes, Attila and his Huns came like a devastation over the plains of Champagne, and having destroyed the city of Rheims, passed on to Troyes. The holy bishop, warned by a vision, deputed his deacon Memier, and seven of the most holy children of the choir, to go out to meet the barbarian, clad in albs, to signify their inno-

<sup>\*</sup> Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik. † Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, i. 43. † Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 362. † Id. p. 2.

cence, and bearing the cross and the holy gospels. When intelligence came that Attila was arrived within six leagues of Troyes, St. Loup, evincing the obedience of the patriarch Abraham, presenting his children in sacrifice, sent his chosen band of innocent and holy youths to receive the crown of martyrdom. So these innocents departed from the city. and arrived in presence of the general of Attila, who was seated on a fiery horse, surrounded with sanguinary soldiers, who all hastened to meet this troop of lambs. The innocent children, according to the directions of their bishop, bowed down in reverence before the barbarians, who seemed seized with admiration; but suddenly a gust of wind raised the dust in clouds, and the albs and sacred vestments of St. Memier and his companions were agitated, so that the horse of the general taking fright, reared up, and became ungovernable, and threw his rider, who was killed on the spot. The soldiers, seeing what had happened, cried out that this was a troop of magicians, provided with charms, whose acts of apparent homage were mortal enchantments; and with these words they fell upon them with swords, and massacred them. Then they tore off the gold and precious stones from the binding of the books of the gospels, and seized the cross and the other sacred ornaments which the little saints had carried with them. After this event, the advanced guard moved on to the city and the holy bishop, clad in his pontifical vestments, with a great company of his clergy and people, came out to meet it. "Who art thou that comest to subject all things to thy empire!" said the holy bishop to the tyrant; who replied, "I am Attila, king of the Huns, the scourge of God?" to which words the bishop made answer, "What man is there then that can resist the scourge of God? Pass on then, O scourge of my God, and accomplish what shall be permitted to thee." A these words the barbarian was mollified, or rather struck with fear by the hand of God, so that the whole army passed through the midst of Troyes without doing any injury. Attila is said to have shown great reverence to the holy bishop, and to have begged him to follow his army. St. Loup, in hopes of converting the cruel tyrant, complied with this invitation, and accompanied him as far as the Rhine, whence he returned safe to Troyes, where he died in 479, on the 29th day of July, which is observed as a great festival through the diocese. The deacon, St. Memier, and the holy children, were massacred on the spot, which was called Brolium, and which now bears the name of St. Memier. It is on the banks of the Seine, about four leagues from Troyes, where a priory and a church were built, and where the relics of the martyrs were preserved in a golden shrine.\*

In the ninth century, St. Liudger built, in Friesland, a church on the spot where the great St. Boniface and his companions had been martyred by the barbarians; and these verses, composed by Alcuin, were in-

scribed upon it:

Hic Pater egregius meritis Bonifacius almis Cum sociis pariter fundebat sanguinis undam, Inclyta martyrii sumentes stemmata sacri. Terra beata nimis, sanctorum sanguine dives. Transvolat hinc victor miles ad præmia cæli, Ultima cæspitibus istis vestigia linquens.

<sup>\*</sup> Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 86.

Suadeo quapropter curvato poplite supplex, Tu quicumque legis, terris his oscula fige.\*

After the Saxons had laid waste the country about Daventre, and had destroyed the church in which was the sepulchre of the holy priest Liafwin, St. Liudger repaired thither and sought for the body of the saint, but without success. Nevertheless, that the place might not remain desolate, he began to build the church upon the space within which he thought it must be contained. After the foundation had been laid, instructed by a vision, he found the body under the wall which he had built next the south; therefore he extended its base, so as to comprisethe sepulchre within the church, which was preserved afterwards from all the fury of the Gentiles.† On the spot where St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia had been martyred in the tenth century, which was in a wood near the sea shore, a chapel under his invocation was erected and founded for four priests and two scholars, where the office of Our Lady was to be daily sung, and mass said every morning at four o'clock. To this wild but holy place devout pilgrims repaired from distant lands. attracted by the renown of his sanctity and by the indulgences attached to it by Pope Eugene IV. Of St. Adalbert's chapel, there remain at present but a few mouldering walls, which the instructed traveller beholds with sorrowful reverence. Abandoned, in consequence of the change of religion, it had been overthrown in the year 1069 by a furious storm. This had been erected by the knights of the Teutonic order, who made it a custom to commemorate great events in the history of the country by building similar chapels. Thus we find another to the memory of the knights that were slain on the field of Tannenberg. The origin of the foundation of the church of St. George at Rouen, was represented in stained glass upon the windows. It was founded by an English gentleman, at the time when his countrymen had possession of Rouen. This nobleman, being very ill, sent to ask for the blessed sacrament. The priest coming to the hotel, stumbled in the street, and the blessed host fell to the ground. Having heard of what had occurred, this nobleman, a true Christian and good Catholic, being filled with sorrow, vowed to God that he would build a church on the spot, under the invocation of St. George the Martyr, which he did on his recovery, and he placed canons in that church, which he richly endowed. When St. Ouen, bishop of Rouen, died at Clichy in the year 683, his body was to be conveyed to his episcopal city. For this purpose, the king Thierry, the queen, the mayor of the palace, and all the court, accompanied it as far as Pontoise, where it was delivered to the clergy of the province of Rouen, accompanied by the nobility. On the spot on the river's side where his body was laid down during this exchange, a chapel was erected in his honour, and finally the church of St. Ouen, which is now the parish of the village. St. Ouen, having died in the royal house at Clichy, his memory was in such benediction that though his body was immediately removed to Rouen, the palace was ever after called St.

<sup>\*</sup> Vita ejus, Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iv. p. 1.

<sup>†</sup> Id. iv. p. 1.

<sup>‡</sup> Voigt. Geschichte Preussens i. 4. and Biel. iii.

Taillepied, Recueil des Antiquitez et Singularitez de Rouen, 257.

<sup>§</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. iv. 177.

Ouen, or the cell of St. Ouen, and this was the origin of the parish church of St. Ouen-sur-Seine. A multitude of chapels and oratories were similarly erected, in commemoration of events in the history of holy men; and if any one should object and be troubled on account of the fact, that in many places he sees memorials of the same personages, he might be referred to the observations of Dionysius, in answer to those who advanced a like objection with respect to the many sepulchres of Æneas that existed; for, he says, they should consider that this difficulty attaches itself to many, and especially to those men who were rendered illustrious by fortune, but yet who led a wandering and uncertain life; for though only one place received their bodies, their monuments were erected in many places through gratitude for the benefits which they had conferred upon certain men: as when some city had been founded by them; or, as when some of their race still survived; or, if they had inhabited that foreign place for a certain time, and had conversed humanely with the natives. And all such things are related of Æneas in ancient legends. For in one place it was commemorated that he had saved Troy from perishing utterly; and in Phrygia he left a son, king Ascanius; and at Pallenene he founded a city bearing his name; and in Arcadia he left his married daughter; and in Sicily he left a part of his army, and since he lived benevolently with men in many other places, he conciliated their favours, and on that account when he had ceased to live with mortals, a sepulchre and monument is raised to him in various places.\*

St. Thomas of Canterbury, during his exile, residing for some time at Rheims, the little oratory which he used in the abbey of St. Nicaise became afterwards a celebrated chapel, bearing his name.† At Segovia again is still to be seen a little oratory by the river side, which was built expressly to preserve the memory of the holy father St. Dominick having preached in that spot. St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, after one of his journeys into England, is known to have passed through Orleans on his return to his diocese, by observing the oratories erected on his way; for such was the veneration of the people for his sanctity, that wherever he stopped to deliver an instruction the people used to erect a cross in memory of the fact, and after his death oratories were erected over these crosses. Such were those at Châtres, at Estampes, at Sarlas, and at other places. T On the north side of the city of Troves there was a well, called the well of St. Julia, where tradition taught that this holy virgin had been martyred in the time of Aurelian. The well was arched over in form of a chapel, and an image of the saint was at

the front, and a chapel was built at the side.

The mind, which rendered men so attached to these recollections is expressed by the good Jaulnay, canon of St. Rieule, at Senlis, where he says in his listory of that city, "As Dean and Canon of the church, I am now inhabiting the spot where the saint resided; and what is a greater consolation, I drink of the water of which he used to drink, for the fountain is in my court. May I obtain from God the same sanctity!" Any indication of a spot having been once hallowed, was enough to endear it to the imagination of saintly men, as appears from the

<sup>\*</sup> Antiquit. Rom. lib. i. cap. 54. + Hist. de Rheims, liv. ii. 309. † Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. x. p. 237.

following circumstances, related in a very ancient chronicle. During the reign of the emperor Otho, at the time when the illustrious Gauzelin occupied the episcopal see of Toul, his brother Hardrad was devoted to arms, a brave knight, and greatly beloved on account of his goodness. They were of a noble race of Francs. It happened once that the soldier was out hunting, on the banks of the river Murt, when his dogs followed a ferocious boar, which endeavoured to escape from their devouring jaws, running for a long time through various alleys, till at length it took to the mountain above the town of Buxer, and having penetrated for some distance, it placed itself under a thorny tree till the pack of hounds came up with open mouths; the beast stood intrepid under the tree, and the dogs for a long time remained stupid, and not daring to advance near the thicket, till at length the said knight, following on horseback, came to the spot and wondered at such an unprecedented circumstance. Leaping from his horse, he entered the thicket, and there he beheld an altar half demolished amidst other ruins; venerating the spot as holy, and suffering the beast to depart in safety, he returned home and related what he had seen to his brother the Pontiff, who, sending messengers to the place, and interrogating some of the oldest men in the neighbourhood, found that formerly there had been a church there, under the invocation of the blessed Mary, and that through age and neglect it had fallen to decay: they said, moreover, that lights were often observed over the spot during the night. The Bishop meditated upon constructing a church there, which was accordingly done, and on the stump of that withered tree an altar was raised; and after some time a convent was added for nuns of the order of St. Benedict, and the first abbess was Rothilda.\*

But the Catholic religion enjoyed a divine privilege, by means of which all things were made to serve it as its own; and accordingly the site of the ancient heathen temples, and even, as in the case of the Pantheon at Rome, the very temples themselves of the heathens, were consecrated to the worship of the true God. The temple of Vesta, where the fire called sacred was preserved, is now the church of St. Theodore. The hall of the baths of Diocletian is the church of St. Mary of the angels. In the Flavian amphitheatre, where so many holy Christians were worried to death, you follow the via crucis to the fourteen altars which faith has erected there. The Temple of Bacchus was converted in the middle ages into the church which is now that of St. Urban. How soon the Christians converted works of pagan genius to the purposes of true religion, not disdaining even to use their sepulchres, may be seen at Pisa also, and in other cities. At Marseilles the church of des Accoules is built on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. At Ancona the Norman cathedral of St. Cyriaque upon the rock, occupies the site of the ancient temple of Venus. The Carmelites of the Street of St. James at Paris, occupied the site of the Temple of Mercury; the abbey of St. Germain des Près that of the Temple of Isis. The wild or lovely spots of nature, too, which cruel and blind superstition had profaned, were now seized upon and sanctified by religion. The Isle of Sayne of the druidesses is become the Island of Saints, on the coast of Bretagne,

<sup>\*</sup> Acta Tullensium Episcoporum apud Marten, Thesaur, Anecdot, tom. iii. Vol. I.—49 2 H

at the extremity of the diocese of Quimper; the convent of the Holy Passionists now stands upon that alban mount where was once the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, to which the virtorious legions used to be led in triumph; and that famous monastery of great St. Benedict, on the summit of Mount Cassino, was built on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. No foul delusion or dire heresy of disobedient mortals, could infect material walls, if men brought within them hearts pure and humble. The mosque in the Alhambra was consecrated to the Catholic faith when it passed under the dominion of the Castilian sovereigns. of the Arian bishops at Ravenna, built by king Theodoric, their baptistery, and the mausoleum of their misbelieving king, became, in the sixth century, by the consecrating hands of Archbishop Agnello, churches of the faithful fold, under the invocation of the mother of God. Here we may remark how the spirit of the Catholic religion was favourable to the opinion of those philosophers who attach some degree of spiritual importance to locality; and how it cherished and refined that taste in the arts, which dictates the necessity for combining natural with artificial beauty. How grandly stands the gothic cathedral of Auxerre, crowning the hill under which that noble river winds its majestic way! And in the heart of cities, what stillness and repose and variety of beauteous form around those vast minsters, which seem to impart somewhat of their aspect to the dwellings accommodated to ordinary wants adjoining These churches had not theatres at their side, as we now mark at Como; nor prisons, as at Pavia; nor arsenals, as at Paris; nor barracks, as at Milan. Our ancestors would have been shocked at such monstrous approximations of things most opposite; but silence and sanctity announced the vicinity of the house of prayer. King Robert of France used to build many churches in the midst of great forests.\* See that little chapel on the steep mountain of the holy Saviour at Lugano, which seems to have been let down from heaven, to which it belongs more than to earth. Devout people contrived to fix it there to commemorate their love for the mother of God. See again that ancient chapel, on the brow of the wild and dangerous coast, where scarcely a blade of grass is found to grow. Beaten with the winds, the rain, and the waves, it stands solitary between the sea, the earth, and heaven. Its origin is Monument of the piety of ages of faith, it attests some secret of providence, or some mystery of grace. Even amidst the waves of their blue lakes, upon the stones which rose out of the water, like miniature rocks of the ocean, men built little oratories resembling chapels, where the boatman in his course, or the youth who sported in his little bark might love to stop and offer up a secret prayer to sanctify his labour or his play. Many such are seen on the lake of Lucerne. That beautiful marble cathedral in miniature on the banks of the Tagus near Lisbon, which is so chaste, so completely in harmony with the loveliness of nature, that without any great effort of fancy one might suppose it to have been deposited there by the hands of angels, was erected by the husband of queen Mary, as a grateful memorial of his escape from an attempt at assassination.†

<sup>\*</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, vii. 211.
† Letters to Osorius on Portugal.

At the same time the position of churches was in some instances determined originally without any regard to ancient associations, or afterwards changed by circumstances of mere spiritual utility. Thus the church of St. Mary of Peace at Rome, was erected by Pope Pius Sixtus IV. in gratitude for the peace which was obtained between Christian princes, without regard to its locality. The splendid churches of the Redeemer and of St. Roch at Venice, were similarly erected to commemora:e the cessation of the plague, as was also the noble gothic church of Or-san-Michele at Florence, of which Giotto was one of the architects, on the cessation of the pestilence described by Boccacio; and with the same intention was that of St. Maria delle Grazie on the lake near Mantua, built by Francis Gonzaga and the Mantuans in the year 1399. In the time of the episcopacy of Herbert Poore, the cathedral of Salisbury was removed from the heights of Old Sarum to a different site, for the motives thus expressed in the Pope's bull: "That forasmuch as your church is built within the compass of the fortifications of Sarum, it is subject to so many inconveniences and oppressions, that you cannot reside in the same without great corporal peril; for being situated on a lofty place, it is, as it were, continually shaken by the collision of the winds, so that whilst you are celebrating the divine offices you cannot hear one another the place itself is so noisy; and the roof of the church is constantly torn by tempestuous winds. Being within the fortifications, there is no access to it without the licence of the Castellan, so that it happens on solemn days, the faithful being willing to visit it, entrance is denied them by the keepers of the castle, saying that thereby the fortress is endangered." Pope Honorius, therefore authorised the clergy to remove the cathedral to a more convenient place, where it now stands. At Ravenna, on the contrary, in the ninth century, it was found necessary by Archbishop John IX. to transfer to a church within the fortifications of the city the relics of St. Apollinaire, under whose invocation it was afterwards placed, as the basilica which had before contained them, being without the walls, was exposed to the attacks of

Proceeding to speak of the building of the churches, it will be well to allude to the ceremonies observed at the first commencement as also at the final accomplishment of the work, for these will give us an idea of the importance ascribed to it. Here again we behold the operation of faith; for the church provided a solemn prayer to be offered up before the commencement of the building, to be seech God in behalf of the architect, that his mind might be purified by the infusion of heavenly grace, that he might commence it by the divine inspiration, perfect it by divine assistance, and receive the reward of his labour in the land of the living.\* San Micheli, the celebrated architect of Verona, never undertook any work without having mass solemuly sung to invoke the divine assistance. In the year 1700, when the monks of Jumièges were about to enlarge their convent, by building a new dormitory, the first stone was blessed by the prior, and laid by the poorest man in the parish, who was newly clad for the occasion; and the general alms for the week were increased by one half, in order to draw down the blessing of Hea-

<sup>\*\*</sup> Ordo Roman. de officiis divinis.

ven upon the work of the labourers.\* When the first stones of the new church of Crowland were laid, in the time of Abbot Joffridus, the Abbot gave a grand dinner to the assembled nobles and people, all in common, men and women, rich and poor. The refectory held four hundred, and counts and barons dined in the Abbot's hall, and others dined in the cloisters, and others in the open air of the court, and there were more than five thousand men and women who dined there that day; and the Lord gave his benediction, and all were glad and rejoiced in the Lord; and the day was fine, and the whole passed in the utmost peace and good humour, and not a dispute or murmur was heard; and the monks served with their own hands. + A minute description remains of the building of Salisbury cathedral on the present site. "The primate, the young king Henry III., and all the other chief persons of the realm were invited to attend when the foundation should be laid. Mass was performed by the bishop in a temporary wooden chapel, after which he went to the ground barefoot, in procession with the clergy, singing the Litany. Thereafter, consecrating the ground, he addressed the people, and then laid the first stone in the name of the Pope, the second in that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the third for himself; the fourth was laid by William Longspear, Earl of Sarum; the fifth by Ela de Vitri his Then the nobles who were present laid each a stone, and after them the dean, the chapter, the chancellor, the treasurer, and the archdeacon and canons of the church of Sarum, in their turn, the people weeping for joy, and contributing thereto their alms with a ready mind, according to the ability which God had given them. Several nobles, on their return from Wales (where the king was then concluding a treaty with Llewellyn ap Jorweth,) repaired to Sarum to partake in the merit of the work which was going on, and laying each a stone, bound themselves in some special contribution for seven years. In the course of five the building was so far advanced that all the canons were cited to be present at the first celebration of mass. On the eve preceding, the bishop consecrated an altar in the east to the Trinity and all Saints, and made offerings for the priest who should for ever officiate there, and for the lamps which should be kept ever burning. He consecrated an altar in the north part of the church to St. Peter, and one in the south to St. Stephen and all martyrs. On the morrow, being Michaelmas Day, Archbishop Langton preached in the new church to a great assemblage of persons, and sung the first mass, Otto the Nuncio being present, as also the Archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops of Durham, Bath, Chichester, Rochester, and Evreux in Normandy. In the course of the week, the young king arrived with the Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh; and Henry, after hearing mass, offered ten marks of silver and a piece of silk, and Hubert made a vow that he would give a gold text for the service of the altar, with certain precious stones, and more precious relicks of diverse saints, in honour of the blessed Virgin. The young king then offered a ruby ring, that both the gold of the ring and the stone might be employed to adorn the covers of the text; at the same time he gave a gold cup weighing ten marks. The said text was

\* Deshayes, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, 156.

<sup>†</sup> Petri Blesensis continuat, ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rerum Anglic. Scriptor. tom. i. 120,

presented first by proxy for Hubert, and afterwards offered by himself in person on the altar with great devotion." In the cathedral of Florence, there is an inscription which commemorates the dedication of that church, in 1436, by Pope Eugene IV., and it adds, that such was the multitude of people assembled, that the Pope could not well have passed from his lodging at Santa Maria Novella, if there had not been a beautiful wooden bridge erected along the entire way. So again, when Pope Pascal II., being in France, came to La Charité on the Loire, for the purpose of consecrating a church there, the festival was most splendid. Besides the court of the Pope, a number of the bishops, and nobles of France, assisted with an immense multitude of people, who came there from all parts. On the dedication of the abbey church of Ely, when rebuilt by the abbot Brithnod, after it had been destroyed by the Danes, there was a solemn feast for seven days, celebrated with great joy; "and from that time forward," says the chronicle, "the immaculate sacrifice was daily offered to the Lord in the odour of sweetness."\* When the magnificent church of St. Denis had been rebuilt by Suger, the ceremony of the consecration was of the most solemn and pompous description. The historian of Suger gives a minute account of the whole. The king and a multitude of bishops were present. Thibaud, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated the high altar; and at the same moment the other twenty altars of the church were severally consecrated by bishops of France; and such was the beautiful order observed in the august ceremony, that there was not the least confusion amidst such an extraordinary multiplication of offices, so that nothing could be more edifying or majestic.† Even amidst these magnificent ceremonies, the holy men of ancient times found opportunity to practise their favourite virtue. Such was the humility of St. Swithin, bishop of Winchester, who always paid diligent attention to restoring the decayed churches of his diocese, that whenever he had to consecrate a new church, however distant the place might be, he would never go on horseback or in a carriage, but always on foot; and that this might not be a subject of ridicule to ignorant people, or of boasting to the proud, he used to avoid the observation of men, and would make the journey at night, going the whole way a nocturnal traveller,-Solitariæ sanctitatis amator. At his death he ordered that his body should be buried without the church, where the people might tread upon his grave, and where the rain and the water-spouts might fall upon it.1

The office of the dedication is of the most solemn description, and the longest that occurs in the whole order. At each place the anniversary of the dedication of which the interior walls bore a perpetual memorial, was observed as a festival for ever, and that of the dedication of St. John Lateran, the metropolitan of the whole world, was a festival of the universal church. Each church, besides its primal dedication to God, in honour of the holy cross, was placed under the especial invocation of some particular saint whose name it afterwards bore. The minor churches were generally in this manner commemorative of some

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. Eliensis, Gale, Hist. Brit. liv. ii. cap. i. tom. iii. † Hist. de Suger, liv. vi. † Wilhel. Malmesbur. de Gestis Pontif. Anglorum, liv. ii. Harpsefield, Hist. Eccles, Szcul. Nono,

local interest of piety, bearing the names of saints whose memory was in benediction within that particular diocese; but all the churches of the Cistercian order were consecrated under the invocation of the blessed Virgin.\* That these magnificent ceremonies were conducted with the most profound sense of the spiritual nature of religion, might be learned from every allusion which occurs to them in old writings. "We read of the ancient saints," says a preacher in the thirteenth century, "that they adorned the front of the temple with golden crowns, and dedicated an altar to the Lord, and that there was great joy among the people. they were zealous and devout in the material temple, should not we be much more devout in respect to the dedication of the immaterial temple in which God dwells with all his saints? Seek ye the spiritual sense in the letter, the hidden honey in the wax, and let your souls delight in the living God, and in every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God; for then by the ladder of holy words your souls will ascend to the height of heaven, being filled with the thoughts of spirit and of God alone. Brethren, there is the great festival of the dedication of a church where is the purity of an innocent life, the liberty of a good conscience, and the sweetness of spiritual joy: there is the true beauty of the temple, and the adornment of the church with branches and odoriferous flowers where is true contrition of heart, humble confession of mouth, and worthy satisfaction for sins committed: there is the joyful dedication of a new altar, where is new fervour of devotion with thanksgiving from the heart's core. He it is that truly adorns the front of the temple with golden crowns, who reads, writes, and preaches the illustrious acts of the saints: he it is that suspends golden shields in the church, who describes to others the bright deeds of the fathers of the Old and New Testament, the contests of the martyrs, the labours of the confessors, the trophies of virgins and widows. He paints beautiful images who edifies his neighbour by his life and manners. Lo! there are as many golden shields in the church as there are names of saints, as many festivals as there are good examples. O what a festival is the dedication of the church triumphant, where all enemies being subdued, the saints and the angels together rejoice, clothed in white robes and crowned with golden crowns that will never perish!" Let us now attend to some of the most peculiar characteristics in the structure of the churches. It was not on account of the temples of the ancients having been so built, that those who prayed within them had their faces to the east, that a similar custom became prevalent with the Christians. Cardinal Bona supposes that the first reason was, that as exiles and pilgrims we might turn towards the land whence we were ejected, to the terrestrial paradise which God planted in Eden in the east. St. Basil says, that few are aware of this reason, though the church has it in view to direct us to our ancient country. The most ancient Basilicas were built always in the direction of the equinoctial east, for the sun was then supposed to rise over the seat of Paradise; another reason was suggested by the fact, that it was in the east that the spiritual sun of justice, Christ our God appeared upon the earth. St. Justin Martyr assigns another cause,

<sup>\*</sup> Card. Bona de Divina Psal. 256.

<sup>†</sup> Thomas de Kempis. Sermonom. Pars iii. 10.

<sup>‡</sup> De Spirit. Sanc. c. 27.

that it is the duty of men to devote whatever is best to God, and that part of the world was considered the most excellent and noble;\* to which opinion Dante alludes where, speaking of the east, he says, "that region where the world is liveliest."† It was another reason that Christ was the true light and the true east, and therefore St. Chrysostom says, "turning from the west, we look towards the east, expecting the omnipotent God;"‡ and St. Athanasius also shows that we look towards the east, not supposing that God is circumscribed by any limits, but because God is the true light, and therefore turning to the created light, we adore the Creator of that light; and St. Clemens Alexandrinus speaks to the same effect.

Elpidius who lived for twenty-five years in a cave on the top of a mountain, had such a regard for this symbolical practice, that he was said to have always looked towards the east; and John Moschus, in his Spiritual Meadow, relates of a young man, who was falsely accused by soldiers, that he entreated them to suspend him with his face towards the east, that he might die regarding it: but the chief reason for this observance is mentioned by Damascenus and Cassiodorus, that our Lord upon the cross had his face directed to the west, and therefore we pray turned to the east, that we may behold the face of Christ. Hence, perhaps, in many languages of Europe, we say to find the east, when we express our wish to determine our relative situation to the heavens. The Church of God adhered to this custom with more strictness, as it was usual with all who separated from her communion to disregard it. The early heretics sometimes chose to turn to the west, or to the south, or to the north. The Sarassins turned to the south, the Manichæans to the north, but the Jews prayed towards the west. At the present day, it may be observed at Rome, that the old churches are turned to the east, such as those of St. Paul, that of the three fountains, St. Lorenzo, the Holy Cross, St. Agnes, and others, but that some others have the altar at the west end, as at St. Peter's, St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, St. Mary in Trastevere, St. Cecilia, and St. Sebastian. Perhaps this may arise from the ritual in the Basilicas, in which the priest turns to the people, so that here he would regard the east. Walafried Strabo, in the ninth century observes, that some churches and altars were turned from the east, although in general it was the rule to build them in such a direction, that men might pray looking to the east. The church of St. Benedict in Paris, having its high altar to the west in the thirteenth century bore the name of St. Benedictus male versus, but being rebuilt in the reign of Francis I. with its altar to the east, it was afterwards called St. Benoit le bétourné benè versus.\*\* The conclusion of Walafried Strabo, the Abbot of Fulda, shows the judgment of the middle ages on this question. "Unusquisque in sensu suo abundet. Propè est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate, et longè a peccatoribus salus: quia neque ab oriente, nec ab occidente patet locus fugiendi, quoniam Deus judex est, hunc humiliat, et hunc exaltat." When religion made to pass under the yoke of the cross the charms and the genius of Greece,

<sup>\*</sup> Justin. qu. 118. † Parad. v. ‡ 101 Hom. in Zach. cap. 6. § Bona de Divina Psalmodia, 165.

<sup>\*\*</sup> De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. iii. ii. 359.

H De Rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap. 4.

her architecture, like the wisdom of the ancients, was symbolical, and fraught with typic and mysterious lore. These buildings are living, the city of God is intelligence itself. Nothing is matter in the abodes of spirit. Nothing is dead in the places of eternal existence. "The Church in which the people assemble to praise God signifies," says Walafried Strabo, "the holy Catholic Church, which is constructed in heaven of living stones. This house of the Lord is firmly built, the corner stone of its foundation being Christ, upon which, and not beside it, is the foundation of the Apostles and prophets; while the upper stones are Jews and Gentiles from the four parts of the world coming unto Christ. All the stones are polished and square, that is, holy, pure, and firm, disposed by the hand of the great Architect so as to remain for ever. Of these some are borne and do not bear, answering to the simpler members of the Church; others are borne and do bear, answering to those of the middle class; others only bear and are not borne, excepting by the foundation, which is Christ; for in this edifice by how much any one excels more eminently, by so much the more does he humbly sustain others; but one charity cements all together in one body. The cock on the summit denotes the vigilance, and eloquence, and prudence of the preacher, who excites himself with his own wings before he calls others. It turns against the wind to show that he argues against the evil customs of the world, and applies himself to resist the wolves. It is seated on an iron rod, which denotes the straight-forward and just doctrine of the preacher; and this rod is placed upon a cross, surmounting a globe, to represent the triumph of the faith over the world. The Church is adorned splendidly within and not without, to imply that all its glory is internal." "Licet enim sit exterius despicabilis, in anima tamen, quæ sedes Dei est, radiat." Thus speaks Hughes of St. Victor, in his Mirror of the Church.\* A modern German writer, in treating of the Christian churches of Germany, and the public edifices of the middle ages, explains the necessity for considering them in this mysterious symbolical point of view. Each of these gothic cathedrals, saith he, was only a symbol of that magnificent invisible Church which, pervading the whole state, had spread its roots to the lowest depths of life, and raised its branches, its flowers, and foliage to the sublimest height: he shows in theology, philosophy, science, policy, and in the ecclesiastical constitution of the middle age, the principle of that social order and harmony which distinguished this remarkable epoch, and which are symbolically represented in these temples; for society was then constructed on the plan of the cross; Rome was placed as an altar at the point of intersection,-mystical altar, containing as in a tabernacle the source by which faith is communicated. Around it was gathered the devout multitude, united in one faith and one hope. The light of the divine sun, too brilliant for the eyes of mortals, descended softened and coloured by the fathers and doctors of the Old and New Testament. At the extremity were placed the emperors and kings who guard the church and defend the door, as we see at Exeter, and at the church of St. Zeno, at Verona, at the entrance of which stand Roland and Oliver with drawn swords. Durandal is one of them, guarding the gate, over which are

<sup>\*</sup> Hugo de Sanct Victor, Speculum de Mysteriis Eccles. cap. i.

the three queens who contributed to found the church, Bertrade the mother of Charlemagne, his wife, and his daughter Ermengarde, wife of Didier. The towers were placed at the west, for the royal power in relation to the Superior Power is as something that passes away and dies. Horned demons attached themselves to the walls of the edifice, and grinned horribly blaspheming against God, and this too even in the interior. All the arts and sciences paid homage there to the divinity, and all learning bowed down to him. Aristotle was placed near St. Peter, and Virgil near Isaiah. It is impossible to separate these monuments from the faith of the middle ages, because they are intimately united as soul and body.\* According to this invisical interpretation, the corbels carved grotesque and grim, are no longer a difficulty. Besides, it should be remembered that these men's mirth was innocent, and their sportive fancy all life and cheerfulness. They had a playful imagination which did not seem to them in the least inconsistent with gravity and holiness, their gravity being sincere, not affected; and their holiness the result of faith, not of a wavering shadowy opinion. They feared nothing, and therefore not the conceptions of their mirthful mood; they evidently sought contrasts. Witness the books of hours of Rome, Paris, and Rouen, which were printed in the fifteenth century, in which facetious miniatures were placed in the borders of large funereal engravings of the vespers of the dead. In the same book, as on the same walls, we find paintings or images of the passion which can draw tears, so full are they of angelic tenderness and awful sanctity, by the side of these grotesque figures and monsters to conceive which Leonardo de Vinci had recourse to that extraordinary expedient of filling his chamber with scorpions and toads, and even the genius of Michael Angelo disdained not sometimes to employ itself. Possibly, indeed, these carved corbels may have been designed to convey a secret, profound instruction, and to awaken minds that would have been to any other prospect of the trials of the human course terror-proof; for their ghastly grin is caused by the absurdity implied in every defeat in the spiritual combat, and thus shame and guilt are shown inseparable. True the temptations that assail spirits of human kind in their course from youth to age, the wiles of the demon to delude them, the snares laid to make them captive as the prelude to the horrid agony of hell, are the last subjects, if we regard their origin and their consequences, that could be associated with any but solemn or melancholy thoughts; and yet on the other hand, if we attend to the detail and form of their development, which these figures are designed to indicate, and for a moment forget the woe in store, the very gravest philosopher, Heraclitus himself, will be compelled to relax into a smile, albeit provoking bitter moans. Here, for instance, is a man born in heresy, moved to renounce it, and yet who declares that he is afraid to unloose the clasps of a book of Catholic devotion, adding, that he feels assured it would lead to his en'ering on the surer way; here is another, who has been received into the fold of safety, and who shortly after being seized with melancholy, accuses the gentle guide, who had admitted him within the promised land, saying, that he has caused him

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<sup>\*</sup> Grund und Aufriz der Christlich-Germanischen Kirchen undt Staats-Gebauder im Mittelalter, by Adolph Marcus. Bonn. 1828.

to embrace a life which will deprive him of pleasure. Thus men seem like children, frightened with grotesque masks, or left blindfolded in order that their successive falls may furnish matter for the laughter of those who look on. Some of these corbels were probably intended to show the contrast between the moral and even physical deformity belonging to the spirit of the world and to heresy, and the angelic grace of faithful souls: they bear that expression of vulgar mockery and suppressed buffoonery marked upon the countenance of Arius, in the painting of the Council of Nice, at the Vatican, a look which is always characteristic of those opposed dogmatically to the Catholic religion. The illustrious Hammer attempted to find corroboration for his accusation of the Templars in these figures of animals, some of them imaginative and grotesque, carved upon their churches which he conceived symbolical of the Gnostic heresy, though he might have remarked that they occur also on other churches, which never belonged to that order, as on that of St. Michael, at Pavia, which was built in the sixth century, on the marble pulpit in the cathedral of Ravenna, which is a work of the same age, on the Baptistery of Parma, which was built in the thirteenth, and on the columns of St. Germain-des-Près at Paris, of which the capitals are but another development of the same imagination which is admired by artists in those of the Basilica of St. Lorenzo at Rome. It is not surprising that such ideal forms and combinations should have given rise to sundry interpretations by German writers, when we remember that even the devout images and devices which Flamel carved on the churches, and hospitals, and charnel houses at Paris, to which he was a benefactor, seemed to the French antiquarians of the last century so many symbols of alchemy, though to ordinary eyes nothing could be more simple or devout.\* The custom of representing upon churches the various tribes of animals which the earth, and water, and air produce, may have originated in that verse which calls upon them to praise the Lord: though some of the Italians go too far in affirming with Ciampine,† that the Christians merely borrowed this usage from the Greeks, without any reference to an allegorical meaning. St. Michael's church, at Pavia, and the Baptistery at Parma, will never admit of such a conclusion. I would rather say, that many of these devices, carved in that old and simple age, humble, but profound, intended to represent the lofty mysteries of our divine faith, might remind one of the reply which is given in an ancient book to a philosopher, who enquired the meaning of a symbol which he saw represented in a temple: "The explanation will be attended with danger to yourself, since if you understand what is delivered here, you will become wise and happy; but if you do not, you will afterwards have an evil, a foolish, and a wretched end; for this is like the enigma of the Sphinx, which kills those who do not understand it. So likewise this symbol, if you do not profit by it, will kill you, not at once, indeed, as if you were devoured by the Sphinx, but gradually it will consume and destroy you, like those delivered to a slow punishment, and it will rise up in judgment hereafter to condemn you; but if any one should understand it, then, on the contrary, madness and ignorance will perish, but the man will escape safe, and lead ever afterwards

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. Crit. de Flamel, 26. 200. 392.

<sup>†</sup> Vet. Monum. T. I. cap. iv. p. 35.

a happy and a blessed life."\* The exterior walls, too, as at Melrose, presented in characters, legible at once to all, the scrolls that teach thee to live and die. Over a door of the Baptistery at St. John Lateran, there is written, "Diligite alterutrum." The word "Humilitas," the motto of the Borromean family, meets your eye in vast letters on every part of the cathedral of Milan. Over the ancient gate of the church of St. George, in that city, was an invitation to the faithful in Leonine verses.

Janua sum vitæ, precor omnes, introvenite; Per me transibunt, qui cœli gaudia quærunt, Virgine qui natus, nullo de patre creatus, Intrantes salvet, redeuntes ipsa gubernet.

In a lower arch is an inscription in Græco-barbaric letters which Duc Holstenius and Leon Allatius interpret to be

· Vitæ da Porta Deus quærentibus istam.

In the porch of a little lonely chapel on the way side, between the Basilicas of St. Paul and St. Sebastian, without the walls of Rome, I read this epigram, which contains a summary of Catholic manners.

Fide Deo. dic sæpe preces. peccare caveto. Sis humilis. pacem dilige. magna fuge. Multa audi. dic pauca. tace secreta. minori Parcite. majori cedite. ferto parem. Propria fac. non differ opus. sis æquus egeno. Pacta tuere. pati disce. memento mori.

On entering the cathedral of Sienna, one's eyes are arrested with these words in vast letters of black marble on the pavement. "Castissimum virginis templum caste memento ingredi," and on the exterior steps, one sees the figures of the publican and the Pharisee going to the

temple.

With respect to the external character of churches, it may be sufficient to make brief mention of that which served to distinguish them at a distance, alluding to the toll of those vast bells, sometimes of forty thousand pounds weight, whose sound used occasionally to split the thickest walls and to overthrow huge towers, of the invention of which Nola and Campania may be justly proud. The bell, which may be said to be the expression as well as the invention of the middle ages, in the same manner as the drum of the Turks from whom it was adopted, may be considered the symbol of a noisy, unreflecting and unspiritual society, is the subject of an immortal chaunt by one of the greatest poets of later ages, but in point of sublime and impressive imagery that admirable song, does not surpass the language of the church respecting it, as, when in the office of its consecration, the bishop prays that as the voice of Christ a peased the troubled sea, God would be pleased to endue that sound with such virtue, that it may intimidate the enemy and encourage the faithful people; and that as the Holy Ghost formerly descended upon David when he struck the chords of the harp, and the thunder of the air repelled adversaries when Samuel offered up the lamb, in like manner, at the sound of that vase, passing through the clouds, flights of angels may surround the assembly of the Church, and save

the minds and bodies of the believers with an everlasting protection. Well might one conclude that the arch-heretics had read this prayer with trembling, when with such a determined will they refused permission to the Catholics under their subjection to make use of bells. Indeed, for their zeal in removing them from the churches which they seized one may otherwise account. "When I was a child," says Sir Thomas Spelman, "I heard much talk of the pulling down of bells in every part of my country of Norfolk, then fresh in memory. And the sum of the speech usually was, that in sending them over sea, some were drowned in one haven, some in another, as at Lynn Wells or Yarmouth. The truth of it was lately discovered by God himself, for he sending such a dead neap as no man living ever saw the like, the sea fell so far back from the land at Hunstanton, that the people going much farther than ever before to gather oysters, they there found a bell with the mouth upwards, sunk into the ground to the very brim. They carried the news to Sir Hamon Lestrange, lord of the town, and of wreck and sea rights there, who shortly after sought to have raised up and gained the bell, but the sea never since going so far back, they could never find the place again. The bells from Edinburgh being pulled down and shipped to be carried into the low countries were all drowned in Leigh haven. Sir Hugh Paulett pulled down the bells of the churches of Jersey, and sending them to St. Malo's in Britain, fourteen of them were drowned at the entrance of that harbour. Whereupon it is a by-word at this day in those parts, when any strong east wind bloweth there, to say, 'The bells of Jersey now ring." "\*

With the solemn magnificence of the gothic cathedral, most of the northern nations are familiar, but religion knew how to adapt her architecture to the locality and the climate. There is sanctity, and faith, and the deep thoughts of a revering spirit, in the mysterious piles of York and Canterbury, but there is something of the beauty of paradise at those eastern steps of St. John Lateran, when the morning sun gilds the blue distant hills of Tusculum. To form an adequate idea of that perfect leveliness which is derived from the union of noble edifices with the delightful aspect of nature, one must see the dome and church of the Vatican, rising in the midst of gardens with mountains beyond, from the groves of the villa Doria Pamphili, or from the bowers of St. Onufrio's holy cloister, or one should see St. John Lateran and the Basilica of the holy cross from the vineyards which are among the baths of Titus or of Caracalla, or the tower and domes of St. Mary Major, from the gardens near the gate of St. John. But we should never finish if we pursued this path. Let us at length approach and enter the churches; for here is matter that will banish the recollection of all trivial things. "Hail! sacred tabernacles, where thou, O Lord, dost descend at the voi e of a mortal! Hail, mysterious altar, where faith comes to receive its immortal food. When the last hour of the day has groaned in thy solemn towers, when its last beam fades and dies away in the dome, when the widow holding her child by the hand has wept on the pavement, and retraced her steps like a silent ghost, when the sigh of the distant organ seems lulled to rest with the day to awaken again with the

<sup>\*</sup> The History of Sacrilege, p. 284.

morning, when the nave is deserted, and the Levite attentive to the lamps of the holy place with a slow step hardly crosses it again-then is the hour when I come to glide under thy obscure vault, and to seek, while nature sleeps, him who aye watches! Ye columns, who veil the sacred asylums where my eyes dare not penetrate, at the feet of thy immoveable trunks I come to sigh. Cast over me your deep shades, render the darkness more obscure, and the silence more profound! Forests of porphyry and marble, the air which the soul breathes under thy arches is full of mystery and of peace! Let love and anxious cares seek shade and solitude under the green shelter of groves, to soothe their secret wounds! O darkness of the sanctuary, the eye of religion prefers thee to the wood which the breeze disturbs. Nothing changes thy foliage, thy still shade is the image of motionless eternity! Eternal pillars, where are the hands that formed thee? Quarries, answer, where are they? Dust, the sport of winds, our hands which carved the stone, turn to dust before it, and man is not jealous! He dies, but his holy thought animates the cold stone, and rises to heaven with thee. Forums, palaces, crumble to ashes, time casts them away with scorn; the foot of the traveller who tramples upon them lays bare their ruins; but as soon as the block of stone leaves the side of the quarry, and is carved for thy temple, O Lord, it is thine: thy shadow imprints upon our works the sublime seal of thine own immortality? Lord, I used to love to pour out my soul upon the summit of mountains, in the night of deserts, beneath rocks where roared the voice of mighty seas, in presence of heaven, and of the globes of flame whose pale fires sprinkle the fields of air: methought that my soul oppressed before immensity, enlarged itself within me, and on the winds and floods, or on the scattered fire, from thought to thought, would spring to lose itself in thee! I sought to mount but thou vouchsafest to descend! Thou art near to hear us. Now I love the obscurity of thy temple; it is an island of peace in the ocean of the world, a beacon of immortality! Inhabited alone by thee and by death, one hears from afar the flood of time which roars upon this border of eternity! It seems as if our voice, which only is lost in the air, concentrated in these walls by this narrow space, resounds better to our soul, and that the holy echo of thy sonorous vault, bears along with it the sigh which seeks thee in its ascent to heaven, more fervent before it can evaporate! How can it signify in what words the soul exhales itself before its author? Is there a tongue equal to the eestacy of the heart? Whatever my lips may articulate, this pressed blood which circulates, this bosom which breathes in thee, this heart which beats and expands, these bathed eyes, this silence, all speak, all pray in me. swell the waves at the rising of the king of day, so revolve the stars, mute with reverence and love, and thou comprehendest their silent hymn. Ah, Lord, in like manner comprehend me: hear what I pronounce not; silence is the highest voice of a heart that is overpowered with thy glory." It is Lamartine who thus speaks, but every one who enters here perceives within his mind the gift of genius high, though it may not be given him to develope it in words. Some men affect to doubt the importance of the grandeur of churches; but why then, as Fleury asks, can they not pray in a tavern resounding with tumult, in a guardhouse or in a busy street? Why avoid such places, unless they 2 I

find it necessary to assist the weakness of their senses? It is not God who has need of temples and oratories, but it is we who need them.\* This was well understood in the ages of faith. Of the treaty concluded between the Prussians and the Teutonic order, in presence of the Pope's legate, one of the articles stipulated that the churches should be built in so beautiful and stately a manner, that the devotion of the people might be more assisted in the churches than in the woods where they had been accustomed to offer up their impure worship. † The soul being acted upon by the passions of the body, and as Vincent of Beauvais says, being led out of itself by sensible forms, forgets what it was, and remembers nothing of itself but what it sees. Learning, the study of wisdom or philosophy, repairs this, and reminds us of our nature; t but by availing herself of the forms of material order, religion in many instances removed the necessity for their assistance, or rather converted the very senses themselves into teachers of wisdom, and made them the handmaids of philosophy; and thus the space within the walls of a Catholic church became completely another world, for those who have need of higher and nobler emotions than are inspired by the dull phantoms of a sensual life, and the very pleasures which elsewhere endangered and misled men, were here employed in guiding them to truth. "There is no soul so harsh as not to feel itself moved with some reverence on considering this solemn vastness of our churches, the diversity of ornaments, and the order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout sound of our organs, and the religious harmony of our voices. Even those who enter them with disdain feel a certain shuddering in their heart, and a kind of awe which makes them distrust their own opinion." This is what Montaigne says. But let us proceed and examine the various parts of the interior. Dante borrows a noble simile from the amaze of one who enters:

And as a pilgrim when he rests
Within the temple of his vow looks round
In breathless awe, and hopes some time to tell
Of all its goodly state; e'en so mine eyes
Cours'd up and down.

But who can describe these wondrous sanctuaries which have survived the desolation of wars, the fall of empires, the rage of heresies, the confusion of earthquakes and plagues, which like St. Theodore's at Ravenna, have been served at different periods by the two great monastic families of the east and west,—these piles, on which art and wisdom seem to have lavished all their stores, the form of beauty, the secret mystery, the only remaining memorial of strange histories of ancient times, the emblematical lesson of the wise and holy! Here is one still retaining somewhat of its grandeur, although since its erection, dynasties have passed away, seas have receded, atmospheres changed. It still retains its pillars of ancient oriental marble and porphyry, its altars covered with lapis-lazuli and alabaster. Solitary in the midst of a vast plain, the Basilica of San Apollinare in Classe, stands the sole vestige of a once flourishing city, now deserted, and visited only by some devout

<sup>\*</sup> Mœurs des Chrestiens, 241.

<sup>\$</sup> Speculum Doctrinale, lib. i. c. 23.

<sup>†</sup> Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, ii. 630. Paradise, xxxi.

friar, who leaves Ravenna under a scorching sun to say mass at the tomb of its martyr and apostle. An inscription over the entrance relates its history. Erected in the year 534, it beheld the overthrow of the city which gave it birth; laid waste by the Sarassins, profaned by the barbarians, and pillaged by invading enemies, it was finally abandoned in consequence of the pestilential air to which the plain became subject. Here is another, the Basilica of San Vitale, which, in the time of the Goths, was considered the masterpiece of art; on which are Mosaics representing the offerings of Justinian and the empress Theodora. On the walls of another, the Basilica of St. John the Evangelist, you see carved the events of past imperial story. On those of St. Apollinare within the city, you have a representation in Mosaic of Ravenna, as it existed in the sixth century when that church was built; and there is shown also the city of Classe which then existed, of which now not a trace remains. These churches, with their historic imagery, their emblematical lore, their long series of saintly figures, bring the mind back to the first ages of Christianity, and to the earliest traditions of the human race. No one but some learned priest can explain who were many of these meek men of God, and these humble bearers of the martyr's palm. Who, for instance, are these twenty-two holy virgins with crowns in their hands, and these white robed fathers in long procession which are represented in Mosaic, on each side of the nave of St. Apollinare at Ravenna? No one but some eastern scholar can explain the secret allegory. What mean these figures with such art and care inlaid? Crosses upon sleeping wolves, crosses enclosing doves, crosses surrounded with mystic characters, clusters of vines and corn, palms on which doves are seated, anchors from which fish hang suspended, anchors within the spiral folds of dolphins, men who angle by a brook, and others who carry a lamb, stags that run to the mountain stream, and lambs which bear upon their heads the sign which gave empire to Constantine, serpents twined round a tau, and a hand within a wreath letting loose the thunder? All these are seen along the nave of St. Apollinare in Classe. What mean these fruit trees on which youths are mounted, at the roots of which horrible dragons are vomiting flames, while under them dogs are contending for the fruit which falls to the ground? What mean these representations of the sun and moon in chariots with accompanying circles, in which are awful phantoms sounding trumpets, all which we see carved over the portals of the Baptistery at Parma? What are these allusions in arabesque, these profound moralities of the middle age, which are upon the church of St. Zeno at Verona, or these supposed prophetic emblems which are upon the pavement of St. Mark? No one again but some learned and profound philosopher can trace the vast plan to embody and pourtray here the proofs of the universality of the Christian religion; for these it is evident the very pavement of the gothic cathedral of Sienna shows. There one sees, beautifully pourtrayed in black and white marble, by means of an art which is now forgotten, the figures of Hermes Trismegistus, who received his learning from Zoroastres, and who lived in Egypt a contemporary of Moses, presenting to a Gentile and to a Christian a book, in which is written sentences from the Pemandro, as "That God who made all things, the Creator of the earth and of the stars, has greatly loved his Son, and

called him the Holy Word." There too stands Socrates, with a book, receiving a palm from a woman sitting, who represents Virtue, who with the other hand offers a book to Crates, who is represented emptying a cask of jewels, in order to receive it. This profound view is taken also in that ancient painting of St. Thomas, by Traini, pupil of Andrea Orcagna, which is in the Church of St. Catharine at Pisa, where the angel of the school is represented sitting, surrounded by his disciples, with Plato and Aristotle on each side, looking up to him, and presenting him with their works, while those of many other philoso-

phers, with those of heretics, are seen torn in pieces.

Hence, even without reference to the ordinary impressions of devotion, to enter some of these churches at Rome, or Florence, or Pisa, or Ravenna, is like hearing for the first time some grand poetry. One feels a sudden cold chill run through one's veins, the heart is pierced with dread, and if one did not practise some of those little familiar artifices, which the sublimity of the Catholic ritual obliges men to learn for themselves, one's tears would break forth in abundance. In the Basilica of San Vitale at Ravenna, are inscribed broken sentences, awful and pathetic, which come upon us as if it were the voice of the martyrs: such words as these occur, "Consider our victory;" and again, "Filiæ Jerusalem, venite et videte martires cum coronis quibus Deus coronavit eos in die solemnitatis et lætitiæ;" and again, "Doctrinæ sublimitatem attende." Indeed, unless he be evidently one of the dry-eved race. genus siccoculum, as old Plautus calls it, it is no cause for wonder if a stranger should be seen even to weep on entering St. John Lateran, that mother church of Rome and of the world, or St. Peter's, or the vast and solemn Basilica of the Santa Croce at Florence, where are the tombs of Michael Angelo, Alfieri, Leonard Bruni, Cavalcanti, Aretin, and the sublime monument erected, after three attempts frustrated, to Dante.

Independent of what meets the eye, who can remain unmoved when he is told, as under the domes of Parma painted by Corregio, that these walls around him were consecrated by Pope Paschal II., in presence of St. Bernard and of the Countess Matilda? or as in the church of Einsiedlin, that they witnessed an angelic dedication, which dispensed with mortal lips, as was revealed to the holy Conrad, when he had repaired thither from Constance to dedicate them? or as in the Cathedral of Florence, that they beheld the council, under Eugene IV., when the Greeks were reunited with the Latin church? Who can behold unmoved in the Church of Dole that pulpit, from which preached St. Francis of Sales, that well-spring from which such copious floods of living truth have issued? or in the Church of St. Theodore at Ravenna, that from which the first pastors who succeeded St. Apollinare preached to the people? or at the entrance of the Church of St. Eustorgio at Milan, that from which St. Peter Martyr refuted the proud Manicheans? Does he only desire to examine the wonders of art? who can sufficiently admire the brazen gates of the Baptistery of Florence, or of the Cathedral of Pisa, or the sepulchral lore of the Campo Santo? It would require many weeks to go round that Baptistery, the work of Diotisalvi in the twelfth century, and mark all its wondrously wrought stones, representing holy, wise emblems, and stories from sacred history. From the portals of that at Parma one may learn the genealogies of Christ and of his

blessed mother, which are there carved with analogous inscriptions in semi-gothic characters. Nor can I omit again to mention thee; thou beauteous Temple of Sienna, which the humble men of former days, in times too of their calamity, erected to the glory of the Eternal, and through the love of Mary. With a mystic joy and wondrous eagerness did I go about thy sacred walls, and trace out the emblematic lore engraven upon them. With what glad surprise did I recognize beneath my feet the verses of the great Mantuan, who from the archives of the Palatine mount, which Augustus permitted him to examine, published the prophecy of the Cumanean Siybl, that already the last age of her song was come, that a great order of ages was again born, that a virgin hath returned, and Saturnian kingdoms, and a new offspring had descended from the high heavens; fruitful lines, which were a light to Stacius when first he opened his eyes to God. There too, as in the chapel of Loretto, and as in the Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua, were represented the whole mysterious sisterhood, whose prophecies to the Gentiles respecting an universal king, made Rome tremble, though both Varro and Fenestella affirm that they had been gathered by the Romans from all parts of the world where they could be heard of, and laid up in the capitol, where no one might see them but only the fifteen magistrates to whose care they were confided. There I marked the Erythræan Sibyl, whom Varro and Apollodorus mention, whose acrostics Cicero translated, as Constantine bore witness, and who is saying, "De excelso coelorum habitaculo prospexit Dominus humiles suos. Et nascetur in diebus novissimis de virgine Hebræa in cunabulis terræ." 'There also was Sibylla Cumæa, whom Piso names in his Annals. Her prophecy is this: "Et mortis fatum finiet, trium dierum somno suscepto. Tunc a mortuis regressus in lucem veniet primum resurrectionis initium ostendens." There was Sibylla Delphica, of whom Chrysippus speaks, and she says, "Ipsum tuum cognosce Deum qui Dei filius est." Sibylla Lybica was there, whom Euripides mentions, and she says, "Immanus iniquas veniet, dabunt Deo alapas manibus incestis, miserabilis et ignominiosus miserabilibus spem præbebit." There too was Sibylla Hellespontica, born in the Trojan field, of whom Heraclides says that she lived in the time of Cyrus: she predicts the inhospitable cruelty and the darkness of three hours; and at her side I beheld Sibylla Phrygia, saying, "Tuba de cœlo vocem luctuosam emittet, tartareum chaos ostendet dehiscens terra, venient ad tribunal Dei reges omnes; Deus ipse judicans pios simul et impios. Tunc demum impios in ignem et tenebras mittet, qui autem pietatem tenent iterum vivent." The next was Sibylla Samia, of whom Eratosthenes speaks; and she says, "Tu enim stulia Judæa Deum tuum non cognovisti lucentem mortalium mentibus, sed et spinis coronasti horridumque fel miscuisti." Lastly there was Sibylla Albunea Tiburtina, so called by those who worshipped her as god upon the Tibur; and she says, "Nascitur Christus in Bethleem. Annunciabitur in Nazareth regnante Tauro Pacifico fundatore quietis. O felix mater cujus ubera illum lactabunt." But here a question occurs which the learned only are competent to answer. Mabillon asks, what is to be thought respecting the Sibylline oracles?\* are these the sentences of the Hebrew

<sup>\*</sup> De Studiis Monast. p. ii. 272.

Sibyls, whose existence is unquestionable? or are they to be treated as wholly spurious, according to the opinion of Blondell\* and Vossius, † who waste a vast deal of learning on the supposed foundation of some Catholic doctrine, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of the learned theologians of Paris, t of Persons and others who were quite as well versed as they could be in classical researches? That the most ancient of the Sibylline books have perished, the learned are generally agreed, but whether the tradition of their prophecies has perished with them is quite a different question. "Unless we despise all antiquity," says Maio, "we cannot laugh at the authority of the Sibylline poems." The writings of the Fathers everywhere prove that the Christians used often to refer to themselves the celebrated verses of the Sibyls. St. Augustus had read them in Greek and Latin. Procopius says, that they were appealed to in Rome in the sixth century; and in the seventh Isidore witnesses that they were everywhere spread.\*\* In the tenth century Liutprandus Ticinensis affirms that they then existed with the Greeks and Sarassins, conformable to the testimony of St. Justin Martyr that they were dispersed throughout the whole world. Their greatest destruction occurred under Honorius, when Stilicus burnt them, as is lamented by Rutilius in his Itinerary. ## But to resume our study of the pavement: here too were memorials of tragical events of olden time, such as a representation of the famous battle of Monte Aperto, in the year 1260, mentioned by Dante, in the tenth canto of the Inferno, as the slaughter and great havoe

That colour'd Arbia's flood with crimson stain;

and on the high altar stands the very crucifix which the Siennese carried into the field, on that disastrous day, which gave occasion for the world to understand what dark and barbarous thoughts the savage minds of Ghibellines could conceive, when by consent of all, Florence had to the ground been razed. Other memorials were wrought here, which time had rendered doubtful. How was I pressed with keen desire to read and explain the faint inscription, and discover what the four philosophers were predicating who are represented in the centre, standing by an emblematic wheel, on which were many men attempting to mount; but it was in vain I gazed upon it, and there was no one to instruct me. Here too were lessons of evangelic wisdom in symbolic figures: in one place is represented the parable of him who saw the mote within his neighbour's eye, and knew not the beam within his own; in another, is a man who gives alms to a woman with a child enfolded in her arms; on the left is another, with two blind men and a little boy, with a label, on which is written "notate," to teach men to beware of taking themselves for guides.

Here too was ritual-historic lore, for those who love that mystic know-ledge, for on the western steps are the figures of two vessels, containing milk and honey, which in the primitive church used to be given to the newly baptized, to indicate the entrance into the true land of promise, which is the Church. In almost every ancient church the pavement

<sup>\*</sup> De Sibyllis.

‡ Who published Castigationes ad Opuscul. Vossii de Sibyll. Orac.

§ Sibyllæ, lib. xxiv. Præf. 6.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Etym. viii. 8. †† Cohort. ad Græc. cxxxviii. \$ De Civit. Dei, xviii. 23. †‡ Lib. ii, 51.

itself furnished thus matter for a study. That of St. Paul's Basilica at Rome was full of remarkable inscriptions; that of the Cathedral of Durham has its tender traditions, which are transmitted from age to age by three monks of the holy Benedictine order; that of the Church of St. Anthony at Padua contains letters and mysterious signs, which defy the skill of antiquarians, such as the great L, which some supposed did indicate the spot where the tongue of the saint was found; that of the Cathedral of Canterbury shows the spot which receives in our days the devout kiss of the faithful stranger, though his faith has to sustain the astonished gaze of more than pagan irreverence; that of the monastic Church of St. Richarius, in the ninth century, was composed of the most beautiful marble in different compartments, and the following verses were read upon it before the altar of St. Richarius:

Hoc pavimentum humilis abbas componere feci Angilbertus ego, ductus amore Dei. Ut mihi post obitum sanctam donare quietem Dignetur Christus, vita, salusque mea.\*

There was nothing in Catholic churches to conceal this beauty and learning of the pavement, unless, indeed, as around the holy house of our blessed Lady, where the marble is worn into furrows by the knees of the pilgrims, for there were no closed immoveable seats occupying the nave, where all ranks were equal, and where the duke and the beggar might be seen side by side, praying to that all-good and almighty Being, who knows no exception of persons. The moderns wish to be isolated even in their churches; but catholicism, even though St. James had not been so explicit, would have abhorred the feeling from princi-Her piety was not torpor nor pampering of the flesh; and it required that the body should be free to exercise its external homage, and to assist the devotion of the heart, by bending the knee, kissing the ground, as at the chaunting of the Passion, and remaining in a posture of gravity and reverence during the tremendous mysteries; therefore there was nothing to disfigure or degrade her temples. Underneath the shrine of St. Cuthbert, in the church at Durham, there were, indeed, four seats or places, convenient for pilgrims or lame men, sitting on their knees, to lean and rest on in the time of their devout offerings and fervent prayers to God;† and Lebeuf observes that straw used to be spread in winter; but these were no obstruction or deformity. Not but that the ingenious tenderness of religion had made provision for the retiring piety of the penitent, and for the hours of despondency which all must experience. In the old churches there were always some dark recesses and corners, shaded by those granite pillars so emblematic of stability, which were well known and dear to those who, in moments of dereliction, sought retirement in their devotions, even in the church. Blond, enumerating the various parts of the interior of a church, speaks of "Les lieux contemplatifs." After a long absence, the joy of returning to one's house was not equal to that sentiment, combining a crowd of holy thoughts and beautiful meditations, with which one entered the

<sup>\*</sup> Chronic. Centulensis sive Richarii, liv. ii. c. 7.

<sup>†</sup> The Ancient Rites and Monuments of Durham, p. 6.

Gouget, Bibliotheq. Français, tom. xi. 108.

church of his youth, and knelt down behind the particular pillar or sepulchre where he had, in days of yore, offered up the prayers and holy rapture of his youthful heart, and sought privacy in the temple. Besides these, to which any one might have access, there were crypts, subterraneous caves, or little cells, inhabited by recluses, women, and sometimes even hermits of great sanctity, which had grated apertures or windows, looking into the church.\* This was the case at the abbey of St. Geneviève, and at other churches of Paris, as those of St. Severen, St. Paul, St. Merri, the Holy Innocents, and at the abbey of St. Victor. When one of these pious women died, there was always another anxious to succeed her. The ancient necrology of St. Geneviève states, on the fourteenth of October "obiit piæ memoriæ Hildeardis reclusa hujus ecclesiæ."† The blessed Etheldrita, the daughter of Offa, King of the Mercians, was a recluse in the monastery of Crowland; and St. Finden was a hermit out of Ireland, who lived a recluse in a cell towards the north part of the church of the monastery Rhinaugiensis, in Suabia. ± So also at Durham, at the east end of the north alley of the quire, betwixt two pillars, opposite one to the other, was the goodly fair porch which was called the Anchoridge, having in it a marvellous fair rood, with an altar, for a monk to say daily mass, being in ancient times inha-

bited by an anchorite.

Sometimes too, in the vast towers of churches, there were little cells which some holy man would inhabit, for the sake of solitude and contemplation, with the whole city under his feet. Thus we find, from St. Gregory of Tours, that Cautinus, Bishop of Arverna, while in the rank of deacon, attached to the church of the village Iciodorens, used to sleep every night in a little cell which was within the upper part of the wall of the church; for it is said that one night he heard many voices, as if of persons who chaunted psalms below, and rising from his bed, he opened the window which looked into the church, and there he beheld the vision of white-robed angels. History relates the names of many of the holy men and women recluses, who resided in these cells of churches and monasteries. Such were Dungall from Ireland, at the abbey of St. Denis; St. Wiborade at St. Gall, in the eleventh century; and the mother of the abbot Guibert, and the venerable matron Hildeburg, and many others. In the subterraneous church of St. Irenæus at Lyons, where the bones of the martyrs had been placed, I saw the grave-stone of Marguerite de Barge, who died in the year 1692, having spent the last nine years of her life, which extended to forty-five, in that church, having never left it day or night; and so she was buried there. hoping to rejoin the martyrs in heaven. In the old monastery of Jumièges, St. Filibert, the founder, had his room placed by the side of the church, with a window pierced, through which he could see the altar without leaving his room. This custom became so general, that it gave rise to one of the many features which rendered the small, but solemn churches of the religious houses very impressive. These walls of the sanctuary, pierced with windows, through the grates of which the holy

<sup>\*</sup> Durandi Rationalis, i. 1. † Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. ii. † Mabillov, Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. Sæcul. iv. pars 1.

De Gloria Confessorum, 30. § Mabillon, Præf. in vi. Sæcul. Benedict. 12.

members of that devout family would assist at the divine offices, raised before the imagination, the images of saintly men or women, who passed their lives under that roof in peace and holiness. Like the pictures of saints, they refreshed the eyes of those that were weary with the vanities of a wretched world. That union of domestic privacy with the solemn order of public worship, was a delightful and soothing combina-At nones or complin you thought of those early beams of the succeeding day which would gild the opposite walls, that were now in darkness. How many a saint will then regard these images and paintings on which I now gaze! Every spot within this sanctuary is familiar to the eye of persons that are dear to God! How solemn I have felt it in the vast church of the Annunciata at Genoa, when, in the obscurity of evening, a solitary Franciscan is seen to move along through the upper passages which encircle the roof of the sanctuary, and to retire under a vista of arches into the interior of the monastery, to which that church is attached! Raising our eyes from the pavement, no one need be reminded, that the point in which was concentrated all the riches and splendour of the sanctuary, being in fact the object for which the whole was originally conceived and undertaken, was the altar, which was nothing, as Optatus says, but the seat of the body and blood of Christ.\* The Christian writers of the primitive ages, describing the heathen persecutions under Diocletian, say, "We beheld our temples destroyed, our altars overthrown." Fleury, indeed, shows how impossible it was for the pagans, with their notions, to recognize the existence of an altar with the Christians, or to trace any resemblance between the Christian Basilicas and their own temples. But we see at Rome, at the present day, in the cabinets of the Vatican, with what beauty and magnificence the sacred tabernacle, which contains the adorable victim for the Christian altar, was constructed even during the times of persecution. At the end of the fourth century, the altars were always of stone. "This holy altar at which we stand," says St. Gregory Nyssen. " is a common stone by nature, differing in no respect from any other slab of stone with which our walls and pavements are adorned; but since it is dedicated and consecrated to the worship of God, and hath received a benediction, it is a holy table, an immaculate altar, which no longer is to be touched by all, but by the priests alone, and those venerating."

To the law of Nature may be traced the consecration of altars, as when Jacob anointed the stone. § Julian was offended at the magnificence of the chalices of the Christian altars, and used to say, "En ejusmodi vasis Filio Mariæ ministratur."\*\* But the holy Fathers had remarked, without his assistance, that although "that table was not then of silver, nor that cup of gold, from which Christ gave his own blood to his disciples, yet all these things were precious and tremendous, since they were full of spirit."†† It was truly meet and worthy that all the grace of art and all the splendour of wealth should be consecrated to the adornment of that spot which was to receive the desired of all na-

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. vi. Cont. Parmenian.

<sup>#</sup> Mœurs des Chrestiens, 235.

<sup>&</sup>amp; Gen. xxviii.

<sup>4+</sup> Hom. lx. ad Popul. Antioch.

<sup>+</sup> Euseb. Cæsar. Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. 1.

Orat. de S. Christi Baptismate, 801.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 8.

tions, from which the house was to be filled with glory, and God to give his peace. Accordingly, the altars of churches were, in the ages of faith, a mine of incalculable riches. It is a fact well ascertained by mineralogists, that the most precious gems known to be in existence, are still belonging to the sanctuaries of churches. The high altar of the Carthusian monastery near Pavia, is enriched with an immense number of precious stones, lapis-lazuli, agates, cornelians, and others. church of St. Mark at Venice received the spoils of Constantinople. The riches in the church of Loretto exceeded all calculation. Topazes, emeralds, sapphires, rubies, diamonds, agates, and lapis-lazuli, lost their value there, being accumulated in such abundance; for Catholic princes and private persons from all quarters send their richest jewels there, as tokens of devotion to the mother of God. Immense too were the treasures at the three principal shrines in England, of St. Alban, St. Edmund, and St. Thomas, as were also those at Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, and Winchester. St. Gregory of Tours relates, that Childebert, king of Paris, having invaded Spain, carried back with him twenty gospel cases, which, though richly ornamented with pure gold and precious stones, were more valuable still on account of their workmanship than on account of the materials.

The piety of the faithful of successive generations was constantly employed in enriching altars with costly presents. Nicholas Flamel, the scrivener of Paris, left by his testament nineteen chalices of silver, gilt, to as many churches. The duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. dying in 1407, besides leaving twenty thousand livres to the poor and to monasteries, bequeathed a silver chalice to every church in the cities of Paris and Orleans. Historians, observing that it would be impossible to calculate the prodigious quantity of gold and silver which existed in the middle ages, remark, that the opulence of the churches and the incredible abundance of alms and offerings, prove it to have been Thus we read of Durham, "that many were the goodly rich jewels and reliquaries appertaining to the church, some of which would have ransomed a prince. King Richard gave his parliament robe of blue velvet, wrought with great lions of pure gold, a marvellous rich cope. There was another by another prince, such love had the godly minds of kings and queens, and other great estates, to God and holy St. Cuthbert, in that church. In the year 1443, Robert Norwych, Squire, gave to the cathedral of Norwich his silver collar, which had been presented to him by the emperor; and in 1499, Lady Margaret Shelton offered a gold chain, adorned with jewels, to the same. St. Wilfred, bishop of York, in the ninth century, shortly before his death, invited certain abbots, for the purpose of showing to them the precious stones and gold and silver which were in the treasury of his church.\* William of Malmesbury says that in his time they showed, in the church of Sherburn, several precious gems which Sighelm, the bishop of that see, had brought from India, having been sent there to carry the alms of King Alfred, and to visit the shrine of St. Thomas.† At Winchester was preserved the crown of Canute the Dane, which he had placed on

<sup>\*</sup> Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iv. p. 1. † De Gestis Pontif. Anglorum, lib. ii.

the crucifix over the high altar, after the memorable rebuke which he made to his courtiers at the sea-shore near Southampton. In the cathedral of Genoa I saw the emerald hexagonal dish found at Cæsarea, when that town was captured by Guglielmo Embriaco, in 1101, and chosen by the Genoese in preference to all other spoils. It is supposed to have belonged to the temple of Solomon. It is known all over Christendom by the name of the Sacro Catino; and if the tradition concerning it be credited, it is only for another Sir Percival to look upon it.

The religious care with which the sacred ornaments and relics of churches were preserved, will account for their prodigious antiquity. On the entrance of the Moors into Spain, which was signalized by the pillaging of cities and churches, those who could not withstand their impetuosity, but retired into the recesses of mountains, carried with them the relies and sacred ornaments, which were more esteemed by them than their own treasures, which they abandoned to the rapacity of the conquerors. In the revolutionary wars of France, the sacred treasury of the monastery of St. Maurice, in the Valais, was taken up to the high Alps, and concealed there by the shepherds. This had been enriched by Charlemagne and St. Louis; but the offerings of the people were often employed in the adornment of the sanctuary, and these When Pope Leo IX. consecrated the new church at were immense. Rhiems, the offerings of the people, who flocked from all parts, are described as incalculable. During the mass, the crowd pressed round the tomb of St. Remi, to present their offerings. Those who despaired of reaching it, threw their offerings from afar.\* The liberality of the Saxons to the church of New Corby was so great, that St. Adalhard, the abbot, was obliged to moderate it. When he found the church sufficiently adorned, he placed limits to the reception of offerings. not for us to be enriched by that which renders others poor, nor to be glad at what causes them sorrow. Let us be content with a sufficiency." At that time no offerings were received from any that were not at peace with the church. St. Liudger rejected a vessel of honey, which had been presented at Billurbek by a certain woman who had contracted an unlawful marriage.‡ At Durham, "there did lye on the high altar an excellent fine book, very richly covered with gold and silver, containing the names of all the benefactors to St. Cuthbert's church, from the first original foundation thereof, the very letters being all gilt. The laying that book on the high altar did show how high they esteemed their founders and benefactors, and the daily remembrance they had of them in the time of mass and divine service." From the year 666, it was ordained by the Council of Merida, that all priests should mention the names of the founders and benefactors of their churches on Sun-Anastasius, the librarian, in his Lives of the Roman Pontiffs, describes the magnificent presents which were offered in the church of St. Peter from the King of France, the Emperor of the East, and the King of Italy. Pope Victor II. gives a similar account at a later period. St. Jerome, through his affection for the poverty of the desert, which,

<sup>\*</sup> Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, lib. ii. 231.

<sup>†</sup> Vita Ejus, Mabillon Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæcul. iv. p. 1.

<sup>†</sup> Vita S. Liudgeri, Episcop. Acta S. Ord. Ben. iv. 1.

as he said, loves the naked, condemns the use of gold in churches, though he praised those who adorned them.\* But the Lord of armies had himself declared, that gold was his, and that silver was his.† It was not a love of profane pomp which made the bishops so earnest to procure means for raising and adorning the churches. Their motive was well expressed by a council in the year 1368: "Since the present visible church militant is justly compared to the celestial and triumphant city of Jerusalem, and since it is the place where the most sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ is made and preserved, and where the instruments of our reconciliation with the Lord, namely, the ecclesiastical sacraments are administered for the offences and sins of the people, it ought to be strengthened and completed with firm foundations, that it may be grateful to God, and venerable to those who enter and behold it." So we read of Olbertus, abbot of Gembou, in the tenth century, after a beautiful description of his piety and charity to the poor, "nor is it to be passed over in silence how zealous he was in adorning the Church; for although it is said 'in sancto quid facit aurum?' yet he had not in external things whence he might show the desire of his soul towards God, excepting inasmuch as they tended to the worship of God; and these things, no doubt, avail somewhat, because they show forth more the advantage of the Church, and because men of brutish minds, who esteem all things more according to their own mind than to their truth, think that nothing is worthy of reverence unless what they see adorned with the things which they temporally love."

Fleury shows the magnificence of the first Christian churches, how they were adorned with columns of solid silver, and with images of solid gold, and had their walls wholly incrusted with marble and mosaic, and covered with pictures, representing the histories of the Old and New Testaments, while in each church the history of the martyr, whose relics were there preserved, occupied the chief place. But before we go into any detail on this subject, it will be necessary to pause awhile to notice one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the magnificence, and, indeed, with the very origin of many churches. I allude to the veneration entertained for the bodies and other relics of the saints, and to the circumstance of their being preserved in every place where the divine mysteries were celebrated. Cardan says that it is a general rule of great importance, not merely for physicians like himself, but for all persons, that whenever we approach to accost any one, or to discuss any subject, we should sit down, for many precipitate things by standing. The Protestants thus lost themselves on the subject of Catholic relics, as on other matters, by noticing them standing. If they had sat down to inquire dispassionately and with deliberation, they would not have been impelled afterwards to sally forth like wild barbarians, destroying the beautiful and glorious monuments of ancient piety, with which faith had filled our churches, committing to the flames, as they did in England, the venerable bones of St. Alban, St. Edmund, and St. Thomas, or, as in France, those of St. Ire-

<sup>\*</sup> Epist, xxxiv. † Agg. c. ii. 7. † Concil. Lavaurensis, Can. 91. || Libellus de Gestis Abbatum Gemblacensium, 528, apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. vi. § Prudentia Civilis, cap. xcii.

næus at Lyons, of St. Hilary at Poiters, and of St. Martin at Tours. They would have found that in fact nothing is more ancient in the history of the Christian religion than the custom of collecting the limbs or blood or vestments of the holy martyrs, and of preserving them with religious reverence, enshrined as they found them in the Catholic churches.\* This is part of the primitive discipline of the church, which dates from the Apostolic age, as appears from the acts of St. Ignatius, and the encyclical letter of the church of Smyrna respecting the relics of St. Polycarp. The care of the pagans to prevent the Christians from gaining possession of the bodies of the martyrs is well known, as also the zeal with which the faithful cherished their relics. The work of Boldetti, on the ancient cemeteries of the martyrs, furnishes interesting details. In the history of Ammianus Marcellinus, the basilicas of the Christians are called sepulchres, and the council at Rome, under Pope St. Sylvester, in enumerating the list of orders, which had nine degrees, names, instead of chaunters, custodes martyrum. † In fact, till the third century at least, no church was ever built excepting over the tombs of saints. Seven women were put to death for having collected the drops of the blood of St. Blaise, during his torments; and the blood of St. Cyprian was received on cloths spread by the Christians for that purpose. In a work of Julian, which has come down to us, the homage rendered to the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul is attested. Rufinus describes the solemn translation of a martyr's body with hymns and psalms, while Julian beheld the spectacle with indignation. The holy bishops of the two first ages used to carry the relics of the martyrs inclosed in cases of gold. St. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the reverence with which Christians regarded the relics of saints' bodies. St. Augustin describes the multitudes who came to venerate the relics of St. Stephen, the first martyr, which were discovered by Lucianus in the reign of the emperor Honorius, and the miracles which were wrought by their means. \*\* The bodies of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas were in the great church of Carthage in the fifth age, as St. Victor informs us. St. Augustin says that their festival drew yearly more to honour their memory in their church than curiosity had drawn to their martyrdom. St. Ambrose gives a description of his finding the relics of Saints Gervaise and Protasius in the Ambrosian basilica, and of the devotion of the people, and of the miracles which attested the holiness of that pious solemnity. # "Are the lighted wax tapers burning before the tombs of the martyrs signs of idolatry?" asks St. Jerome. ## "Is it idolatry," he asks again, "to kiss the vase which contains their ashes?" Suppose some one does light a taper in honour of the martyr. He has a reward according to his faith, for the Apostle says, "Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet." St. Basil even says, "Whoever touches the bones of a martyr, on account of the eminent grace of the body, will become a partaker of the sanctification;" and St. Chrysostom says, speaking of St. Ignatius, "not the bodies alone, but the very tombs of the saints are filled with spiritual grace." "Does Vigilantius

<sup>††</sup> Epist. xxxvii. || || Epist. xxxviii. || Xol. I.—52

grieve," asks St. Jerome, "because we wrap the sacred relics of martyrs in precious cloth, and because we do not cast them on a dunghill? Are we sacrilegious when we enter the basilicas of the apostles? Was Constantine sacrilegious when he translated the holy relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy to Constantinople? Is the present emperor Arcadius to be called sacrilegious for translating the bones of the blessed Samuel from Judæa into Thrace? Are all the bishops sacrilegious and fools for carrying ashes in silk and vessels of gold? Are all the faithful people fools for running to the holy relics and receiving them with such joy, as if they beheld the living prophet?"\* That the bodies of saints are precious, may be inferred also from visions, such as that of the holy Pontiff St. Paschalis I., related by himself, relative to the body of St. Cecilia. There are many instances, in a very early age, of the elevation and translation of the bodies of saints, both in the East and in the West. Not to speak of the relies of the first martyrs in the Apostolic age, and of those translated by Constantine and Arcadius, as St. Jerome testifies, we find it recorded that Pulcheria translated the relics of the forty martyrs, and that after the consulship of Basil, the body of St. Anthony the hermit was carried, with great honour, to Alexandria, and placed in the basilica of St. John the Baptist. St. Ambrose moved the relics of St. Gervaise and St. Protasius to another place. Pepetuus Turonicus translated those of St. Martin; Gregorius Lingonicus, those of St. Benign; Palladias Sautonicus, those of St. Eutropius; Germain, Bishop of Paris, those of St. Ursinus; but after the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great, these translations became less frequent, insomuch, that the bodies of St. Germain, St. Remv, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Alban the Martyr, were not translated from the place of their first burial till the eighth century. In fact, the danger of abuses, alluded to by St. Augustin, had induced the clergy to abrogate the ancient cus-In the seventh century, however, it began again to prevail, but, as Mabillon shows, it was deemed religion not to dismember their bodies. The exhumation of any bodies for convenience, which is now practised, or their mutilation through sacrilegious levity, which has been lately witnessed within the ancient cathedral of Durham, on occasion of the supposed discovery of St. Cuthbert's grave, could at no epoch have occurred during ages of faith; but the dismemberment and translation of bodies were frequently practised, though from a motive of the utmost reverence, and with ceremonies of the most solemn description, of which it will be well to give an instance, for the devotion of Catholics in times past will furnish a more worthy spectacle than the curiosity of the moderns, whom I gladly leave, while employed, as in the church of Durham, in picking up the holy vestments and vessels, fingering and analysing the decayed members, and speculating on the supposed errors of monks in days of yore. We read then, in an ancient chronicle, how it was commanded that the body of the venerable Gerard, bishop and confessor in the time of Otho the Great, should be removed to a place of greater honour in the church, and how the devout Pope Leo, having a desire to be present when his remains should be raised from the tomb, departed from Rome expressly for the purpose,

<sup>\*</sup> Epist. xxxviii.

and after traversing a great part of Belgic Gaul, arrived in the midst of the clergy and people assembled, to their great joy. The fame of this approaching event had drawn an immense multitude, of all ages and of both sexes, to the town, and a devout number of holy pontiffs had already met there from distant countries. With the venerable Archbishop of Lyons, there was Hugo, Archbishop of Chrysopolis, George, Archbishop from Hungary, Frotmundus, Bishop of Trecassinus, Herbert, Bishop of Autun, and Lupus, an English bishop. These holy men accordingly appointed a certain day for the translation; but the influx of people had so increased, that our Lord the Pope, fearing lest the venerable relics might be exposed to injury amidst such a crowd, decreed that the translation should take place during the night, with no other witnesses but clerks and monks; therefore on the Sunday, the twelfth calend of November, when the shades of evening had come on, holy vigils are institued and continued through that long night by the clerks and monks, and then lauds of jubilation are sung; then our Lord the Pope, with the assembly of pontiffs, preceded by burning tapers and the fragrance of incense, proceeded to the spot, removed the stone which covered the sepulchre of the saint, and beheld within it the venerable body, more precious than any treasure. There you would have seen his reverent countenance defiled with no stain, as if sleeping with closed eyes, his white hairs flowing down at great length on both sides of his neck, his body clothed in his pontificial vestments, which were not in the least decayed or injured by moisture. Before their eyes he lay with such composed beauty that they beheld, as it were, a certain image of the resurrection, for he did not seem dead but sleeping, and about to open his eyes at the voice of the summoning angel. Then these blessed members were raised up most reverently and involved in linen, and throughout the whole of the next day were presented to the veneration of the people, and on the following day there was a plenary solemnity, and the body was placed at the right hand of the altar of the blessed protomartyr Stephen, where an altar was consecrated with apostolical benediction.\* This is but an instance of the respect with which the moving of a holy body was universally conducted. Thus in the year 974, at Troyes, on the translation of the relics of St. Mastie, by Bishop Milon, the people from all parts assembled in crowds, and remained in the church of St. Peter from the first vespers till the mass of the next day, passing the night in fasting and prayer.† The bodies and relics of saints originally were deposited in a kind of crypt, which was under the altar, into which were small apertures, through which they might be regarded or touched by cloth or palls let down upon them. Such is the description given of the altar in the basilica of St. Peter by St. Gregory of Tours. Henricus Valescus says that the Christians at the tombs of the martyrs were accustomed to let down veils, which might touch the relics of the saints, qua pro magna benedictione accipiebant. St. Ambrose placed the relics under the altar, and Mabillon gives other examples: but the relics of St. Walpurg are stated by St. Odo to have been placed upon the al-

<sup>\*</sup> Acta Tullens. cum Episcoporum apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. iii. † Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 21.

In Sozomen. lib. ix. cap. 2. ‡ In lib. i. de Mirac. Martyr. cap. 28. & Epist. lxxxv. ad Marcellinam.

tar. In the ninth century it became general to place them upon the altar. In the eighth century, when the body of St. Emmeramnus was translated, the books of the Gospels were placed in the coffin with the body; and in the chronicle of Fontenelle there is mention of a copy of the Holy Scriptures placed with the body, which was dressed in the habit it had worn. Until the ninth century, the bodies of saints, for the most part, were deposited in subterraneous places, with altars or merely shrines built over them. The chests which contained the pignora sanctorum, contained probably nothing but linen and other substances which had touched the relics, and this explains the multitude of relics associated with the name of the same saint, which were preserved in different places. The faithful also made copies or images of relies, which after being touched to the real, were afterwards venerated as partaking of their grace, and this was the case with the thorns of the crown, the wood of the cross, and the heads and vestments of saints.\* When relics were removed, it was rather by pious violence than by the result of prayers. For the clergy continued adverse to any removal or dismemberment as before, and such acts of violence gave occasion to the most solemn professions of penitence.† In the seventh century, when Antioch was taken by the Sarassins, and the cities of Alexandria and Jerusalem were possessed by the Persians or Arabians, a vast number of holy relics of the bodies of saints were brought into the West, for mul itudes of the Christians of those countries removed with all their treasures to escape the fury of the Mahometans. Some churches were built expressly to receive precious relics: that of St. Peter, in Vincoli, was erected in the year 442, by Eudoxia, wife of the Emperor Valentinian III, to preserve the chain with which Herod bound St. Peter, in the prison of Jerusalem. Every one knows what a feature in the churches of the middle ages were the crystal-girded shrines and reliquaries of the saints, meekly reverenced at a holy distance, before which were suspended vast lamps of silver: those of St. Dennis, of solid silver, were so old that they looked like lead. "Our happy and holy mother, the church," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "for the great comfort and decorum of the house of God, has many bodies of saints in custody, at the sight of which many persons are excited often to the love of God, and to weeping, and to the desire of eternal joys. For where is there a church or chapel so poor and little as not to have some sacred relics for the ornament of his oratory, through devotion to the souls of the saints reigning with Christ in glory." Many of these bodies were in a state of extraordinary preser-Such were those of the holy Anselm, Cuthbert, Claude, Edmund, Remi, Catharine of Pologna, Clare of Montefaucon, Agnes of Politian. Rosa of Viterbo, Charles Borromeo, Ferdinand, Isidore, Theresa, Elizabeth of Portugal, Edward of England, Francis Xavier, and Magdalen de Pazzi. Plato might have supposed that "their shape regarmented with glorious weeds of saintly flesh, would, being thus entire, show yet more glorious." It was with awe and trembling that I beheld, in the church at Saxeln, the body of the blessed hermit Nicholas

<sup>\*</sup> Sardagna, Theolog. Dogmat. tom. iii. 467. † Mabillon, Præfat. in ii. Saint Ben. § 5.

<sup>†</sup> Thom. de Kempis, Sermon, pars iii. 10.

of the Rock, erect, appearing suddenly like an apparition over the altar, and by his side the habit which he wore, to be devoutly kissed; but it was hard to refrain from tears, when admitted into the small chapel within the convent at Bologna, I saw that body of St. Catharine, there wonderfully seated during four hundred years, uncorrupted, unsupported, unmutilated, on a throne surrounded with burning tapers, so humbly amidst so much grandeur, one of the tender affecting spectacles which the church shows in secret to her children.

Sometimes the bodies of saints were placed within crystal shrines, so as to be constantly visible. This is the case in the great Benedictine abbeys of St. Urban and Einsiedelin, in the latter of which we see the skeleton of St. Gregory, the son of one of our Saxon kings, who made there a blessed end. In the churches of the martys at Rome, as at the confession of St. Peter, the basilica of St. Paul, of St. Sebastian, of St. Cecilia, and others, we find at the rails of the altar which contains their relics a tablet, on which is written the responses, antiphons, and prayer of the church relative to that martyr. In the ancient monastery of Larrivour, in the diocese of Troyes, there were relics of saints' bodies, of whom no record remained, excepting that they were of persons who had died in odour of sanctity: yet the custom had never been laid aside of tolling the bells on the first of May, to commemorate the day of their being deposited in that church.\* This was according to a general cus-When a certain holy relic was sent as a present to the church of Argentueil by Charlemagne, it arrived there at one o'clock, and to commemorate that arrival, a bell was tolled ever after at that hour. "The relics of the saints are to be venerated," say the canons of Theodore of Canterbury. "If it can be, let there be a taper lighted during the whole of every night, but if the poverty of the place do not permit it, it is no injury to them: but there must be lights on the nativities of the saints, because like lilies they gave an odour of sweetness and refreshed the church of God, as when the church is sprinkled with incense near the altar." In the chapel of the great Hospital de Pammatone at Genoa, founded in 1420, we see the body of St. Catharine of Genoa. well preserved, in a shrine of silver, on the spot where she died in 1510. At Milan, early in the morning of St. Charles's Day, before light, vast multitudes, composed, not of the citizens only, but of the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who hasten into Milan from a great distance, descend into the confession of St. Charles, which is illuminated, and there the descendants of the well-tended flock pay their honour to his venerable relics, while several great pictures, representing the principal events in his life, are suspended along each side of the nave. Cities as well as churches derived an importance from these treasures. To whom was not Tholouse interesting on account of its containing in the subterraneous chapel of St. Saturninus that venerable body of the Angel of the School? What a treasure does Milan possess in the body of St. Ambrose, which reposes in a vault under the high altar in the Ambrosian basilica? How precious was that incorruptible tongue of St. John Nepocumenus to Prague, and that blood of

<sup>\*</sup> Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 355.

<sup>†</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. iv. 10. ‡ Theodori Cantuar. Archiep. Capit. 29.

St. Januarius to Naples? With what a rich treasure did Luitprand, the Lombard king, endow his capital when, in the year 723, during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, he ransomed the bones of St. Augustin from the Sarassins, and transferred them to it, going himself as far as Genoa to meet them ?\* I was at Pavia when these precious remains were moved, and placed in the gothic shrine adorned with three hundred statues, which had been made for them in the fourteenth century, and which was now transferred from the church of St. Augustin, which had been desecrated by the French, to the cathedral. It was a festival of public rejoicing for three days, and the whole city was illuminated. When the Archduke Boleslaus of Poland received tidings of the martyrdom of his holy friend St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia, he ransomed the body from that heathen people by the gift of its weight in silver, and had it transported with the greatest honours to the metropolitan church of Gnesen, where it was enshrined and visited by devout pilgrims from Bohemia, Germany, and Italy, among whom the emperor Otho III., with an immense attendance of knights, repaired to beseech God at the grave of the martyr, the friend and instructor of his youth.†

An instructed reader finds nothing but an adherence to the spirit and practice of the primitive times in these acts of the middle ages, which are such an offence to ignorant scorners, as when queen Radegund sent servants to Jerusalem and through all the East to procure the relics of holy bodies, tor as when St. Germain Bishop of Auxerre, passing into England with St. Loup of Troyes, in the year 429, to extirpate the Pelagian heresy, being deputed to that end by a council of Gaul, made a visit to the shrine of St. Alban, and took up some of the earth on which the martyrs' blood had fallen, and carried it back with him to France as a holy treasure: || or, as when in 780, at a great assembly of bishops and princes at Aix-la-Chapelle, a number of precious relics were publicly shown, which had been sent to that church as a rich present by the emperor of the East, or, as when at Senlis the chasuble of St. Frambault, who died in the sixth century, used to be kissed by the people instead of the paten at the offertory, in the high mass on his festival, or as when the kings of France, with their own hands, used to show the relics of the holy chapel to the people on certain days. Charles V. showed them on Good Friday, and in 1423, this custom was observed by the Duke of Bedford, acting in the name of the king of England, and by order of the Parliament.\*\* In all these instances it was a practice conformable to the spirit of the first ages which impressed the minds of men with a salutary reverence. Petrarch was at Padua on the day of the translation of the body of St. Anthony, and he says that he was one of an immense multitude, who were admirers of that solemn and admirable ceremony. Every one has heard of the immense multitudes that used to visit Canterbury and the shrine of its holy martyr. Petrus Cellensis, who was his contemporary, says in a letter to the bishop of Exeter, "Who will give me wings like a dove, that I may fly to visit the tomb of the precious martyr St. Thomas." " Not undeservedly do the people hasten thither from all

<sup>\*</sup> Sigon. de Regno Ital. lib. iii.

<sup>#</sup> Greg. Turon. Mi acul. lib. i. 5.

<sup>§</sup> Hist. des Evesques de Senlis, 252. \*\* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. i. xi.

<sup>†</sup> Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, i. 4. || Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 52.

<sup>††</sup> Liv. v. Epist. xvi.

sides, to venerate that tomb and to bless that nation and people, amongst whom has arisen such a witness of Christ:" \* and, again, writing to John of Salisbury, he expresses the same desire, adding, "that I may adore God in his saint before I die."† These feelings, though true to nature and to faith, are an astonishment to those who have been perverted by the modern philosophy, whose blindness would not have ascribed hypoerisy but superstition to the Pharisees, who built the sepulchres of the prophets. † They talk of visiting the tombs of poets, warriors, and kings, but it never occurs to them to add of saints, as if human sympathy and all associations of reverence were to be excluded alone when the memorials related to persons who have been dear to God. When they have not indulged a satiric vein in speaking of the Catholic practice, they have expressed themselves like Jews in their abhorrence of dead bodies. | Yet assuredly, even independent of the Christian tradition, there can be nothing more venerable, or in the best sense of the term more natural, than such a devotion? When Moses departed from Egypt, he took with him the bones of Joseph, which the Patriarch himself had commended to his brethren,\*\* and it is said, Ossa ipsius visitata sunt et post mortem prophetaverunt. There is again the same sanction in the fact relative to the bones of Elisha, tr and in the apostolic history, which records the use made of the handkerchiefs and aprons. But without reference to these supernatural motives, what practice can be more conformable to the deepest sentiments of the human heart? Every where has mankind, without assigning its reasons, regarded as sacred the remains of virtuous men. We read in Homer that the faithful Eumæus wept when he saw the bow of his ancient master.

Κλαΐε δ'ε βουκόλος άλλοθ', έπεὶ ἴδε τόξον ἀνὰκτος.

And can it be thought that there was no spirtual advantage to be derived from exhibiting the crosier of a sainted pastor, or the staff which had supported a martyr to his death? St. Gregory of Tours says, "there lives in the suburbs of the city of Lyons a woman, who is said to have picked up the shoe of the blessed martyr Epipodius, which fell from his foot as they were leading him to martyrdom." SS Where is the discernment of the philosopher who would set no value on such a relic? I would not contend with him if he dissents. The voice of nature will Would you learn the consent whether the voice of man do so or not. impressions experienced by a French scholar, on witnessing the late translation of the body of St. Vincent de Paul to the chapel of the Lazarists in Paris? "O how noble, how pure to the eye of faith and of Catholic charity is that body, sanctified by the passage of a holy soul, which has been in the service of that soul during eighty years of earthly life, fatigued, tormented by it for the sake of the poor, for the salvation of prisoners, of the sick, of orphans, of all the unhappy! Those arms, which used to pick up the little infants from the snow to bear them to the hospital, those limbs which continued infirm ever after they had borne the weight of the chains, voluntarily assumed to redeem others, that countenance, which has consoled so many miserable, revived so

<sup>\*</sup> Liv. vi. Epist. iv. † Liv. vi. Epist. xii. † Matt. c. xxiii. 29. § S. Hieron. Epist. xxxvii. § Exod. 13. \*\* Genes. 49. †† Eccles. 49. †† Eccles. 49. | | Od. xxi. 83. § De Gloria Confessorum, 4.

many hopes, filled so many hearts with charity, that tongue, which had a sound so sweet, and so powerful to announce the word of God, that whole body, so often offered to the Almighty in penitence and mor ification, that body now passes before our eyes, borne through the streets of Paris. Behold it, still clad in its ancient vestments, the cassoc, the surplice, and the stole! Cold, immoveable, to rise no more till, at the sound of the trumpet of the angel, which will summon it to glory! See around it what a multitude of men, great and small, princes and people. Sophists who pass by, do you comprehend this movement of the people towards the man, whose hand conferred so many benefits upon their fathers, and whose prayers can still cause the divine goodness to descend upon them? Do you discern this mysterious chain which unites earth and heaven? And in this body, which they bear along thus magnificently enshrined, is there nothing that moves you? Is there nothing in this astonishing and sublime symbol of charity."

St. Augustin replying to the pagans, explains the homage paid to the saints and their relics, as a Catholic writer might now address the Protestants. "We do not erect temples to the martyrs, but we honour their sepulchres as having rendered testimony to the truth. Who ever heard a priest officiating at the altar of God over the ashes of a martyr pronounce these words: Peter, Paul, or Cyprian, I offer to you this sacrifice ?\* The Holy Ghost reposes invisibly in the relics of those who are dead in the grace of God, until he appear visibly in them at the resurrection; and it is this which renders the relics of saints so worthy of veneration. For God never abandons his own, not even in the sepulchre, where their bodies, although dead to the eyes of men, are more alive before God, on account of sin being no longer in them, the roots of which at least must have been there during their lives." These are the words of Paschal.† "Would you know the precise date of the worship of the relics of martyrs?" asks Fénélon. "It is as ancient as martyrdom itself. These bones are already out of the tomb, because they have strengthened Jacob and redeemed themselves by virtue of faith. When Agleus sent his servant Boniface from Rome to visit Asia in search of the bodies of martyrs, he said. 'Know, O Boniface, that the bodies of the faithful who go to collect those of martyrs, ought to be pure and without a spot.' It is superstition to honour the martyrs without desiring to imitate them. These bones have no virtue for such men. This is a place into which faith alone should enter."±

But let us turn now to mark the decoration of the churches, and the memorials of antiquity which they presented. One who has only seen the desecrated cathedrals of England, or even the churches of France since the revolution, can hardly form an idea of the number of interesting objects for observation, furnished by the interior walls of an ancient Christian church, in consequence of the Catholic principle of divine appropriation by the original bond of all things to God, or by their special application to his glory. Of these to speak at full were a vain attempt; but a few instances, promiscuously taken, may serve to lead persons upon this inquiry. Thus, omitting for the present to mention the imagery and

<sup>\*</sup> De Civitate Dei.

<sup>‡</sup> Fénélon pour la Fête d'un Martyr.

<sup>†</sup> Pensées, ii. Partie, art. 17.

inscriptions upon sepulchres, of which I shall speak in a future place, there were so many memorials of every description, preserved from different ages, that to the examination of a church it was as necessary to bring learning and attention, as to the study of some book of ancient or of mystic lore. On the windows of the gothic church of the convent of the Celestines at Marcoucies was painted the word Ilpadelt, which no one could explain until a Turk, who had received baptism, and was in the suite of Francis I., came to Marcoucies in the year 1523, and decided that it was Syriac, and that it meant, "God is my hope," which explanation was then registered in the library of the abbey. These words had been the device of John de Montaigu, the great founder who had built the abbey and enriched it with many precious relies, pursuant to a vow which he made during the sickness of Charles VI. The capitals of the columns in the basilica of St. Vitale at Ravenna, contain monograms, of which the learned cannot give an interpretation. Every thing that could interest the scholar, the poet, the philosopher, and the Christian was to be found in the ancient churches. On the west front of the cathedral of Como, raised in the fourteenth century, are two statues of the elder and younger Pliny, who were natives of that place, and an affecting inscription invites the passenger to fix his eyes upon them, adding

> Lætus eris sed mox Non sine lachrymulis.

In the artists who placed these figures at the sacred portal, we can recognize the same mind as guided Dante, when he represented the four mighty spirits separate from all the rest, for one might infer that they stand there as if to signify that the renown of their great names, that echoes through our world, acquires favour in heaven, which holds them thus advanced.\* In the sixteenth century, a visitor of the diocese required their removal as profane, but the calmer and deeper wisdom of the sacred college, to which the citizens of Como appealed, sanctioned their preservation. The cathedral of Parma bears monumental tablets to the memory of ancient Roman families, which are celebrated in the classic annals.

Some arts and languages have perished since these churches were constructed. If it were not an interminable office to enter upon such details, a pilgrim who had visited Italy might attract around him many a circle of intelligent listeners, by merely telling them of the memorials of antiquity which he has found in churches: he might describe that ancient Pascal cycle fixed in the wall of the cathedral of Ravenna, or that pastoral chair of ivory which reminds him of classic story, or that stationary cross of St. Agnello, which has stood for thirteen hundred years in the same; he might describe the bas-relievos on churches which have survived heresies, and which represent the forgotten error, as those on St. Michael's church at Pavia, where an annunciation is represented conformable to the Arian opinions, or the ancient images of the cross of our divine Lord, like that awful figure in the church of St. Dominic at Ravenna, which is in a form unlike what we now ascribe to it. might relate of the calamities to which mortal men are subject, in connection with which he saw, in the cathedral of Milan, the crucifix which was borne processionally by St. Charles, during the plague in 1576; and in the church of St. Vitale at Ravenna, where, in the year 1636, the waters had risen fourteen feet above the pavement, an inscription which invited the traveller to pray that their rivers might softly glide:

Moliter ut jaceant flumina nostra roga.

How in the church of St. Praxides at Rome, where two thousand three hundred martyrs were buried, he saw in the nave a well railed round, in which that saint used to deposit the blood of the martyrs which she could collect, and in the nave of the church of the Passionists, on the Celian hill, the spot railed round on which St. John and St. Paul were martyred, and in the basilica of St. Vitale at Ravenna, on the pavement a slab representing a man beheaded, over which were these words: "Hie Ursicinus capite obtruncato martyrii palmam adeptus est." think you, he might ask, is the bronze statue of that aged pontiff of the Farnese race without the triple crown, which all his fellows bear, in that basilica of St. Peter? Why does he stoop his head with such marks of grief and humiliation? It is because England was lost under his pontificate; and when this Paul III. was on his death bed laid, he told them to represent him thus upon his tomb, but that when England revived again they might restore his emblematic crown. He might tell you of a silent but impressive lesson furnished by that tomb of Christine, queen of Sweden, in the same church, which bears for its sole embellishment a crown laid upon a tablet! That crown, you are told, was renounced for the sake of embracing the true faith of Christ. strange reversion is here of the spiritual order to behold the mighty exalted and the poor left prostrate, to see princes resigning their crowns rather than resist the Catholic church, and men of humble state, for the sake of vile profit, or some worthless distinction, for which beggars might contend, remaining obstinately deaf to her gracious call! might relate how he read, with trembling, those short words, inscribed over the high altar in the church of the convent of St. Mary Magdalen di Pazzi at Florence: "Una de numero prudentium." Alas! of what number are the giddy race who flock hither to gaze at paintings and the antiquated works of Tuscan art! Of what number was the wanderer himself who took such note of altars? He might describe that marble tablet in the cathedral of Milan, called Chrysmon St. Ambrosii, of which Landulph, its old historian, says, that it served as a table for the initiation of catechumens in the mysteries of our faith, and over which these verses are inscribed:

> Circulus hic summi continet nomina regis Quem sine principio et sine fine vides Principium cum fine tibi designant A et  $\Omega$ .

He might describe that mosaic in the choir of the Ambrosian basilica at Milan, representing St. Ambrose, who seems to fall asleep in celebrating mass, under which the word Mediolanum is written, while by the side is shown the funeral of St. Martin, celebrated at Tours with the word Turonica, indicating that his death was revealed to St. Ambrose, or, in the same basilica, that granite column supporting a serpent of brass, which has employed the pens of so many learned antiquarians, who have left it as they found it, an uncertain memorial of the highest

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antiquity, or, in the church of St. Stephen at Milan, which stands upon the field of battle, where the Arians fought against the Catholics, that aperture in the nave, covered with a grating of iron, in which is worked the crosier of St. Ambrose, on which fell, as some suppose, the blood of Diodorus and three other martyrs under Valentinian, or that stone, which is inserted there in a column, supposed to relate to the suffering of some martyr. He might repeat what he has read on the walls of the basilica of St. Sebastian at Rome, and give you the words of St. Jerome, describing his emotions on descending to the catacombs beneath; or he might, from the inscriptions on other churches, give you an account of the most memorable events connected with them, as from that in the basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe, which states how the emperor of Germany, Otho III, on account of his crimes, and in obedience to the austere discipline of St. Romuald, after walking barefoot from Rome to Mount Gargano, remained in this basilica and cloister during forty days a penitent, lamenting his sins in sackcloth, and giving an august example of humility. He might relate how at Poissy in the ancient church, he saw the font in which St. Lewis was baptized, and then, going on to speak of votive gifts, how in the ancient church of the Carthusians near Bologna, he saw the great iron chains that had been worn by poor Christian captives in the dungeons of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, who suspended them in this church on their return, and how at Pisa, in the church of St. Stephen, belonging to the knights of St. Stephen, he saw the banners surmounted by the crescent, and the immense brazen lanterns taken from the Turkish galleys by these knights of old, whose service consisted in protecting the Christian vessels on the Mediterranean

from their corsairs. An acquaintance with history may have prepared some of his hearers for such details. They may have read how Prince Boemond having been caught by the Sarassins, and thrown into a dungeon loaded with chains, made a vow to God, that if by help of his grace, and the intercession of St. Leonard, he should recover his liberty, he would go to the church of that saint at Limoges, and would attach to its altar a chain of silver of the same weight as that with which he was then bound in prison; which vow he accomplished with a fervour worthy of the most zealous Christian, and then shortly after the assembly at Poitiers, took the cross and set out for Jerusalem. Celebrated also was the gift of the Prince of Condé, who having been long confined as a state prisoner in Vincennes, made an offering to the church of our Lady at Loretto, of a model of that castle in solid silver. The ex voto figures frequently represented the illustrious pilgrims who had visited the church: Popes, emperors, and steel-clad warriors, are there along with peasants. lapse of ages had sometimes involved their history in obscurity. the church of our Lady at Fournes, in Flanders, were suspended in one chapel several huge heavy rings of iron. Certain paintings also there, of vast antiquity, represented persons from whose hands and feet these rings and fetters were dropping off. Time had obliterated all trace of the names and events, but the substance of the story was sufficiently These votive offerings, eyed by the moderns in disdainful clear. \*

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. des Saints de la Province de Lille et Douay, p. 572.

mood, towards which they sharpen their sight as keen as an old tailor at his needle's eve, may nevertheless be traced as a Christian usage from the primitive ages of the Church. Theodoret\* says, that those who ask with faith obtain their requests, "as appears from the donaries which testify their cures; for some hang up the resemblance of eyes, some of feet, others of hands made of gold or brass, to indicate the infirmities from which they were delivered, and to be a memorial of the power of the true God." The walls of the vast temple of our Lady of the oak near Viterbo, have not space enough to contain the votive offerings of successive generations of men, to express the eternal gratitude of those who had received signal gifts from heaven. A memorial connected with the simplicity of the middle ages, consists in those horse shoes which used to be nailed on the gate of churches, out of devotion to St. Martin, whom painters always represent on horseback, and all persons who travelled in that manner, invoked as their patron, under whose guidance they could hardly fail to practise blessed charity on their way. On their return, these horse shoes were nailed up as a sign of acknowledgement. † With respect to the decoration of churches, we have already seen how magnificently they were adorned in the third century. Pope Gregory II. writing to the Emperor Leo, the Iconoclast, explains the advantage derived from the paintings and images in the churches. In the very first age, there is mention of golden candlesticks given to churches, and of perfumed tapers. The Roman Church had lands in Syria and other provinces of the east, for the supply of perfumes; and at the close of the third century, Optatus Milevitanus, is a witness that there were many ornaments in the church of gold and silver. From the beginning of the fourth century to the end of the ninth, the richest presents were continually made to the churches of Rome by popes, emperors, and private persons. Images of our Saviour and of the Apostles of solid gold and silver, with crowns of jewels, were given to the Lateran Basilica by Constantine. Fleury gives the prodigious value of the different objects presented, such as golden chalices, lamps, censers, and images of saints, besides houses, and lands, and money. In the tenth century, the ravages of the Normans and other wars, and the opinion that the end of the world was near, occasioned the destruction and neglect of most of the churches of the west. When they were rebuilt, the ancient form was preserved, but as we have seen it was found impossible to imitate their magnificence, or to adorn them with equal spendour, for the riches of the church which remained were passing in another direction. It was much if they could be built with cut stone, and adorned with bronze; and it was even necessary to prohibit the use of clay or wooden chalices. Still there were many vestiges of ancient splendour. In the year 1034, the Bohemians pillaged the church of Genesne, in Poland, and carried off a crucifix of gold of nine hundred pounds, and three golden tables of an altar enriched with precious stones. The interior decoration of the churches in the middle ages was of an astonishing magnificence. We have a minute description of the church of the monastery of St. Richarius, in the time of

<sup>\*</sup> Orat. viii. Contra Gentiles.

<sup>†</sup> Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. i. c. 4. and tom. iv. 126,

Charlemagne: over every altar there was a picture which was set in precious stones; in the middle of the church the sacred passion was represented figured in gypsum and inlaid with gold and other precious On the south side was the Ascension, on the north the Resurrection, and in the porch the Holy Nativity, all similarly represented. Three of the altars were furnished with pure gold.\* Suger placed in the church of St. Denis a golden crucifix weighing eighty marks, and besides the value of the gold and enamel, there were in it pearls and precious stones: two years were required to finish it, though seven of the most skilful artists, who had come expressly from foreign countries, were occupied on it day and night. It was so brilliant that the eyes could not rest upon it without being dazzled. This was solemnly consecrated by Pope Eugene, who came to the abbey with the king for the purpose.† We read also that in the monastery of Luxueil, there was a cross wondrously fabricated of gold, and covered with precious gems, which had been given by St. Ansegisis, Abbot of Fontanelle. roof of the abbey of Crowland was golden, as appears from the epitaph on the Abbot John, in the reign of Edward IV.

> Mente Maria vacans, sed membris Martha ministrans, Quæque Dei laudem sapiunt, super omnia fovit, Sed reputat fraudem, quicquid proprium sibi novit, Quam sibi dilecta fuerant Domini sacra templa Laudis in exempla demonstrant aurea tecta, ‡

No labour or expense were spared in adorning the interior of churches. Bede relates of his abbot Biscop, that he brought from Rome and placed in his church pictures of sacred images of the blessed Mary, and the twelve apostles, and images of the evangelical history, and of the visions of St. John the Evangelist: all who entered the church, though ignorant of letters, might, to whatever side they turned, have contemplated either the gracious and loving countenance of Christ, and of his apostles, having them as if before their eyes, or they might be led to meditate with amaze upon the mystery of our Lord's incarnation; or else the danger of the final judgment which was presented before them might have moved them to examine themselves more strictly. | Most of the artists employed upon the cathedral of Pisa in the eleventh century were Greeks. The paintings on its walls and roof, executed in the fourteenth century, are sublime in the highest degree. The figure of our Saviour on a colossal scale in the apsis with the inscription, "Ego sum lux mundi," strikes one with dread on entering. The admirable sculpture in the Baptistery, was the work of Niccolo Pisano. The fresco paintings of the fourteenth century round the walls of the Campo Santo represent the lives and death of saints, the history of Job and others from the old Testament, the adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, the Triumph of Death, the General Judgment, in which Solomon's fate is represented doubtful, the Inferno of Dante, and other subjects which are executed with a genius that is the admiration of every intelligent beholder. What mind, what

<sup>\*</sup> Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Vita S. Angelberti, iv. 1.

<sup>†</sup> Hist. de Suger, lib. vi. - ‡ Ingulph. Hist.

Bed. in lib. i. de Vîta Biscop.

spirituality appears in that sublime form which we see there of the Saviour pronouncing the divine malediction in the Last Judgment! It surpasses the corresponding work of Michael Angelo, in the Sextine What awe is excited by that painting of the Last Judgment by Giotto, after the inspiration of his friend Dante, which is in the Annunziata at Padua! What a solemn impression steals upon the mind on beholding that assembly of venerable sages in the cathedral of Sienna, surrounding the entire church in continued series, and yet composed alone of the holy pontiffs who have sat in Peter's chair! or that in the Basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe, comprising the one hundred and twenty-six archbishops of Ravenna, who have succeeded in an uninterrupted order from St. Apollinare, the disciple of St. Peter! Who would have thought that death so many had despoiled! for what must be the multitude of the faithful when their chief pastors form such a crowd! Many of the paintings and decorations in the churches were designed with so deep and subtle an idea, that none but the initiated could trace the grand mystery. Such is that surprising painting on the ceiling of the Gesu at Rome, by Baciccio, which is to express that every knee shall bow at the name of Jesus. In like manner, in the masterpiece of Raphael, there is the same principle of unity to the eye of those who are accustomed to the thoughts of faith. These vast solemn frescoes, which are found in so many churches, in which there is discovered something new every time one regards them, something not there because men have read of it, but as if they have read of it because it is there, make every beholder imagine himself actually present at the awful scene, and are sufficient to soften the most obdurate. Those mosaic apses of the sixth century, like that in the Basilica of St. Vitale, at Ravenna, seem to give us an insight into the very thoughts of the early Christians; and who does not stand rivetted with devout attention to that great altar in the Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua, containing so many symbolical figures which teach heavenly lore: such as the propagation of the church throughout the world, the abundance of her spiritual gifts, the prudence requisite in her pastors, the detachment from the world which should distinguish every Christian, the punishments of the future life, the peace which is enjoyed in the church, the mysteries of the passion of our Lord? Father Angelo Bigoni describes these in his book, published lately at Padua. I saw the representation of beautiful woods and mountains painted in fresco, on the interior walls of the ancient church of St. Martin at Rome. thers of the desert were seen in these landscapes, and thus the beauties and sublimity of natural scenery were introduced within the sanctuary, Desiderio, Abbot of Monte Cassino, in order to adorn the new church he had built there, brought over Greek painters and artists from Constantinople: that church is like a grotto of jewels and precious stones. In their choice of materials, the men of these ages showed how they valued durability. The gates of cypress wood which Adrian III. erected in St. Peter's were in good preservation five hundred years after-In fact, there are examples of the almost incorruptibility of that The Basilica of St. Paul was roofed with cedar of Libanus, and it was the oldest church in the world. The ceilings of St. Mary Major, St. Clement, and St. Mary in Trastevere, are wrought with a skill and

magnificence that would defy modern art, as in fact the skill of carpenters in the middle ages greatly exceeded what is possessed at the present day. In the church of the monastery of Cluny, there was before the great altar a candelabra of prodigious magnitude of cyprus wood, gilt and covered with crystalline stones and beryls. It measured the height of a spear of eighteen feet in length, and six branches extended from it. This was the gift of queen Matilda.\* Over the entrance of the choir, in the centre of the entire structure, where the moderns in England have generally placed a shapeless organ, there was always a vast crucifix, with images of our blessed Lady and St. John, to denote that the cross should be in the heart of all Christians. This was the rood loft, the destruction of which was so delightful a task to the selfstyled reformers. Thus in the churches all things reminded men of the passion and sacred humanity of Jesus Christ. They might feel as if in Palestine, in Bethlehem, or on Calvary. Frequently too, as in the cathedral of Sienna, there was in another part some solemn representation of the holy sepulchre, with a figure of our divine Lord, and a light always burning before it within an iron grate. In short, as far as poor material works could act upon souls, the world was excluded and all its vanities; for it was not there as within that chief temple of the Anglican sect, in which one beholds nothing but the trophies of great captains, where one might suppose that all the naval battles of which history tells, from that of the Corinthians and Corevrians were to be commemorated, and where one beholds heroes, not in their death or in their devotions, but in all their temporal glory, and in the exultation of their victory. What a contrast is seen in Catholic churches where, as in the Carthusian monastery of Ferrara, one may find the tombs of Paladins, such as the Strozzi, and other heroes who had fought against the Turks! The sepulchre of Marc Antonio Martinengo della Palata is at Brescia. That illustrious hero, though twice wounded, took prisoner with his own hand Louis Gonzaga, and died three days after his victory. He had magnificent funeral honours, and this mausoleum was erected to his memory: yet excepting his arms, which are an eagle, nothing recalls his glory on this sepulchre. The medallions and bas relievos of marble and bronze, represent the passion of Jesus Christ and other sacred subjects, which have no relation to the brilliant exploits The ancient warriors and kings of England are only of the hero. represented on their tombs, either in the solemn eestacy of repose, or as meekly invoking Christ, in the posture of that knight described by Tasso, indicating one that ever

Had to heavenly things desire, holding His weapon in his right hand chosed, His left upon his breast was humbly laid, That men might know that while he died he pray'd by

At the same time countless images of saints rendered you familiar with the ineffable joys of devotion, and like the hymn of the church seemed to proclaim on all sides the brave actions, and the immortal palms of the best kind of conquerors.‡ Many experience a delightful astonishment on entering a Catholic country to find the art of sculpture

<sup>\*</sup> Chronicon Cluniacens.

applied to Christian subjects; for they had only before seen it under the genius of paganism. The admirable basso relievos, representing the life and death of St. John Gualbert, and other events which passed in the convent of Vallombrosa, executed by Benedetto di Rovezzano and Luca della Robbia at Florence, prove how capable this noble art is of expressing the character of Christian sanctity. The meek angelic looks of the monks in those relievos, could not have been surpassed in painting. A similar instance is seen on the gothic altar and shrine of St. Dominic in the church of the Dominicans at Bologna, which was carved by Nicholas of Pisa in 1200. The sculpture on the front of the cathedral of St. Laurence at Genoa, is enough to draw tears, so awful, and piteous is the spectacle there represented of the martyr's passion; and the figures representing the eight beatitudes in the church of St. Anthony at Parma, proclaim with an irresistible force the vanity of man's wisdom. Duplessis speaks of certain figures in bad taste which were in the abbey church of Fontenelle, which draws the judicious remark from a modern writer, that in the time of Duplessis good taste was nothing else but a pretentious and theatrical affectation; the charm of simplicity was not then felt or esteemed; the great traditions of art were abandoned; so that many works of sculpture executed during the middle ages from the time of St. Louis resemble much more the antique than the greatest part of the productions of the modern school.\* Even De Saint Victor, like the excellent Fleury, is too much disposed to speak of the barbarous taste of the middle ages; and the learned Abbe Lebenf, in his History of the Diocese of Paris, shows with regard to the churches of the Templars, great ignorance of ecclesiastical architecture in the middle ages, and insensibility to its beauty. The observation of Müller that the Doric character created the Doric architecture, may be applied to the Catholic religion, and to the whole development of the arts in ages of faith: for it is clear from the ancient monuments that our ancestors, like the Dorians, attended to the beauty of form to a degree that might lead one to suppose that they had always used that prayer, "give us what is good, and what is beautiful." In Oxford, as in any of our cathedrals you can trace the date of the modern philosophy by observing the imagery employed upon edifices. We cannot be mistaken in the date wherever we find the old Christian images superseded by statues of Jupiter, Neptune, and Apollo. Even on the portal where Laud feebly restored an image of our blessed Lady there are placed by the side of it, two naked figures of human graces. In Westminster Abbey, pagan imagery appears upon the tombs, not such as is merely symbolical like the hearts which the first Christians continued to engrave as we see in the catacombs, but fair imitations of the deities. The moderns, indeed, seem never satisfied unless the whole pagan mythology is before their eyes. Moreover, the old mosaics and paintings in the churches, as in Italy to this day, show evidently that the artists in the middle ages knew the necessity of making art symbolical rather than imitative; and this proves the inconsistency of the moderns who would admire and preserve the monuments of Catholic genius, but destroy the idea which inspired it. But what is above all characteristic of

<sup>\*</sup> Langlois Essai Historique sur Saint Wandrille.

the paintings and sculpture of the middle ages, which are often yet more precious for their artist's sake, is the predominance of mind and spirituality, whether the form be executed with skill or only in a rude manner.

In the church of the Capuchin convent, without the walls of Sursee, are two altars, over which are placed groups of images. One represents the blessed Mary holding the dead body of her divine Son; the other represents our Lord in the garden, with the angel offering him the cha-At first the eyes might turn elsewhere, as though the form but ill accorded to the design of art, through sluggishness of unreplying matter; but their final conquest is no less certain: curiosity prompts them to return, and one finds oneself arrested by an indescribable emotion of pity mixed with devout awe: then it is all over with one's proud science: one's eyes are rivetted upon them, and one feels one's whole soul overcome with a sense of that dread mystery which they describe with such pathetic simplicity. But after reading that St. Eloy used to have always some holy book open before him to sanctify his soul, while his hands were working at the shrines, and that others, like Guercini, never commenced a painting without first purifying their souls by sacramental confession, -can we wonder that the works of such ages should be unlike our own? Aurelius Lomi, of Pisa, wrote upon his picture of the Adoration of the Magi these pious lines ;- "Et quid retribuam tibi, O bone Jesu pro omnibus quæ retribuisti mihi? Non aurum, non thus, nec mirram, sed cor meum et de thesauro cordis mei hoc opus manûm mearum." The great Bolognese painter, Augustin Carrachi, used to make a retreat in the convent of the Capuchins, where he died. Hence these paintings can sometimes give us quite a new view of scenes with the history of which we had been long familiar, ennobling them to a degree far beyond any conception we had formed from books. Such is the case on regarding that gracious fresco in the church of the Carthusians near Pavia, which represents St. Paul and St. Anthony dividing the loaf, and the raven sitting by them on the rock. In fact, the early Christian painters were generally monks and men of the interior life. Raphael had a friar for his master in the divine art. This was friar Bartholomew, the Dominican, who is regarded as one of the greatest painters of the Florentine school. Bramante, too, made his first studies in drawing from the works of the friar Bartholomew. The beautiful miniatures in the Antiphonarium and Liturgical Books which belonged to the choir of the great Carthusian monastery at Pavia, were executed by monks. These ages possessed numerous painters of great excellence, whose names are now nearly forgotten; such as Bellius, Verrochio, Montagna, Perousin, Bourdichon, John of Paris. Princes were even celebrated as painters, like the pious Count of Provence, Renè of An-The passion for the arts was then constantly allied with Christian fervour, and the idea of salvation. Michael Angelo composed his testament in three lines. "I bequeath my soul to God, my body to the earth, my goods to my nearest relations. I recommend them and my friends to bear constantly in mind the sufferings of the Son of God." Art has felt deeply the loss of this profound religious sentiment, and has been reduced to a mere mechanical display of skilful execution, indicating often the most offensive affectation, rather a mockery or a caricature than a just expression of the desire of the human soul.

It is by no means certain that, even in point of execution, the noble arts of design and sculpture, were so far behind during the middle ages. when it is supposed they were in infancy: the broad seals of churches, abbeys, schools, cities, and castles, to which an historian may refer with such delight as illustrative of ancient manners, are sufficient to demonstrate the contrary. Many of these, still to be met with in England, are worthy of the finest epoch of art. The seal of a small convent of the fourteenth century, might now make the subtlest workman wonder. What ages must these have been, when taste and beauty extended even to the appendages of their title-deeds! The mutilated images which I saw on the west front of the ruined abbey of Crowland, would not disgrace the cabinets of the British Museum, though placed along with the spoils of the Parthenon. There is a book existing, a Benedictional, written by Godemann, who in the year 970 was appointed first abbot of Thorney, by the founder Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, in which the paintings are a proof of the fact, which will astonish many, that the fine arts in England, in the tenth century, had attained to a high perfection in their noblest capacity. These figures are drawn in the most graceful manner of the antique, and being surrounded with shining gold and fraught with all the simplicity of the old Christian paintings, they unite the perfection of the classic style and the saintly tenderness of the middle ages. That of our Lord's entrance on Palm Sunday, and the portrait of St. Ethelreda, are of such exquisite grace, that the eves which bend on them seem never to have their fill. The collar of the golden fleece, which the emperor, Charles V. used-to wear, which is a chain of gold with twelve medallions, representing the stages of the Passion, is a work of such beauty, that it is doubtful whether any artist, goldsmith, or engraver at the present day, would be capable of executing it. Of late years, indeed, men have begun to do justice to the arts of the middle ages. In Germany, copies of its devout historic paintings are multiplied by means of lithography. The great Catholic painter Cornelius has recalled the art to its religious original. Oberbeck paints in the style of the middle age; and his pictures are inspired by piety and grace. The brothers Eberhard are the living masters of Catholic sculpture, like their fathers of the thirteenth century. But to proceed.

The religious use of images and paintings appears in the first age of Christianity. As Mabillon says, it was most ancient in the Church, and instituted in the first cradles of the Christian religion.\* Tertullian describes in what form our Saviour was then generally painted;† and Eusebius mentions the painted images of Christ and of the Apostles which had been preserved from ancient times. St. Augustin alludes to the number of these paintings,‡ and speaks of one in these terms: "Dulcissima pictura est hæe," in which you see St. Stephen being stoned and Saul holding his vestments. St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and other holy Greek Fathers, bear the same testimony to the universal use of pictures and images. It appears also that a symbolical painting of the blessed Trinity was known to the first ages, as was seen in the Basilica of St. Felix at Nola. We observe that the chapels in the sepulchres

<sup>\*</sup> Præfat. in iv. Sæcul. Benedict. sec. 3. † Lib. i. de Conscusa, Evang. c. x.

<sup>†</sup> De Pudicitia, cap. x. | S. Paulin, Epist, xii.

of the martyrs at Rome, where the Christian mysteries were celebrated in times of persecution, are adorned with paintings of roses, birds, crosses, and images of saints. Some of these I copied in the catacombs of St. Cyriaque, the descent to which is from the garden of the church of St. Lorenzo. The passage to this chapel extends more than a quarter of a mile, and is literally between the dead, whose mouldering skeletons are still remaining in the hollow places on each side. Over the stone altar which was discovered in the baths of Titus, is a fresco painting of St. Felicita and her sons; and on the side walls are images of the Apostles. In the lowest subterranean chapel in the church of St. Martin, you see the mosaic of our Lady, which existed at least in the time of St. Silvester. In the church of St. Denis at Rome is the image of our

Lady, which belonged to St. Gregory the Great.

'The arts were adopted and cherished by the church with a parent's care, and the result was a new era in their history. Nothing is more evident, says Northcote, than that the Church of Rome alone has been the creator and sole nourisher of the art in its grandest aspect, from which it has received all its dignity. It has now been clearly proved for some ages past, that there is a moral impossibility in the way of this noble art, in its loftiest aims, ever arriving at any degree of respectability in a Protestant country, where it cannot rise beyond the mechanical exercise of a portrait, or the humble baubles for a cabinet: all its struggles are but vain: as well might we expect to see corn grow on the barren rock.\* The spirit of these concessions of a great artist will not be approved of by the supporters of the modern school; but without going into the argument at length, on a subject which is admitted by theologians to be one of those which are named adiaphorus, we may be permitted to observe in opposition to them, that had the Church never imposed any veneration for pictures and images, which were memorials of the persons and actions they represent, she would have opposed a law of nature, and established what Luther was so fond of,—a distinction between theological and philosophical truth, and made that true by her decrees which reason pronounces to be absurd and impossible. seek to take any part from the Catholic religion, would be as insane as to wish to expunge a tint from the prism, or a principle from the laws of nature.

Boleslaus IV. King of Poland, used to wear round his neck a golden medal with the portrait of his father; and when he had to perform any action of importance, he used to move it to his lips, and kiss it with veneration, saying, "God preserve me, my father, from ever doing any thing unworthy of thy royal name."† That an expression of reverence, which the moderns themselves involuntarily admit to be pious when used towards a parent, should become impious when its object was God or his blessed saints, cannot be believed by them without supposing that truth is divided against itself; but many would rather condemn the nature of things than their own error. The grounds on which Christians use images and paintings, as contrary to the abominable customs of Pagans, who, as Niebuhr remarks, believed notwithstanding what Julian and later sophists might say, that when an image was con-

<sup>\*</sup> Life of Titian, vol. i. 397.

secrated, the Deity entered into it as into a body, and dwelt in it,\* are shown in detail in that curious Dialogue, composed in the fifth century, between Zachæus, a Christian, and Apollonius, a philosopher.†

The first who declared war against the Christian images were the Jews, and also the heathens, in consequence of their detestation of Christ and the martyrs. 'To them succeeded the Marcionites, Manichæans, and Phantasiastans, who abhorred the image of Christ, because they did not believe that he had taken true flesh, as St. Augustin testifies.‡ In the seventh century the impure sect of Mahomet severely prohibited the use of images. The Turks have such a horror of all paintings of creatures that have or had life, that with them a naturalist, who should make a drawing of a bird or a fish, would be deemed guilty of mortal sin. In the eighth century, the Emperor Leo, the Isaurian, deceived by some Jewish impostors, commenced the impious war against the Church; but he was resisted by the Roman Pentiffs, St. Gregory II. and St. Gregory III. as also by St. German, the patriarch of Constantinople. Under succeeding emperors the Iconaclastic heresy was pursued till the second Council of Nice, since which it was extinguished in the East. From the twelfth century, various obscure heretics prosecuted it in the West, until the great revolution of the sixteenth century, when it was sustained and established by the civil power in various nations, as it continues at the present day. It is infinitely remarkable that this detestation of images should have been first defended and eventually perpetuated by the secular power, in opposition to the sentiments of such men as St. Basil, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and other illustrious doctors of the Church, who probably were quite as acute philosophers as the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, Michael Balbus, or even Edward VI. and his sage counsellors. The childish and servile fears of the moderns on this subject were calculated to excite only the sorrow and compassion of the meek, who are inheritors of the earth and all that it produces. For the sake of an argument, granting it possible that images might be abused, they remarked, that at all events images, like the cherubim, whether representing angels as they appeared to men, or as Clemens Alexandrinus, in his eagerness to discover hieroglyphics every where, fancifully argues, signifying only the rest of the glorified spirits, | were things that, in either sense, the people, surrounded with idolatrous nations, might have abused, and yet they were made by the express command of God. Why were the Jews so expressly forbidden to touch the ark, though a thing inanimate, and to venerate it so religiously, unless because it was an instrument of religion, and because to fall down at the sight of it was nothing else but to adore God, of whose presence it was the symbol? These objectors to paintings and images might as well object to God for having made the lights of heaven so resplendent, and the plants and herbs so beautiful and odoriferous, because Divine honours have been paid to them by erring creatures, deluded by the artifice of demons. This is what even Walafried Strabo says, which shows

<sup>\*</sup> History of Rome, vol. ii. p. 102.

<sup>†</sup> Consultatio Zachwi Christiani et Apollonii Philosophi, lib. i. c. 28, apud Dacher, Spicileg, tom. x.

§ In lib. de Hæres, cap. xlvi.

§ Stromat, lib, v. c. 6.

that the abbots of the ninth century were men who knew what they were doing.\* In fact, it may be seen in Mabillon's Preface to the fourth century of the Benedictines, that the great ecclesiastical writers from the sixth century uniformly inculcated the necessity of guarding against abuse, though the most vehement never proceeded so far as to tax with idolatry the practices which they condemned. The writings of Dungal, the recluse of St. Denis, and of Walafried Strabo, evinced more than a reasonable caution; yet "images and paintings are so to be had and loved," says the latter, "that neither the utility be nullified by contempt, which irreverence would then be extended to those whose resemblances they are, nor by an immoderate worship, the soundness of faith be wounded, and too much honour being paid to corporeal things, we might seem to contemplate too little things spiritual." In every age of the Church their use was defended with the most perfect sense, at the same time that there was a possible danger to be guarded against; for where is there not danger for man, who abuses the best things? But it was well understood that, by the mystery of the Incarnation, idolatry was a crime, as Bossuet says, impossible to a Christian; for wherever the Mediator, man and God, was adored, there was no possibility of supposing, like the Pagans, that men could be made equal to God, since their distance from him by sin was so fully revealed by that doctrine. The vehemence of Agabard and Jonas was to be ascribed to the accounts which had been transmitted to the West of the conduct of the Greeks; but the synod of Paris wisely determined, that the peace of the Church in Gaul was to be preferred to this controversy, which then agitated the Greeks. Besides, as was observed by the fathers of the second Council of Nice, the advantage to be derived from imagery, under the spiritual revelation of the Gospel, was something too positive for reason to sanction the neglect of it. 'The ancients often used the word Isiumaon, to imply that a wall or a robe was adorned with paintings, for these were in fact the best letters for most men.† Hence, always to the illiterate, and frequently to philosophers themselves, the walls of a Catholic church were the best of books, and even the windows, which showed many a prophet, and many a saint, served to the end of instruction, t as that of York Cathedral to the east, on which was painted almost the whole history of the Bible. In the Festival, which was a devotional book published in the reign of Henry VII. the use of sacred images was thus clearly explained: "Men should learn by images whom they should worship and follow in living. To do God's worship to images every man is forbidden. Therefore, when thou comest to the church, first behold God's body upon the altar, and thank him that he vouchsafes every day to come from the holy heaven above for the health of thy soul. Look thou upon the cross, and thereby have mind of the passion he suffered for thee; then on the images of the holy saints, not relying on them, but that by the sight of them thou mayest have mind on them that be in heaven: and so to follow their life as much as thou mayest." Plutarch, in his Treatise on the manner in which one ought to hear, says, "that while there are many parts of the

<sup>\*</sup> De Rebus Ecclesiast. cap. viii.

<sup>†</sup> Durandi, Rationale, i. 3.

body through which vice passes to the soul, virtue has but one hold on young persons, which is by means of their ears." The Church improved on Nature, and made the eyes and other senses minister to sanctity. To this Dante alludes, saying

Since from things sensible alone ye learn That, which digested rightly, after turns To intellectual. For no other cause The Scripture, condescending graciously To your perception, hands and feet to God Attributes, nor so means; and holy church Doth represent with human countenance Gabriel and Michael.\*

A most admirable passage on this theme occurs in the great work of Vincent of Beauvais. "Superstition," he says, "is a vice contrary to religion. Superstition is said to exceed the medium of religion, not because it exceeds in doing more in the Divine worship than religion would do, or that it tends more to any thing, but because the worship which it pays, it exhibits either to whom it ought not, or in a manner in which it ought not. It is fourfold-consisting in idolatry, divination, observances, and in paving respect more to the written figures than to the meaning of the words. The first is the most grievous of all offences against God. To God the Creator alone, on account of his singular excellence, is due the worship of divinity: therefore, if one should pay Divine worship to any creature, he incurs the vice of superstition, of which idolatry is a species. If we read of images of cherubim in the Old Testament, as we now have in the churches images of the blessed Virgin and of Christ, it is observed that the worship of latria is not paid to them, but they are used to a certain signification, that the images may impress on the hearts of men the memory of the persons they represent, and that faith may be confirmed as to the excellence of the creator of the angels."† Assuredly, these were not men to stand in need of the counsels of modern spirituality. "The soul never thinks without a phantasm," says Aristotle, "which shows the error of those who seek for intellectual perfection in what is ἀσωματώτατον.‡ Fichte, an authority not to be suspected here, confesses that, respecting its external operation, philosophy is less powerful than painting; for the latter has a sympathetic power to transfuse sentiments into the souls of other men, which philosophy has not: he says, that painting and sculpture are capable of giving to all persons some kind of perception, that there are pleasures which far surpass any pleasures afforded by the senses, In regard to its outward influence, philosophy is worse off than art, since the latter, by a secret magical sympathy, which runs through the spiritual world, can elevate even such as are aliens from art, for a few moments, into some communion with it, and can give them a foretaste of her joys; whereas, the mysteries of philosophy are altogether closed to those in whose souls the idea has not burst forth into life. Would you now remark the effect which is produced upon minds of different degrees of cultivation and intelligence, by the images and paintings in the

<sup>\*</sup> Parad. ix.

<sup>†</sup> Vincentius Bellovacensis, Speculum Morale, lib. iii. pars 3. dist. 26, 27. ‡ Aristotle, De Anima, A. F.

churches? Mark then, first, the impression upon the multitude, from which Dante borrows that sublime comparison,

Like one who comes from far to see Our Veronica: and, the while 'tis shown' Hangs over it with never-sated gaze, And, all that he hath heard revolving, saith Unto himself in thought: "And didst thou look E'en thus, O Jesus, my true Lord and God? And was this semblance thine? so gaz'd I then Adoring," \*

Open the writings of Leibnitz and of Lavater, and you will find evidence that the study of philosophy, so far from depriving men of such transports, only renders them more profound. Nature, in her tender and ingenious solicitude for the wants of all, imparts them even to humanity in its lowest state; witness that affecting description by a modern writer, of a poor little deformed orphan, whom a priest of blessed charity had nourished, and made a bell-ringer in Notre Dame at Paris. "After all," he says, "this poor creature turned his attention with regret to the side of men. His cathedral sufficed to him. It was peopled with marble figures of kings, saints, bishops, who at least never laughed in his face, but had always for him a tranquil and benevolent look. The very monsters in stone had no hatred against him; they rather seemed to mock other men. The saints were his friends, the monsters were his friends, and the cathedral was to him society, nature, and the universe." All that we have said can give but a feeble idea of the interest, in point of literature, art, and history, attached to the ancient churches; but even this little is sufficient to account for the intense affection with which persons of every description, during the ages of faith, revered and loved them. At Florence, in the Piazza del Duomo, the place where Dante loved to sit contemplating the cathedral, is distinguished by a white stone. In the nave is an old painting, in which this poet is represented walking outside of the walls of the city, holding a book in his hand, and the dome of the cathedral appears the most conspicuous object of the landscape. In allusion to the baptistery, he says himself.

---Saint John's fair dome, of me belov'd.+

Lebeuf is enabled to trace the site of the palace of the pious King Gontran, by observing that of the church of St. Marcel, for whom he had so great a devotion; ‡ and in Spain, the eastles of nobility were always constructed so as to front the church. St. Odo, the second abbot of Cluni, describes the grief of kings and people on the burning of the church of St. Martin at Tours, and says, that not only the rustics, who so peculiarly loved the blessed man, but even kings were seen to weep. Petrarch's love for churches appears strongly marked in his correspondence. In a letter to William de Pastrengo he says, "I dwell at Parma, and pass my life in the church or in my garden: tired of the city, I wander often into the woods:" but his chief affection was for the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, to be near which, he hired a house in that

Parad. xxxi. † Infern. xix. † Hist. du. Diocèse de Paris, tom. iii. 213.

 ↓ De Combust. Basil. Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 146.

quarter of the city. He says that he never entered it without feeling an extraordinary fervour. There was an image of St. Ambrose, said to resemble him. Petrarch was never weary of beholding it. great archbishop appeared to give me his blessing. What majesty in his countenance! what sweetness and expression in his eyes! This sight spread over my heart a lively and inexpressible tranquillity. rejoiced that I came to Milan." Afterwards, when inviting a young man of genius, named Modi, to live with him as instructor to his son John, he ends his letter, which stated the advantages he could promise, by saying, "I forgot our being near St. Ambrose, which may perhaps have more influence with you than all I have said." Hence, we do not find these great Christian poets and philosophers procuring curious or exquisite dwellings for themselves. Petrarch composed his Africa in a gloomy house, in a narrow street of Parma; and the house of Ariosto, in the little street of Miresole, in Ferrara, (though, as the inscription modestly states, suitable to him,) is small, and devoid of every advantage which we might suppose would endear it to a poet. But the one was near the cathedral and the other adjoining the great abbey of Benedictines; and this was sufficient.

The temporal power and the voice of genius co-operated with the affections of the people and the faith of the clergy, to preserve the churches from all profanation. The first churches were called Basilicas, as if they were roval dwellings: for even the word in its ordinary usage with the Romans had reference to kingly jurisdiction, though in the litanee at the consecration of a church, the title of regal house is given to it, no doubt, on higher than such temporal and human grounds. According to the statutes of the Council of Lyons, we all decree, said the Fathers assembled at Sens, in the year 1460, that no one in churches shall raise any sedition, or clamour, or confusion. Let there be no councils of Universities, or of any societies held in them; neither convocations nor public parliaments, nor vain and profane conversations.\* By the canons of the Council of Mayence, in the year 813, it was forbidden to hold any assemblies in churches for temporal affairs. This sense of what was due to the sanctity of churches, appeared even in warriors and conquerors. Henry, King of England, making war upon Fulco, Count of Anjou, was defeated and forced to fly with great loss of prisoners. Early the following morning the count gave directions to the monks who were in the camp, to prepare to sing a solemn mass; but when they came to the church they could not enter it, in consequence of the crowd of prisoners who had been captured on the preceding day, and placed there in confinement. The count, turning to his own people, grievously reproved them. "What have ye done," said he, "fearing not God, neither having any reverence for men! Are you ignorant that the Jews were severely rebuked by our Lord for this very offence? 'Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.' By the canons of the Church, whose sons we are called, we are told that whatever criminal shall escape to a church he should be suffered to depart without punishment; and we who judge the land should love justice, that we may live to justice, de-

<sup>\*</sup> Concil. Senonens, cap. ii. apud Dacher. Spicileg, tom. v.

vide an abundance of meat and wine, that, strengthened with bread and made joyful with wine, these prisoners might all return to their own homes without any ransom: they were in number about five hundred."\* Even in their vengeance, the men of these ages respected the churches. Barbarossa,-that name ne'er uttered without tears in Milan,-in pronouncing its destruction, commanded that the cathedral should be spared, as also the Ambrosian Basilica, and the monastery called the Greater, which was enriched with the gifts of the Emperor Otho, in the tenth century, and by Didier, the last king of the Lombards. Philip II. King of Spain, besieging the town of St. Quintin, and having to make a breach, was forced with his cannon to batter down a small chapel on the wall, dedicated to St. Laurence, in reparation of which destruction he afterwards built, under the invocation of the same saint, that famous chapel in the Escurial in Spain, which is, for workmanship, one of the wonders of the world. Even Alaric, when Rome was taken and sacked, allowed the church of St. Peter and that of St. Paul to serve as an asylum. The barbarian soldiers protected the translation of the treasures of the altar, such an influence had the force of the Christian tradition upon the minds of the rudest warriors; so that the security of the churches from the hands of men appeared to become known even to the instinct of animals, for the stork would build her nest on their towers, and by the holiness of its dwelling, secure the right of succession.

Some churches acquired a peculiar interest from the saints who had frequented them in their lives. Thus the church of St. Merri at Paris, used to be visited as that in which St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, when a student of theology in the year 1220, used to assist every night at matins, and that of St. Etienne des Gres, as that in which St. Francis de Sales used to perform his devotions when a student. Others had claims to veneration of a more historical or poetic kind, as that old Baptistery where were made Christian the great spirits sung by Dante. But all were holy and venerable places corresponding with that desire imprinted in the soul of man which prompts him to seek places even on this earth, where he may feel, that in a more especial manner, God is honoured and adored, and where the very ground is sanctified and holy. Every church, under whatever saint, was consecrated in honour of the holy and victorious cross; every consecrated church had beheld the twelve mystic lights which were borne round it in procession, commemorating the eternal light and the lucid mansions where rest the souls of the saints. Sublime are the words of the divine office in the preface of the dedication. "This is truly the house of prayer, the temple of the habitation of thy glory, the seat of unchangeable truth, the sanctuary of eternal love. This is the ark which leads us from the flood of the world into the port of salvation; this the only and beloved spouse whom Christ acquired with his blood, whom he vivifies with his Spirit; in whose bosom, being regenerated by thy grace, we are fed with the milk of the word, we are strengthened with the bread of life, we are consoled with the assistance of thy mercy. This he preserving, militates faithfully on earth, and he crowning, triumphs everlastingly in

<sup>\*</sup> Gesta Consulum Andegavensium, Dacher. Spicileg. tom. x. † Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, i. 6.

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heaven." "Who," cries St. Bernard, "would fear to call the walls of this church holy, which the hands of consecrated priests have sanctified with so many mysteries, within which the sacred lessons are read, and the devout whisper of holy prayer ascends, walls which are honoured by the blessed presence of the sacred relics, and where flights of angels are known to keep watch? Yet these walls are not holy on account of themselves, but by reason of those who are sanctified. The house is holy on account of bodies, bodies are holy on account of souls, and souls are holy on account of the Spirit of God dwelling in them."\* Men there are indeed, who have yet to learn with what veneration, as St. Jerome says, they ought to regard the Catholic altar, its sacred chalices, and holy veils, and other things pertaining to the worship of our Lord's passion; who have yet to learn that these are not empty things without sense or holiness, but that from their connection with the awful mysteries of our Lord, they are to be venerated with the same respect.† They have been accustomed to assume the manners of those who ascribe all things to fortune and deny a Providence.

Atque adeo intrepidi quæcumque altaria tangunt.

But the profound awe and scrupulous reverence with which St. Jerome used to enter the churches t continued during the ages of faith to move the mind of Christians with respect to them. The primitive Christians used never to enter the churches without washing their hands and putting on their cleanest apparel. The inscription which was on several of the vases for the blessed water in the churches of Paris, NIYAN ANOMHMATA MH MONAN OYIN, was said to have been originally engraved on that of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. Kings took off their crowns, and in some countries it was even the custom to make bare the feet at the threshold. "Follow my advice," said St. Jerome to a heretic, "enter the churches of the martyrs, and you will soon be cleansed. You will be kindled not by those lighted tapers at the tombs of the martyrs which displease you, but by invisible flames, and you will then confess what you now deny." \*\* This remark leads me to the conclusion, for it completes the explanation of the secret, why such importance was ascribed in a spiritual philosophy, even to the material temples during the ages of faith; why they were constructed with such zeal, and preserved with such veneration. From what motive do you ask were men so indefatigable in constructing and preserving these magnificent churches? Was it, as a late writer says, from the want which they felt of something visible to demonstrate the power of unknown and confused principles? Was it from any such vague indefinite speculation, or for any positive object of mere temporal good and national glory? No; the modern philosophers may languish over their proud theories respecting them; their feeling artists may admire and attempt to imitate them; under the encouragement of those who frequent them like the bats in former times, who used to feed upon the oil of their lamps, there may be some who are ready to do full justice to their admirable grandeur, in an architectural or even in a poetical point

<sup>\*</sup> In Dedicat. Eccleşiæ, Serm. iv. † S. Hieronymi Epist. lxxxviii. † Benedict. xiv. de Sacrificio Missæ, sect. i. 65. § De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, iii. ii. 425. \*\* Advers. Vigilant.

of view; but they must be seen in another light, and with more philosophic eyes, if men would rightly understand their true connection with the ages of our past history; they must be considered in their character of Catholic sanctuaries disposed for certain specific moral ends, towards furthering the sanctification of souls, and hastening the number of the elect, as having their spendour within; and as being remedies and instruments of deliverance for the wretched captives of this world.

Churches were formerly asylums to save men from the death of the body, and still they continue to be spiritual asylums, to which men can fly at every moment and escape the death of the soul, recover the joy of salvation, and be strengthened with a perfect spirit. Behold them, for instance, on the vigil of a festival. But if you be of those who are with error yet encompassed, let me first attempt to instruct you. it is afflicting to see you enter our churches! What furious or what suspicious looks do you dart at the holy place, as if, in the obscurity of this vast edifice, you supposed that God was concealing an avenger, armed to inflict punishment on you for your own calumnies and for the sacrilege of your fathers! But no: thou art within the house of peace. Here thou must all distrust behind thee leave; here be vile fear extinguished. This choir resounds with the sweet hymns of evening, and all these retired chapels along the nave, are thronged with children preparing for their first communion, or with weeping penitents confessing their sins, and hearing the wonderful words of the Catholic church, which she alone can pronounce,-penance and restitution. Tranquillized as to what respects yourself, say where do you find indications here of unknown and confused principles? but mark with joy and with astonishment how this sublime work, raised by mortal hands, encompasses and assists a mighty spiritual operation! Here is a spectacle to give delight to angels; for here is visible, to the eye of those winged messengers, the elevation of innocent souls to God; here they witness that which in heaven makes the wheel of justice run counter to the edge, the sinner's cheek stained by the precious streaming tears of self-accusing: here they mark the first steps of a renovated life, resolutions to forgive enemies, perhaps to forget your reproaches, your calumnies, vows to found hospitals for the poor, to deliver the helpless, to forsake all things for Christ.

"The whole sacred place ought to be held by us always in great reverence," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "on account of the many benefits which are there vouchsafed to those who there devoutly pray. For there the penitent sinners receive pardon; the just, returning thanks, merit grace; the poor, lamenting and praying, receive alms; the rich, showing mercy, merit for themselves in return God's mercy; there the priest, celebrating, offers to God, for himself and many others praying on bended knees, the sacrifice worther than all sacrifice. There the devout supplicant at mass meditates with tears on the sacred passion of Christ. There the stranger and traveller, wandering over the earth and sea, receives a blessing, and Jesus Christ as a faithful friend and guide, who leads all wanderers safe through every way. There the youth, who serves the priest, supplies the place of an angel. There the communicant receives the most holy body of the Lord, the food of angels, the most precious of all gifts. There, before going to his daily la-

bour, the disconsolate receives comfort, the timid confidence, the contrite spiritual joy. There the tempted finds a remedy, the distracted counsel, the fainting help. There the sound receives support, the sick medicine, the dead, by prayer that riseth up from the heart which lives in grace, deliverance from penal fire. It is good therefore to enter the house of God, to go about the tombs, to contemplate the relics and images of the saints, suppliantly to adore the sacrament of Christ, not to discuss high things, or to wish to penetrate difficulties, but secret things humbly to venerate, and profound things to commit to God. For truth deceives no man. Almighty God can do all things. Brethren, mark these portals, and remember now is the time of grace; a little while and we can seek and knock, a little while and we can merit an eternal kingdom. Lo! the gate of heaven is not yet shut; the doors are open for all who will to enter them. O faithful and humble soul, consider how great is the mercy of God upon thee in all thy life, which still delays and waits for thee. O happy church: truly in thee is a hidden God, an infinite treasure, a copicus redemption, an everlasting safety. Human eye seeth not, nor can any finite intelligence penetrate that mysterious ineffable presence of heaven's great Lord, the almighty foe to ill. O salutaris hestia quæ cœli pandis ostium, wondrous things are related of thee, to whom, by high effect of surpassing grace, nothing is impossible, who canst in mercy or in judgment do all things in heaven and in earth! Let weak and frail man prepare himself then before he enters the church, remembering what majesty is there veiled, and presuming not of himself, but seeking pardon in holy fear with the publican, that he may deserve with Lazarus, in the future country, to find eternal rest."\* That men to whom such thoughts were present, might forget all . that material beauty and sublimity of arches and towers, which alone arrest the attention of those who have never beheld churches, unless in their perverted and desecrated state, should fill no one with surprise. But it is from considering them in their spiritual point of view, as sacramental instruments, assisting sinners to enter upon salvation's way, and as supplying that living water, of which those who drink shall never more feel thirst, that you can comprehend the consolation of those who, with faith and meekness, entered them, and that you can explain why those very doors, as at the four basilicas of Rome, are literally worn down with the kisses of the faithful: it is from such reflections that the disciple of the modern religions, who returns from visiting the threshold of the apostles, may perhaps gain sufficient wisdom to exclaim with Jacob, when he rose from sleep, "Truly that place was holy and I knew it not."

The privileges of sanctuary, attached to the churches in the middle ages, so secure from violation, even from the most flagitious, in consequence of the terror inspired by the tradition of the deaths of Robert de Clermont, Marechal of France, and of John de Châlons, Marechal of Champagne, who broke open the gates of St. Mery, need not detain us long. For that of Westminster, Shakspeare has inspired us all with a poetic affection. That of the temple still gives its name to an adjoining street. In the old time, long before the house of Durham was sup-

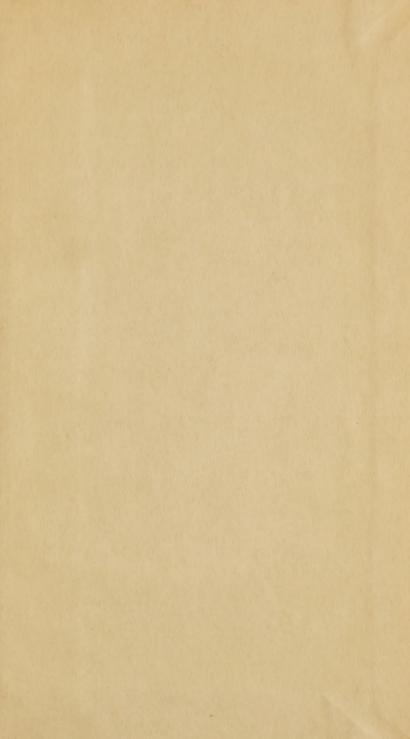
<sup>\*</sup> Thom. de Kempis. Sermonum, pars iii.

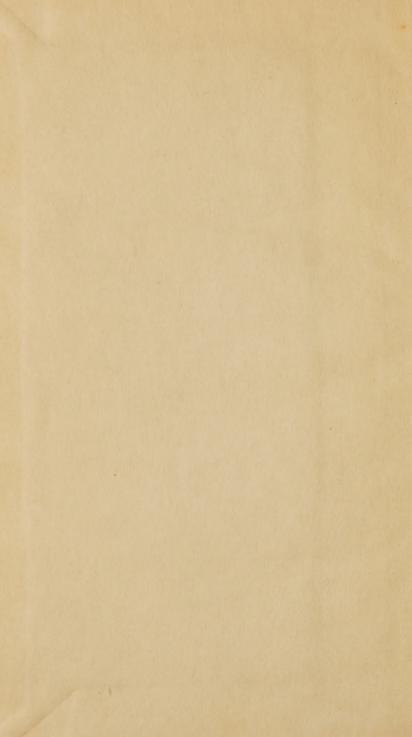
pressed, the abbey church, and all the church yard, and all the circuit thereof, was a sanctuary for any man that had committed any great offence, and fled to the church door, knocking at it, to have it opened. "There were certain men that did lye always in two chambers over the said north door, for the purpose, that when any such offenders did come and knock, straitway they were let in at any hour, and then they did run straitway to the Galilee bell and did tole it, to the intent that any man that heard it might know that some man had taken sanctuary: and when the prior had intelligence thereof, he sent word and commanded them to have a gown of black cloth, made with a cross of yellow, called St. Cuthbert's cross, set on the shoulder of the left arm, to the intent that every one might see that there was such a privilege granted by God unto St. Cuthbert's shrine for all such offenders to fly unto for succour until such time as they might obtain their prince's pardon; and likewise they had meat and drink, bedding and other necessaries for thirty-seven days at the expense of the house, till such time as the prior could get them conveyed out of the diocese."\* There is something in this ancient privilege which pleads forcibly in its defence, at least where poets are the judges, one of whom, after describing a poor victim who hal taken sanctuary in the church of our Lady at Paris, concludes thus: "We may add that the church, this vast church which surrounded her on all sides, which guarded and saved her, was itself a sovereign source of calm. The solemn lines of this architecture, the religious attitude of all the objects which were before her, the pious and serene thoughts which disengaged themselves as it were from all the pores of this stone, produced an impression upon her. The edifice also had sounds of such blessedness and of such majesty, that they soothed this suffering soul. The monotonous chaunt of the clergy, the responses of the people, sometimes inarticulate, sometimes thundering, the harmonious vibrations of the glazed casements, the deep and solemn bell murmuring from the towers above, made her lose the memory of her woes and soothed her imagination. Thus each sun that rose found her more consoled, with healthier looks, less pale." But the need for sanctuaries has ceased. They have nearly every where disappeared; and though in Italy, in the fifteenth century, that real age of darkness, from the clouds which attended and facilitated, if they did not even occasion, the rise of heresy, the asylums or sanctuaries were dreadfully abused, we may with truth apply to them as they existed in the middle ages, the observation of Müller, that in heroic times those institutions must have been of double importance which checked the fearful consequences of a rash act, sanctified the workings of an uneasy conscience, or rather gave time for reconciliation with God, and provided, against the eager thirst for revenge which would have involved both the aggressor and the injured in equal misery.

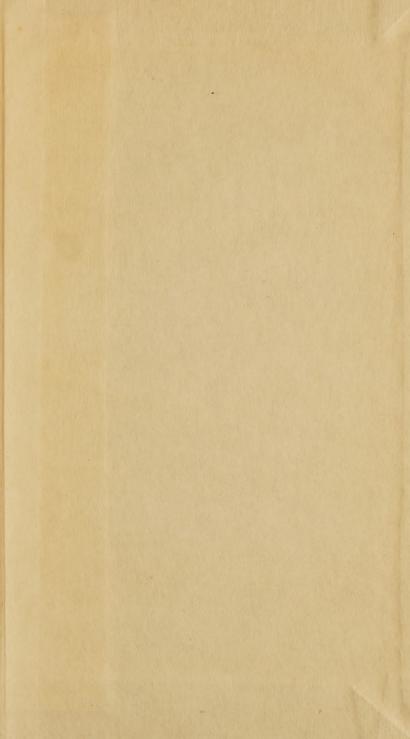
<sup>\*</sup> The ancient Rites and Monuments of the Church of Durham, 71.











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